

AN *Impartial*
Impartial Examination
OF THE
FOURTH VOLUME
OF
Mr. DANIEL NEAL's
History of the PURITANS.
IN WHICH

His too great Attachment to the Usurpations of
the *Rump Parliament* and *Oliver Cromwell* is discovered;
his Misrepresentation of the Conduct of some of our
English Prelates detected; and many of his Mistakes in
History exposed to Publick View.

By ZACHARY GREY, LL.D.
Rector of *Houghton-Conquest* in *Bedfordshire*.

With a large APPENDIX of Curious Letters and Papers,
copied from the Originals, (formerly Dr. NALSON's)
now in the Custody of the Rev. Dr. PHILIP WIL-
LIAMS, President of *St. John's College, Cambridge*.

Ἀταλάειπερ τοῖς Πολλοῖς ἢ ζήτῃσι τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα
μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

Thucyd, de Bello Pelopon. lib. 1. p. 8. edit. H. Steph. Par. 1564.

It is their Manner, except you please their Humour in all Things, be you never
so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so virtuous, all is nothing with
them, but they will deprave you, rail on you, backbite you, and invent Lies
of you, and spread false Rumours, as tho' you were the vilest Persons on
Earth.

Dr. Whitgift's Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, p. 423.

Spare your Pains, good Sir, they know they are wrong as well as you can tell
them: But all the Earth shall not make them confess an Error, or amend it.

Appendix to the third Part of the Friendly Debate, printed 1670. p. 172.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. Bettenham: And sold by A. BETTESWORTH and
C. HITCH, at the *Red-Lion* in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1739.

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HAD I not promised Mr. *Neal* to give him my best Assistance towards the (a) *Correction* and Improvement of his History of the *Puritans*, I should have thankfully declined the Office ; which, though it may have its Use, yet takes me off from other Engagements of a much more agreeable and improving Nature : And what makes the Task difficult, is the great Number of *Typographical* Errors, which he has not (as is usual) vouchsafed to correct by a Table of *Errata*.

'Tis the Observation of one of the most learned and correct Writers of this Age, (b) ' That he scarce ever met with an *Historian*, who does not write true History, if you will take an Account of him from his Preface, and not be too nice in examining his Book : the first Pages are usually filled with the *Care* and *Integrity* of the Author, which are probably to be found no where else.'

How far Mr. *Neal* falls under this Censure, he himself is best able to judge ; and what Care he has taken to render his History correct, the Reader may easily discover from the many Mistakes pointed out to him in the three former Volumes.

I readily grant there are Points in History that (as to the Springs of Action) are scarce conceive-

(a) *Impartial Examination* of Mr. *Neal*'s third Volume, p. 243.

(b) *Reflections upon Learning*, chap. 10. p. 127. 6th Edit. 1727. This excellent Book has met with so just an Encouragement, as to have had eight Impressions at least.

able, even to those that have been nearest the Facts: And Matters of Fact are daily represented to us in different Lights, even by such as pretend to the most exact Knowledge of them: and they commonly vary according as Men's Tempers and Opinions vary. And if it is so difficult a Matter to come to the Knowledge of Things done in our own Times, how much more so must it be to write of Things at a Distance with critical Exactness, where Men must be liable to Mistakes, even after the utmost Care and Precaution; tho' such Mistakes (where all proper Methods of Information are made use of, and there is no apparent Design of Imposition) are certainly pardonable. But the want of *Probity* in an Historian, is far from being so; and tho' I don't directly charge Mr. *Neal* as faulty in this Respect, yet many of his Vouchers are certainly so; and he himself has taken but too much Pains to mangle and curtail his very best Authorities, to make them speak home to his Purpose, which they could never have done without being put to the Torture.

' The History of Times (says a learned (c) Author) is usually drawn up so, as it may minister ' not to Truth but Faction.' Of the Truth of this Observation, almost every Day's Experience may convince us, (d) ' and however vicious our ' Histories may be already, there has been one ' way to make them more corrupt by *Secret Histories*:' And some who affect (with what Right or Justice I could never learn) to call themselves *Historians*, nay *Critical Historians*, have not been ashamed to palm the most notorious Falshoods upon the World for Truths, especially when they have had some dirty Turn to serve: And if they have ever had the Luck to speak Truth, 'twas without Design. And notwithstanding I am far

(c) Dr. *Spencer's* Discourse concerning Prodigies, 1665. p. 131.

(d) Reflections upon Learning, p. 142.

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from ranking Mr. *Neal* under this Class of Writers, (tho' he has often had the Misfortune to build too much upon their Authority and Credit) yet that he has not been over accurate in his Researches after Truth, I am persuaded most of his Readers will readily allow, upon a careful Comparison of his three former Volumes, with the Answers to them.

'Tis the Duty of every Historian to divest himself of (e) *Party Prejudice*, and to say nothing but what is entirely and incontestibly true, or what in his Conscience he believes to be so, without the least Disguise or Colouring, without Addition or Subtraction. And as Mr. *Neal* has declared, (*Pref. p. 6.*) *That Facts are fairly to be represented, and that he aims at nothing but the Truth; that no Stress is to be laid upon Facts and Characters any farther than the Quality of his Vouchers will support him*: I am in great Hopes, that he will impartially review his four Volumes of the History of the *Puritans*, and correct the many Mistakes contained in them, when pointed out to him by such as have some Regard to his Merit in other Respects, tho' they cannot pass over his *Historical Mistakes* without a proper (yet friendly) Animadversion: And as it is an Argument of an ingenuous Temper to correct such *Mistakes* as are made apparent to us (f), I persuade myself, that Mr. *Neal* will not grudge

(e) Mr. Archdeacon *Eccard* (as he told me himself) being once impertinently asked, Whether he was a *Whig* or a *Tory*? very justly and honestly reply'd, *That he was an Historian*. ' If ye observe it, says one of the most excellent Preachers of this or any other Age, (*Dr. Massie's Sermons*, vol. 7. p. 390) as the World now goes, he that is of my *Opinion*, of my *Way* or *Party*, tho' it be but in secular Matters, he is *honest*, he is *stanch*, he is *orthodox*, he is the best *Christian*; in short, he is every thing that deserves to be encouraged: But if he is not of my *Cast*, he has *ipso facto* forfeited both his *Judgment* and *Integrity*, he is all the ill Things and ill Names that can be thought of, he has hardly any Title left even to common Charity. A very uncharitable and unjust Way of proceeding sure, that thus goes about to enclose that which is or should be common.

(f) Now I am calling upon Mr. *Neal* to correct the Mistakes of his four Volumes: I think myself bound to retract two Mistakes, into which I was led by his not quoting his Edition of *Whitelock*.

grudge the World one Volume more to complete his Work, tho' that Volume should wholly consist of *Retractions*, (and, if I am not mistaken, his History of the *Puritans* will furnish him with a sufficient Number for that Purpose). Several *Precedents* of this Kind are extant. *St. Austin* has given us his *Retractions*; and if his Authority (as being of too antient a Date) may not be sufficient to induce *Mr. Neal*, he may meet with Authors of a more *modern Cut*, who, in writing their own (g) Lives, have ingenuously confessed Abundance of youthful Faults and Follies. And I cannot but think, that Faults in History, as they are likely to be more permanent and lasting, and may prove of much worse Consequence, by misleading Posterity, ought with the greatest Care and Exactness to be corrected.

And what farther encourages me in my Hope, is *Mr. Neal's* frank Declaration in his Preface, (p. 6.) *That he is not so vain as to imagine his History free from Errors; and if any Mistakes of Consequence are made to appear, he shall acknowledge them with Thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly Manner.*

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Saint Asaph, in his Answer to his first Volume, has treated him with great Candour: And I cannot, upon a Review of my Examination of his second and third Volumes, find that I have used him otherwise than with Civility: If I have, it was far from my Intention; and if it is made apparent to me, I will heartily beg his Pardon: tho' I must

The first is, Impartial Examination of his third Volume, p. 131. concerning Prince *Rupert's* great Barbarity: *Mr. Whitelock*, in the Place referred to, mentions the great Barbarity of his Soldiers.

The second, p. 200. concerning the King's telling the Parliament-Commissioners, *That a Letter Carrier might have done as well.* 'Tis in *Whitelock* as well as *Rushworth*.

I must likewise beg of the Reader, to read MS. instead of MSS. in two or three Places of my Examination of *Mr. Neal's* second Volume.

(g) *Mr. Baxter's* Life, Folio, p. 2.

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declare to him at the same time, that I love to call every thing by its proper Name ; for I profess I cannot talk a Language I do not mean, and have a hearty Abhorrence to the serving any Turn that is inconsistent with Truth. And if I have used any Expressions that to Mr. *Neal* may seem too harsh, I presume, I shall have his Pardon, when he has once thoroughly consider'd what Occasion he has given, by the Reproaches he has cast upon King *Charles* the Martyr, the best of Kings, and the Freedom he has taken with some of the most deserving *Prelates* of our Church ; and when I assure him that I do not write for Victory but Truth.

The first twelve Years of his last Period take in the Usurpations of the *Rump*, *O. Cromwell*, &c. and are the most remarkable Ones in all our *English* History : And I may venture to affirm, (and I hope without Offence to any one) that more Villanies were transacted in that short Period, than in the same Compass of Time downwards from the Creation : Then the most monstrous Crimes were committed under the Cloke of Religion, which was the Pretence for carrying on of every wicked Design : And tho' I cannot charge Mr. *Neal* with the Defence of every Transaction that was bad, in that most execrable Set of Men ; yet he has palliated their Actions so far, that his Readers, who are not versed in the History of those Times, may be difficulted, from his Work, to discover in what they were to blame. Had he treated them in the manner that the brave Judge *Jenkins* (a Person thoroughly well skilled in our Constitution and Laws) did, his Work had been less liable to censure. That Judge was so far from palliating the Crimes of those Monsters, that he charged them home to their very Teeth ; and when he was brought before the *Rump* in 1648. he treated those wicked Rebels

with a just and becoming Contempt. ‘(b) In your
 ‘ Speech, (says he) Mr. Speaker, you said the
 ‘ House was offended with my Behaviour, in not
 ‘ making any Obeisance to you upon my coming
 ‘ here; and this was the more wondred at, be-
 ‘ cause I pretended to be knowing in the Laws of
 ‘ the Land, (having made it my Study for these
 ‘ five and forty Years) and because I am so, that
 ‘ was the Reason of such my Behaviour: For as
 ‘ long as you had the King’s Arms engrav’d on
 ‘ your Mace, and acted under his Authority,
 ‘ had I come here, I would have bow’d my Body
 ‘ in Obedience to his Authority, by which you
 ‘ were first called. But, Mr. Speaker, since you
 ‘ and this House have renounced all your Duty
 ‘ and Allegiance to your Sovereign, and natural
 ‘ Liege Lord the King, and are become a *Den of*
 ‘ *Thieves, should I bow myself in this House of Rim-*
 ‘ *mon, the Lord would not pardon me in this Thing.*’
 Which provoked the House so much, that with-
 out any Trial they voted him and Sir *Francis Butler*
 guilty of High Treason, and fix’d the Day of Ex-
 ecution; but were diverted from it by a Droll
 Speech of that remarkable Buffoon *Harry Martyn*.
 (i) After this they sent a Committee from the Com-
 mons-House to *Newgate* to Judge *Jenkins*, and
 made this Offer to him, ‘ That if he would own
 ‘ their Power to be lawful, they would not only
 ‘ take off the Sequestrations from his Estate,
 ‘ which were about 500*l. per Annum*, but would
 ‘ also settle a Pension on him of 1000 *l. a Year.*’
 To which he answer’d, ‘ Far be it from me to
 ‘ own Rebellion (altho’ it was successful) to be
 ‘ lawful; so he desired to see their Backs.’ Then
 the Chief of them made another Proposal to the

(b) A true Account of what was transacted in the Commons House at
Westminster, Anno Dom. 1648. when they voted *David Jenkins*, Esq; a
Welsh Judge, and *Sir Francis Butler*, to be guilty of High Treason against
 themselves, without any Trial. Printed 1719. p. 6. *peneo ms.*

(i) *Idem*, p. 17.

Judge, and said, ‘ He should have the same was
 ‘ mentioned above, if he would but permit and
 ‘ suffer them to put in print, That he did own
 ‘ and acknowledge their Power to be lawful and
 ‘ just, and would not gainsay it.’ To this he
 answered, ‘ That he would not connive at their
 ‘ so doing, for all the Money they had robbed
 ‘ the Kingdom of, and should they be so impu-
 ‘ dent to print any such Matter, he would sell his
 ‘ Doublet and Coat to buy Pens, Ink and Paper,
 ‘ and would set forth the *Commons-House* in their
 ‘ proper Colours.’ (That is, would make them
 appear to be scandalous, impudent, and lying
 Rebels). When they found him so firm, one of
 the Committee used this Motive, ‘ You have a
 ‘ Wife and nine Children, who all will starve if
 ‘ you refuse this Offer ; so consider, for their
 ‘ Sakes, they make up ten pressing Arguments
 ‘ for your Compliance.’ ‘ What, (said the Judge)
 ‘ did they desire you to press me in this Matter ?’
 ‘ I will not say they did, (reply’d the Committee-
 ‘ man) but I think they press you to it without
 ‘ speaking at all.’ With that the old Man’s An-
 ger was heighten’d to the utmost, and he in Pas-
 sion said, ‘ Had my Wife and Children petition’d
 ‘ you in this Matter, I would have look’d on her
 ‘ as a *Whore*, and them as *Bastards*.’ Upon this
 the Committee departed, and he continued in
Newgate till the Restoration ; after which I am
 informed that this most *Heroical* and *Loyal Judge*
 died, whose Memory and Doings ought never to
 be forgotten by loyal Men.

But to proceed to the Examination of Mr. Neal’s
 fourth Volume : He acknowledges, that upon the
 King’s Death, the legal Government was dissolved,
and that all that followed till the Restoration of King
Charles the Second, was no better than an Usurpa-
tion : And yet he cannot forbear discovering a
 more than common Approbation of this Usurpa-
 tion,

tion, and Dislike to the Restoration of the antient legal Form of Government.

N. p. 1. *The House of Commons*, (says he) if it may deserve that Name, after it had been purged of a third Part of its Members, relying upon the Act of Continuation, called themselves the Supreme Authority of the Nation.

Mr. Neal magnifies the Number of the Members that constituted the (k) *RumpParliament*: For according to Mr. (l) *Echard*, not above a fifth Part of the Commons were left: And another Writer observes (m), ‘ That three Parts of four at least of the Members were forcibly detained, and deterred from sitting in the House of Commons.’ So that the Modellers of the *Rump*, from their garbling of that House, might justly be compar’d to ‘ that Man (n) who would never cease to whet and whet his Knife, till there was no Steel left to make it useful.’

N. p. 2. *The House of Lords was voted useless.*

And so indeed it was: and tho’ some few Lords (notwithstanding their (o) Disability to sit in that House)

(k) ‘ This Term (says Mr. *Heath*, Chronicle, p. 422.) was first given them by one *Walker*, who writ the History of *Independency*, upon including and debarring the House to their Fellow-Members in 1648. when there remained a *Fog-end* or *Tail*: but was almost abolished by the Height and Violence of their Prosperity: Nor was heard of again till *Richard’s* Parliament, when Major General *Brown* repeating the many Injuries he had received from that Party or *Juncto*, in a scornful *Apostrophe*, branded it with this Note of Infamy the *Rump*, which, upon their Readmission, was their only Appellation, except among their own Party.’ Mr. *Walker*, (*History of Independency*, part. 3. p. 71. who was himself one of the secluded Members) says, ‘ And now these *Dregs* and *Lees* of the House of Commons take upon them to be a complete Parliament.’ And again, (*ibid.* p. 35.) ‘ Oh brutish and irrational Kingdom, where 40 or 50 *Anabaptistical* Members, the *Dregs* and *Lees* of the House of Commons, after all the best and sincerest (7 Parts of 8) had been racked and purged out at the Bung-hole by *Cromwell* the *Brewer*, and *Pride* the *Drayman*, shall be called the Reason and Law of the Land.’ Mr. *Carte* (*Life of James the First Duke of Ormonde*, vol. 2. p. 53.) calls them, ‘ The Carcase of a House.’

(l) *History of England*, vol. 2. p. 653.

(m) *Cromwell’s Bloody Slaughter-House*, by a Person of Honour, p. 25. *penes me.*

(n) *Walton’s Life of Hooker*, p. 10.

(o) Mr. *Element Walker* (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 225.) observes from *Pryn*, ‘ That some of them were elected by new illegal Writs, under

House) ignominiously vouchsafed to sit with the *Rump*, (and these were the Earl of (p) *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard of Eſcrigg*). (q) Yet the *Peers* in general highly reſented the Indignity, and in a Proteſtation publiſhed in the Names of all the *Peers* and Barons in the Realm, they aſſerted their Privileges and the fundamental Laws of the Nation, and diſclaimed all (r) Acts, Votes, &c. of the ſaid Members of the Commons Houſe, for erecting of (s) *New Courts of Juſtice*, to try or execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the

‘ under a new kind of Seal, ſince the King’s beheading, as the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord *Edward Howard*, incapable of being Burgeſſes by the Common Law, as was adjudged in the Lord *Camoy’s* Caſe, Clauſ. Dorf. 7. Ricb. 2. m. 32. and aſſerted by Mr. *Selden’s* Titles of Honour, part 2. chap. 5. p. 737. ſeconded by *Cook’s* 4 Inſt. p. 1. 45, 46, 47, 49.’

The Writ in *Selden’s* Titles of Honour, 2d Edit. p. 737. as follows: *Rex Vicecomiti Surriae, Salutem. Quia ut accepimus Thomam Camoy, Chivaler, qui Banneretius eſt, ſicut quamplures antecellorum ſuorum extiterunt, ad eſſendum unum militum ventientium ad proximum Parlamentum noſtrum, pro communitate Comitatus praedicti, de aſſenſu ejusdem Comitatus, elegiſti; nos advertentes, quod hujusmodi Banneretti, ante haec tempora in Milites Comitatus ratione alicujus Parlamenti eligi minime conſueverunt, ipſum de Officio Militis ad dictum Parlamentum pro communitate Comitatus praedicti, venturi, exonerari volumus; & ideo tibi praecipimus quod quendam alium Militem idoneum & diſcretum, Gladio cinctum, loco ipſius Thomae eligi, & cum ad diem & locum Parlamenti praedicti venire facias, cum plena & ſufficienti poteſtate ad conſentiendum hiis, quae in Parlamento praedicto ſient juxta tenorem primi Brevis noſtri tibi pro Electione hujusmodi Militum directi, & Nomen ejus nobis ſcire facias. Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſterium octavo Die Octobris.* Where Mr. *Selden* obſerves, ‘ That this Writ may not be underſtood of any other Banneret, than a Parliament Baron, or Banneret of that Time.

(p) *Whitelock* obſerves, (Memorials p. 396.) ‘ That the Earl of *Pembroke* was returned Knight of the Shire for *Berks*, *Primae Impreſſionis*.’ And in another Place, (p. 439.) ‘ That his Son ſat in the Houſe after his Death. And for an Honour (ſays he, Mem. p. 426.) to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard of Eſcrigg*, Members of the Houſe of Commons, ’twas ordered, that they might ſit in all Committees of which they were before the Houſe was diſſolved.’

(q) *Ecbard’s* Hiſtory of England, vol. 2. p. 652.

(r) *Whitelock* informs us, (Memorials, p. 473.) ‘ That the Miniſters about *Dartmouth* would not read any Act or Ordinance commanded by the Parliament.’ And elſewhere, (p. 488.) ‘ That there was an Agreement of the Miniſters of *Somreſet* and *Devon*, to reſuſe the Engagement, and Orders of Parliament.’

(s) In the Trial of Colonel *Axtel*, (Trials of the Regicides, 4to. 1660. p. 185.) it is properly enough called, *The High Court of Injuſtice*. *Eſſing*, Clerk of the Parliament, bravely (according to *Whitelock*, Memor. p. 364.) reſigned his Poſt, becauſe he would have no Hand in the Buſineſs againſt the King.

Government,

Government, Laws, Great Seal, &c. raising new Forces, and imposing new Taxes or Oaths ; and likewise protested against the traiterous murdering of the late King, and disinheriting his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and particularly against the insolent and frantick Vote concerning abolishing the House of (t) Peers, as useless and dangerous : All which Votes, Acts and Orders they declared to be not only illegal, but detestable and destructive to the Rights and Beings of Parliament, the fundamental Laws of the Land, and the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People.

N. Ibid. *The Form of the Government for the future was declared to be a free Commonwealth : the executive Power to be lodged in a Council of State of forty Persons.*

Mr. *Whitelock* says, (u) ‘ That a Committee was appointed to bring in the Names of Persons not exceeding forty to be a *Council of State.*’ And in another Place, (Memorials, p. 381.) ‘ mentions a Vote for thirty-eight to be of the *Council of State*, and names their Names.’ And Bishop *Kennet* says, (w) That the executive Power was put into the Hands of a Council of State, consisting of thirty-eight Persons, to act with full Powers for one Year, the Qualification of every Member of this *Council of State*, or *Committee of Estates*, was to subscribe unto approving of the King’s Execution.’ Mr. *Clement Walker* gives the following Account of the *Council of State* (x) :

(t) *Whitelock* was appointed to draw up the Ordinance for abolishing the House of Peers. And tho’ he declared ‘ his Opinion against it, (see Mem. p. 377.) yet he could not get excused.’ Nay, so subservient was this great Man to most of those Changes during the *Anarchy*, that the Writer of his Life says, (Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. 2. p. 362.) ‘ I know not whether it was true that he waited upon the King after his Restoration to beg his Pardon for all that he had transacted against him ; and that his Majesty bid him go live quietly in the Country, and take Care of his Wife, and one and thirty Children.’

(u) Memorials, p. 377. 2d edit.

(w) Complete History, 2d edit. vol. 3. p. 190. See *Ecbard’s History*, vol. 2. p. 653.

(x) *Walker’s History of Independency*, part 2. p. 186.

‘ *Whiteball*

‘ *Whiteball* (says he) is now become the Place of
 ‘ a *Hydra of Tyrants, instead of a King*, where our
 ‘ *Hogens Mogens*, or Council of State, sit in much
 ‘ State and Splendour, with their Rooms as richly
 ‘ hang’d (I wish they were so too) and furnish’d
 ‘ (if you will believe their licens’d News-Books)
 ‘ as any Lords States in *Europe*, yet many of
 ‘ these *Musbrooms of Majesty* were but *Mechanicks*,
 ‘ *Goldsmiths, Brewers, Weavers, Clothiers, Brew-*
 ‘ *ers Clerks, &c.* whom scornful Fortune in a
 ‘ spiteful Merriment brought upon the Stage to
 ‘ act the Parts of Kings.’ And in another Place,
 (says he) ‘ (y) But I would gladly know by what
 ‘ Authority a Pack of forty Knaves, calling them-
 ‘ selves a *Council of State*, and usurping Regal
 ‘ Power, shall take upon them to abolish our an-
 ‘ tient Form of Parliaments, contrary to the fun-
 ‘ damental Laws of the Land.’ And elsewhere,
 ‘ (z) That amongst them were some Tradesmen
 ‘ Soldiers, illiterate Lawyers, Parliament Mem-
 ‘ bers, Men already engaged over Head and Ears
 ‘ in Sin, therefore to be confided in. To these,
 ‘ or any nine of these they entrust the Admini-
 ‘ stration of this *Utopian Commonwealth*, and
 ‘ these they would have us believe (without telling
 ‘ us so) are the Keepers (or Goalers) of the Li-
 ‘ berties of *England*.—(a) How come we to for-

(y) *Walker’s History of Independency*, part 2. p. 207.

(z) *Ib.* part 3. p. 10, 11. In a Tract intitled, *Mercurius Impartialis*, in
 Answer to *Mercurius Militaris*, quoted in a Tract intitled, *The 29th of May*,
 p. 34. *penes me*, are the following Words; ‘ That that Court hath ever been
 ‘ had in high and honourable Estimation for the Justice thereof, we are not
 ‘ ignorant of; yet even from that Court, corrupted by malignant Members,
 ‘ has befallen this Kingdom more Mischief, Desolation and Ruin within
 ‘ these 8 Years, than ever it received from all the Parliaments that ever were
 ‘ since their primitive Institution, or than all the succeeding Parliaments that
 ‘ shall sit these many hundred Years shall be able to repair: And indeed the
 ‘ present Parliament Priests, and their Emissaries from their Pulpits and
 ‘ Presses, have added more Souls to the Number of the Damned, than ever
 ‘ the Devil, the Pope, and their subtlest Agents, with their most skilful and
 ‘ pleasant Rhetorick, were more than fourscore Years before able to accom-
 ‘ plish.’

(a) *Ibid.* p. 13.

‘ *feit*

' feit that legal Protection, our settled Laws and
 ' Government, and to be subjected to a new un-
 ' known Protection obtruded upon us by a Com-
 ' pany of Upstarts, (Mushrooms of Majesty, so
 ' mean in Birth and Breeding, for the most Part,
 ' that the Place of *Constable* equals the highest of
 ' their Education) imposing what Law and Con-
 ' ditions upon us they please : I would be glad to
 ' hear, without being hinder'd by Guns, Drums,
 ' High Courts of Justice, and other Instruments
 ' of Violence and Murder.'

N. Ibid. *New Keepers of the Great Seal were appointed ; from whom the Judges received their Com-
 missions, with the Name, Style and Title of Custodes
 Libertatis Angliæ Authoritate Parliamenti, i. e.
 Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of
 Parliament.*

Upon which the noble Historian makes the
 following Remark ; (b) ' If it were not a Thing
 ' so notoriously known, it could scarce be be-
 ' lieved, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were
 ' of their own making, and the other two had
 ' quietly submitted from the Beginning of the
 ' War to the Authority that governed, Six laid
 ' down their Places, and could not give them-
 ' selves leave to accept Commissions from the
 ' (c) established Power : So aguish and fantastical

' a

(b) History of the Rebellion, vol. 3. p. 202.

(c) ' Brave was the Behaviour of Alderman *Reynoldson*, Lord Mayor, who
 ' refused to proclaim the Ordinance for abolishing Kingly Government, for
 ' which he was fined 2000*l.* committed Prisoner to the *Tower* for two
 ' Months, and degraded of his Mayoralty ; (*Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 393.)
 ' 400*l.* of this Money given to the Poor of the City, to stop their Mouths
 ' from cursing upon the Thanksgiving-Day. This is (says Mr. *Walker*,
 ' History of *Independency*, part 2. p. 196.) according to the *Spanish Proverb*,
 ' To steal a Sheep, and give away the Trotters for God's Sake. Sir Thomas
 ' Soames and Mr. *Chambers* refused likewise to attend at the proclaiming the
 ' Ordinance, for which Sir Thomas was disabled from being a Member of the
 ' House, and disfranchised from being Alderman, or to bear any publick Of-
 ' fice ; and Alderman *Chambers* disabled from being an Alderman, or to
 ' bear any publick Office, (*Whitelock*, p. 405.) The Lord Mayor and Al-
 ' dermen who proclaimed this Ordinance, were Alderman *Andrews*, Lord
 ' Mayor, Alderman *Pennington*, Alderman *Wollaston*, Alderman *Foulkes*,
 ' Alderman *Kenrick*, Alderman *Byde*, Alderman *Edmonds*, Alderman *Pack*,
 ' Alderman

' a Thing is the Conscience of Men who have
 ' once departed from the Rule of Conscience, in
 ' hope to be admitted to adhere to it again upon
 ' a less pressing Occasion. (d) The Names of
 ' those that threw up their Commissions were
 ' Bacon, Brown, Bedingsfield, Creswell, Trevor and
 ' Atkins. They refused (says *Heath*, Chronicle,
 ' p. 226.) as knowing the Laws and the present
 ' Anarchy were incompatible of any Expedient
 ' to suit them together. (e) The six others, *Rolls*
 ' and *Fermyn* of the *King's-Bench*, *St. John* and
 ' *Pbeasant* of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Wild* and
 ' *Yates* of the *Exchequer*, receiv'd their Commis-
 ' sions from these new Keepers of the Great Seal,
 ' and submit to the Alterations made in the Law
 ' by the Parliament. The new Judges appointed
 ' by the *Rump*, (f) were Serjeant *Nicholas* and Mr.
 ' *Ask* to be Judges of the *Upper-Bench*, Serjeant
 ' *Puleston* and *Peter-Warburton*, Esq; to be Judges
 ' of the *Common-Pleas*, and Serjeant *Thorpe* and
 ' Mr. *Rigby* to be Barons of the *Exchequer*.

N. Ibid. The (g) Coin was stamped on one Side
 with the Arms of England, between a Laurel and a
 Palm,

' Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Atkins*, Alderman *Viner*, Alderman *Avery*,
 ' Alderman *Wilson*, Alderman *Detbick*, Alderman *Foot*, (*History of Inde-*
 ' *pendency*, part 2. p. 185.)

(d) *Ecchard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 658.

(e) Ibid. p. 653.

(f) Bishop *Kennet's Complete History*, vol. 3. p. 192. *Puleston* and *Thorpe*
 were the two wretched Judges that condemned the brave Colonel *Morris*, for
 defending of *Pontefract* Castle against the Forces of the *Rump*, at *York* Assizes
 1649. The scandalous and inhuman Treatment of him may be met with,
Walker's History of Independency, part 2. p. 250. and *Whitelock*, p. 421,
 422. ' This Shameful-Row of Judges, (says Mr. *Walker*. *History of Inde-*
 ' *pendency*, part 3. p. 31.) take upon them to be both Judges of the Law,
 ' (without acknowledging the fundamental Laws of the Land, or taking any
 ' Oath of Indifferency to the People) Tryers of the Fact, or Jurates of Life
 ' and Death, without being sworn to find according to Evidence, as well as
 ' Parties and Prosecutors. Thieves upon the Highway may as justly arraign
 ' a true Man before them, because he brought no more Money in his
 ' Purse, offered to draw his Sword, and hid his Money about him in Con-
 ' tempt of their Jurisdiction and Authority; and condemn him upon such a
 ' mock Trial and Mummery, or Interlude of Justice as these Fellows.'

(g) ' Sir *Robert Harley*, (according to *Whitelock*, *Memorials*, p. 402.)
 ' Master of the Mint, refusing to stamp the Coin with any other Stamp than
 ' formerly,

Palm, with this Inscription, The Commonwealth of England; and the other Side a Cross and a Harp, with this Motto, God with us.

(b) This gave Occasion to a Man of Wit to observe, *That God and the Commonwealth were not both of a Side.*

N. Ibid. *Such was the Foundation of this new Constitution, which had neither the Consent of the People of England, nor their Representatives in a (i) Free Parliament. — But tho' it was unsupported by any other Power but the Army, it was carried on with the most consummate Wisdom and Success.*

Lord Clarendon's Observation upon this Year, in which this new Form of Government was set up, *which was carried on by the most consummate Wisdom*, is as follows: (k) ' So ended the Year
' One thousand six hundred and forty-eight; a
' Year of Reproach and Infamy above all Years
' which had passed before it; a Year of the high-
' est Diffimulation and Hypocrisy, of the deepest
' Villany and most bloody Treasons that any Na-
' tion was ever cursed with, or under; a Year in
' which the Memory of all the Transactions ought
' to be rased out of all Records, lest by the Suc-
' cesses of it, *Atbeism, Infidelity and Rebellion* should
' be propagated in the World; a Year of which

' formerly, the House ordered, That a Trial of the Pix should be made at
' Sir Robert's Charge; put him out of his Place, and made Dr. Gordon, the
' Physician, Master of the Mint in his Room.' Remarkable was the Pun-
ishment of some Coiners in Scotland. ' Soldiers in Scotland, (says Whitelock,
' Memorials, p. 555.) for coining new Half Crowns of Pewter, were sen-
' tenced by a Court Martial to have 40 Lashes on their bare Backs, and to
' march thro' the High Street of *Edinburgh* with a counterfeit Half-Crown
' nail'd to each of their Ears, and that Pieces of their Ears should be cut off
' with the Half Crowns, and nail'd to the Gallows.'

(b) *History of England from authentick Records*, 1706, 8vo. vol. 2. p. 264.

(i) The Parliament of *Paris*, during the Civil War in *France*, so far
resented (according to Cardinal *de Retz*, *Memoirs*, vol. 2. p. 194.) Car-
dinal *Mazarin*'s comparing them to the House of Commons in *England*, or
Rump, and some private Persons to *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, that some were
for securing his Person, and others for having him brought immediately before
the Company, to give an Account of his Administration.

(k) *History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 211.

' we may say, as the Historian said of the Time
 ' of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum*
 ' *in libertate esset : ita nos quid in servitute.* Or as
 ' the same Writer says of a Time not altogether
 ' so wicked ; *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum*
 ' *facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes pate-*
 ' *rentur.*' And it was declared by *Lilburn*, a
 noted Republican, that if the Petition of Right
 was broke in upon by *Cromwell* and his Adherents,
 (1) that he should desire rather to live in *Turkey*,
 under the *Great Turk*, than in *England*, under
Hugh Peters's religious Masters at *Whitehall* :
 ' For (says he) there is no such Tyrant or Perse-
 ' cutor in the World, as an *Apostate*, that once
 ' turns his Back of Justice, Righteousness and
 ' Truth. But Mr. *Peter*, as for Things at pre-
 ' sent, tell your Masters from me, that if it were
 ' possible for me now to chuse, I had rather chuse
 ' to live seven Years under old King *Charles's*
 ' Government, (notwithstanding their beheading
 ' him as a Tyrant for it) when it was the worst
 ' before this Parliament, than live one Year un-
 ' der *their* present Government, that now rule :
 ' Nay, let me tell you, if they go on with that
 ' Tyranny they are in, they will make Prince
 ' *Charles* have Friends enow, not only to cry
 ' him up, but also really to fight for him, to
 ' bring him into his Father's Throne, that so

(1) A Discourse betwixt Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburn* and *Hugh Peters* in the Tower, May 25, 1649. p. 8. Publick Library Cambridge xix. ix. 6.

The following Character of *John Lilburn* is given by Sir *Thomas Wortley*, Knight and Baronet, in a loyal Song at the Royal Feast, kept by the Prisoners of the Tower, in August 1647. Folio, penes me.

John Lilburn is a stirring Blade,
And understands the Matter,
He neither will King, Bishops, Lords,
Nor th' House of Commons flatter.
John loves no Power Prerogative
But that deriv'd from Sion,
As for the Mitre and the Crown,
Those Two he looks awry on.

He had Squint Eyes, and died a Quaker.

B

' they

they may have their just Desires of perfidious, cruel, bloody Tyrants, and the People of the Land some Ease and Rest from their insupportable Burdens and Oppressions. Here is the Substance of my Discourse with Mr. *Peter*, saving I pinch'd him a little particularly upon his great Masters large fingering of the Commonwealth's Money, which was no better than Theft in them, and *State (m) Robbery* in the the Highest as I told him. Ay, but, says he, *Ireton* has got none. Then, said I, former Reports are false; and besides, if he have not, what need he, when his Father-in-Law gets so much for them both, as (n) 3 or 4000 *l. per Annum* at a Clap, with well nigh 20,000 *l. Worth of Wood* upon it, if Parliament Men's Relations may be believed?

N. Ibid. *The Levellers of the Army gave out, that the People had only changed their Yoke, and not shaken it off: and that the Rump's little Finger (for*

(m) Their Principle is, (says Mr. *Walker*, *History of Independency*, part 3. p. 22.) That the good Things of the World belong only to the Saints, (that is themselves) all others being Usurpers thereof; and therefore they may rob, plunder, sequester, extort, cheat and confiscate (by illegal Laws of their own making, by extrajudicial Courts and partial Judges of their own constituting) other Men's Goods and Estates upon as good Title, as the Jews spoiled the Egyptians, or expelled the Canaanites. And in another Place, (part 3. p. 7.) he says, 'That in their Tax Rolls, they usually set in the Margent to every Name, private Notes of Distinction, an *M.* an *N.* or *P.* The Letter *M.* stands for *Malignant*; he that is so branded is highly taxed, and his Complaints for Redress sleighted. *N.* stands for *Neuter*; he is more indifferently rated, and upon Cause shewn may chance to be relieved. The Letter *P.* signifies a perfect *Parliamentarian*: He is so favourably taxed, as he bears an inconsiderable Part of the Burden: and that they may the better consume with Taxes and Want all such as do not concur with them in the Height of their Villanies, the pretended Parliament are now debating to raise the monthly Tax to 24,0000 *l.* or to deprive every Man of the third Part of his Estate both real and personal, for the Maintenance of their Immortal Wars, and short-liv'd Commonwealth: Besides *Excise, Customs, Tonnage and Poundage, Free Quarter, Standing Army and Horses, and the Sale of Corporation Lands now in Agitation*; whilst our *Grandees* enrich all the Banks of *Christendom* with vast Sums, raised by publick Thefts and Rapines.'

(n) Mr. *Walker* informs us, (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 156. part 1. p. 170.) 'That King *Cromwell* had 4 or 5000 *l. per Ann.* out of the Earl of *Worcester's* Estate, besides 4 or 5 *l. a Day* as Lieutenant General and Colonel of Horse, altho' he were at the Beginning of the Parliament a poor Man, yea little better than a Beggar.'

so the House of Commons was now called) would be heavier than the King's Loins.

And so in Truth it was. (o) ' The People
' (says an anonymous Author) suffered extremely
' in their Goods, by exorbitant and continual
' Taxes, and that under Pretence of Necessity to
' pay the Army : Whereas the Army Officers in
' that fatal Remonstrance from St. *Albans* 1648.
' did pretend, that the Removal of the King was
' necessary for disbanding of the Army, and easing
' the People of their heavy Burdens and Taxes :
' But we see neither the one nor the other has
' followed on it, but that rather our Miseries have
' encreased. Now if we shall join to those into-
' lerable Taxes the great Decay of Trade, occa-
' sioned principally by making War with *Spain*,
' upon the Score of private Interest against the
' general Good, and to the great Damage of the
' three Nations, as may be seen at large in that
' excellent Remonstrance of the Merchants, pre-
' sented to the late Protector and Parliament, it
' may be clearly seen, that nothing has been
' wanting to make the People of these Nations
' perfectly miserable, both in their Persons and
' Estates. If the Farthing Tax of Ship Money
' was thought so heavy and intolerable a Burden
' in the King's Time, when Gold was almost as
' plentiful as Silver is now, and when our Trading
' admirably flourished all the World over ; what
' may be justly thought of all the Taxes that have
' been raised since the Beginning of these Troubles,
' or particularly since the King's Death ? May it
' not be justly concluded, that these Taxes being
' compared with the Ship Money, &c. and to
' which they have so vast a Disproportion, have
' been, and are a Burden to the People more than
' intolerable ?' And another Writer of those

(o) *England's Settlement, &c.* London 1659. p. 6, Publick Library, Cam-
bridge 19. 9. 6.

Times observes, (p) ' That a Committee for Inspection had brought in and reported to the House the State of the Accounts of the Publick, and of the Martial and Civil Lists in the three Nations, by which it did appear, that the yearly Incomes of (q) *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, came to Eighteen hundred sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen Pounds, and the yearly Issue to two Millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty Pounds : So that Three hundred thirty-two thousand eight hundred twenty-three Pounds of Debt incurred yearly by the ill Management of double the Revenue that ever (r) King of *England* enjoyed : And to maintain the unjust Conquest of *Scotland*, cost us yearly one hundred sixty-three thousand sixteen hundred and nineteen Pounds more than the Revenue yields.' And in an intercepted Letter to a Merchant at *Paris*, from T. M. 14 December 1653. are the following Words (s) : ' At *London* we are forced to take up our Tax by Soldiers, which is not pleasing, and so it must be thro' all this Land : If *Holland's* Actings be not appeased, this Land will not be able

(p) *England's Confusion : Or, A True Impartial Relation of the late Tra-
verjes of State in England, &c.* printed 1659. p. 6. Publ. Libr. Cambridge,
19. 9. 6. Heath's Chronicle, p. 415. ' They had it (says Mr Walker,
' *History of Independency*, part 2. p. 155.) in their Wills and Power, to
' dispose of the King's, Queen's, Prince's and Duke's, and the rest of the
' Children's Revenue, Deans and Chapters Lands, Bishops Lands, sequestred
' delinquent Lands, sequestred Papists Lands, Compositions of all Sorts,
' amounting to Millions of Money, besides Excise and Customs ; yet this is
' not enough, altho', if rightly husbanded, it would constantly pay above
' 100,600 Men, and furnish an answerable Navy thereunto : But the People
' must now, after their Trades are lost, and their Estates spent to procure
' their Liberties and Freedom, be assessed above 100,000 *l.* a Month, that
' they may be able, like so many Cheaters and State Thieves, to give 6, 8,
' 10, 12, 14, 16,000 *l.* a piece one to another, to buy the Commonwealth's
' Lands one of another, at 2 or 3 Years Purchase.

(q) *History of Independency*, 4th Part, p. 36.

(r) It is observ'd by Mr. Carte, (*Life of James First Duke of Ormonde*,
vol. 1. p. 50.) ' That King *James I.* in 16 Years Time, receiv'd two
' Millions, 200,000 *l.* in Aids from Parliament, which he seems to think
' an extravagant Sum.'

(s) *Rymer's Fœdera*, continued by Mr. Sanderfon, vol. 20. p. 730.

' to bear it, Trade being lost : I assure you, since
 ' the Breach with the late King, there hath been
 ' spent by the Parliament upwards of (t) sixty
 ' Millions in Money, and yet this is not so much
 ' as the Loss of Trade. (u) ' Is not (says another
 ' Writer of those Times) the whole Burden laid
 ' upon your Backs, Burden after Burden, even
 ' till your Backs break ? How many thousands of
 ' you, who were of great Estates, are even re-
 ' duc'd yourselves, your Wives and Children to
 ' Misery and extreme Poverty ? How many Thou-
 ' sands and Millions have you exhausted ; yea,
 ' hath not your Hands been liberal beyond your
 ' Abilities ? How freely have you brought in
 ' your Gold, your Silver, Jewels, Rings, &c.
 ' which in *London, Middlesex, Essex* amounted
 ' to above eleven Millions, besides threescore Mil-
 ' lions extracted out of the Counties, with the
 ' innumerable Sums otherwise raised and spent in
 ' this Service.'

*Such was the consummate Wisdom of this new Con-
 stitution, which had neither the Consent of the Peo-
 ple of England, nor their Representatives of Par-
 liament.*

N. P. 3. *The Agitators petitioned the House to
 dissolve themselves, that new Representatives might
 be chosen : The Commons, alarmed at these Proceed-
 ings, ordered their general Officers to cashier the Pe-
 titioners, and break their Swords over their Heads,
 which was done accordingly.*

(t) You could not (says Mr. Petyt, *Visions of the Reformation* p. 133.)
 ' allow the King any considerable Supplies towards maintaining a foreign
 ' War, in which you had engaged him, could raise and consume 17,000000
 ' Sterling in less than three Years, in a Domestick War against him.' And
 'tis observed by Mr. Walker (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 228) ' That
 ' more Money had been raised in Taxes in eight Years during the Rebellion
 ' and Usurpation, than in all the Kings Reigns since the Conquest.' Which
 Lord Clarendon confirms (Speech to the Parliament 1661. Life p. 189.) ' That
 ' Monster Commonwealth (says he) cost this Nation more in the few Years she
 ' was begot, born, and brought up, and in her Funeral (which was the best
 ' expence of all) than the Monarchy hath done this 600 years.

(u) *Martin's Echo. penes me*, p. 17.

The Names of the Petitioners were *Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, Simon Grant, George Jelles, William Sawyer*. The Sentence was pronounced against them by one *Baxter*; (w) ‘ That they
 ‘ should ride with their Faces towards their Horses
 ‘ Tails, before their several Regiments, with their
 ‘ Faults written on their Breasts; and their Swords
 ‘ to be broken over their Heads, and so to be
 ‘ cashiered the Army, as not worthy to ride there-
 ‘ in: And a Proclamation to be made, that none
 ‘ should receive them into any Troop, Company,
 ‘ or Garrison; and this (he informs them) they
 ‘ must look upon as a great Mercy of the Court.’
 And yet notwithstanding this Severity, so bold were
 the Levellers at that Time, according to *Whitelock*,
 (*Memorials*, p. 399.) that they buried one *Lockier*,
 (x) a Trooper, who was shot to Death by Sen-
 tence of a *Court Martial*, in the following Man-
 ner :

“ About one thousand went before the Corps,
 “ and five or six in a File: The Corps was then
 “ brought with six Trumpets sounding a *Soldier’s*
 “ *Knell*, Then the Trooper’s Horse came clothed
 “ all over in Mourning led by a Footman. The
 “ Corps was adorned with Bundles of *Rosemary*,
 “ one half stained in Blood, and the Sword of the
 “ Deceased with them. Some Thousands followed
 “ in Ranks and Files: All had sea-green and black
 “ Ribbon tied on their Hats, and on their Breasts,
 “ and the Women brought up the Reer. At the

(w) A Tract intitled, *Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triple Heath to Whitehall, by five small Beagles of the Army, and printed in a Corner of Freedom, right opposite to the Council of Warre, Anno Domini 1649.* p. 19, 24. Publick Library, Cambridge 19. 9. 6. *Whitelock’s Memorials*, p. 386.

(x) Mr. Walker (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 164.) observes,
 ‘ That *Lockier* was executed to strike a Terror and slavish Fear into such
 ‘ other Soldiers, as should dare to take Notice of their approaching Slavery.
 ‘ But his Christian and gallant Deportment at his Death, with honourable
 ‘ funeral Pomp attending him to his Grave, turned all the Terror of this
 ‘ Tragedy into Hatred and Contempt of the Authors thereof.’ See likewise
Heath’s Chronicle, p. 233.

“ New Church-yard in *Westminster*, some Thousands more of the better sort met them, who thought not fit to march through the City. Many looked upon this Funeral as an Affront to the Parliament and Army, others called them *Levellers*; but they took no notice of any of them.”

N. Ibid. To cultivate a good Understanding with the (y) Dutch, the Parliament sent Dr. Dorislaus, an eminent Civilian concerned in the late King's Tryal, Agent to the States General; but the very first night after his Arrival, May 3. He was murdered in his own Chamber by twelve desperate Cavaliers in disguise, who rushed in upon him while he was at Supper, and with their drawn Swords, killed him upon the Spot.

Lord Clarendon says (with whom agrees Mr. Echard, and Bishop Kennet) (z) ‘ That whilst he was at Supper the same Evening that he came to the *Hague*, in company of many others who used to eat there, Half a Dozen Gentlemen entered the Room with their Swords drawn, and required those who were at the Table not to stir, for there was no harm intended to any but the Agent, who came from the Rebels in England, who had newly murdered their King. And one *Whitford*, who knew *Dorislaus*, pulled

(y) The Dutch had little Reason to value these wicked Usurpers; for Mr. Walker informs us, (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 209.) ‘ That Captain Young had blown up a Ship of the Prince's, call'd the *Antelope*, at Anchor in *Helvetstuijce*, under the Protection of the States of *Holland*, whereby the Chamber of *Holland*, and their Inland Sea is ravished from them. By this and some former Actions of the like Insolency, says he, as the firing upon their Ships, and killing their Men for not striking Sail to them, you may see what good Neighbourhood the Dutch are like to have of their younger Brother State, when they are once settled and confirmed in their yet Infant Government.’ And *Whitelock* informs us, (*Memorials*, p. 412.) ‘ That upon Complaint to the States in Behalf of the Scots King, that some of the Parliament Ships destroy'd the *Antelope* Ships in *Helvetstuijce*, the States order'd, that the King have Liberty to act the same upon any of the Parliament Ships in any Harbour within their Dominions.’

(z) *History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 229. Echard's *History of England*, vol. 2. p. 668. Bishop Kennet's *Complete History*, vol. 3. p. 192. Walker's *History of Independency*, part 2. p. 173.

him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet, saying, *Thus dies one of the Regicides*, and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leisurely out of the House, leaving those who were in the Room with much Amazement, and Consternation. Though all who were engaged in the Enterprize went quietly away, and so out of Town; insomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended or called in Question: Yet they kept not their own Counsel so well (believing they had done a very Heroick Act) but that it was generally known, that they were all *Scotishmen*, and most of them Servants and Dependants of the Marquis of *Mountrose*. Dr. (a) *Perinchief* calls *Doristlaus* a *German Bandito*; But Mr. *Wood* says (b) that he was a *Dutchman* born, originally a Schoolmaster, and afterwards Doctor of the Civil Law at *Leyden*: Whence coming into *England* upon no good account, was entertained by *Fulk Lord Brook*, and by him appointed to read a History Lecture in *Cambridge*, which he was about to found some Years before his Death. But in his very first Lectures, decrying Monarchy, was upon the Complaint of Dr. *John Cusin*, Master of *Peter-House*, to the Vicechancellor, (which afterwards came to his Majesty's knowledge) silenced.—Afterwards, he became Judge Advocate in the King's Army, in one of his Expeditions against the *Scots*, Advocate in the Army against the King under *Robert Earl of Essex*, afterwards under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and at length one of the Judges under the Court of Admiralty, and an Assistant in drawing up,

(a) *Life of Charles I.* p. 83.

(b) *Atbenæ Oxon.* 2d edit. vol. 3. p. 339. Bishop Kennet observes, (*Complete History of England*, vol. 3. p. 192. 2d edit. See likewise *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 167.) 'That Murmurs and Complaints were so high, that the Powers in being made an Act May 14. to declare it Treason to affirm the Government to be tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful, or to endeavour to alter the said Government, or to kill any Member of Parliament or Judge in their Duty.'

and

‘ and managing the Charge against King *Charles*
 ‘ I. in order to his Execution. I say, (c) *Dorilaus*
 ‘ did fall, as *Lisle* afterwards did.’ ’Tis a pity that
 they both of them did not meet with the com-
 mon Fate of Traytors, to be hanged at *Tyburn*,
 and buried under the Gallows.

N. Ibid. Both the Parliament, and the States of
Holland resented this base Action so highly, that the
young King thought proper to remove into France.

That it was much resented by the *Rump*, is not
 to be questioned. (d) ‘ For after this desperate
 ‘ Attempt came to their Knowledge, they became
 ‘ so much enraged, that they resolved to sacrifice
 ‘ the Life of a certain (e) Royalist of Note (Sir
 ‘ *Lewis Dyves*) then in their Custody, and they
 ‘ had certainly done it, had he not made a time-
 ‘ ly Escape. Afterward they caused the Body of
 ‘ *Dorilaus* to be conveyed into *England*, and to
 ‘ be buried with (f) Solemnity in the Abby
 ‘ Church of *Westminster*, on the 14th of *June*
 ‘ following, where continuing till *September 1661*,
 ‘ was then taken up with the Bodies of the *Crom-*
 ‘ *wellians* and buried in a Hole in *St. Margaret’s*
 ‘ Church-yard.” But that the States of *Holland*
 equally resented his Death, I cannot so easily be-
 lieve. (g) They had bravely remonstrated by
 their

(c) Two hundred Pounds *per Annum* settled for Life by the *Rump* upon
Dorilaus’s Son, 500*l.* a piece to his Daughters, and 250*l.* order’d for his
 Funeral, *Whitelock’s Memorials*, p. 401, 402.

(d) *Wood’s Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 339. With equal Justice might *Mas-*
fanello the Fisherman, a mock King of *Naples*, have resented such Usage
 from the Viceroy of *Naples*, had one of his Servants cut off any of the
 mock King’s Messengers during his ten Days Kingship, and in time of
 Treaty, though (like *Dorilaus*) he had been one of the most desperate of
 Rebels.

(e) Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* (*Walker’s History of Independency*, part 2. p.
 173.) moved, ‘ That six Gentlemen of the best Quality in *England* [*Royal-*
 ‘ *ists*] might be put to death, as a Revenge for *Dorilaus*, and to deter
 Men from the like Attempts hereafter.’

(f) ‘ There was an order (says *Whitelock* p. 407.) for the Members
 ‘ of the House, and of the Council of State, and the Lords Commissioners of
 ‘ the Great Seal, and Judges to attend his Funeral.’

(g) See Remonstrance in *French* copied from the Original, with a
 Translation, and other Papers relating thereto. Appendix No. 1, 2, 3, 4,
 5.

their two Embassadors against the King's Death, and I cannot be easily induced to think, that after that, they could resent the Death of one of his Execrable Murtherers. Lord *Clarendon* owns (b)

‘ That it cannot be denied that the *States* proceeded upon these Disorders, with which they had not been accustomed, with great Gravity, and more than ordinary Respect to the King; they were highly offended at what was past, and sensible what Expostulations and Clamour for Justice they must expect and sustain from *England*, and what Reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those that had been guilty of such a Crime to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them as a great Scandal to their Government; yet they proceeded very slowly in their (i) Inquisition, and with such Formalities as were usual, (and which could bring no Prejudice to the Offenders, who were either gone out of their Dominions or concealed themselves in other Towns where the same Formalities were to be used, if they were discovered) and without so much Reflection upon the King, as if they believed the guilty Person had any Relation to his Service.—

And upon his desiring an Audience, which they readily granted the King (*Lord Clarendon* observes, *id. ib.*) ‘ was received in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, after a short Compliment he delivered a Paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their Advice thereupon as soon as they pleased.

5. See likewise *Perinchief's* Life of *Ch. 1.* p. 85. *Whitelock* p. 374. *Sewell's* History of the Quakers p. 20.

(b) History of the Rebellion. vol. 3. p. 229.

(i) Mr. *Heatb* (*Chronicle* p. 236.) observes, ‘ That though the *States* pretended a *Hue and cry*, yet the People were generally well satisfied, and applauded the Execution.

† The Memorial contained in the first place, his
 † Majesty's Acknowledgments of the Civilities he
 † had received there, and his Desire, that by
 † them the *States General* (who were not at that
 † time assembled) might be informed of such
 † his Majesty's Sense of their Kindness ; especially
 † of the *full and high (k) Detestation they had expressed*
 † of the *impious and unparallel'd Murder of his*
Royal

(k) 'Tis remarkable that the *Dutch* were the only Foreign State that remonstrated against the King's Death, or at least interceded for his Life ; which must be acknowledged to their eternal Honour, by all Persons who have the least Grain of Loyalty left, or Regard to the Memory of King *Charles the First*, who (without Flattery) was one of the best Kings that ever swayed the *English* or any other Sceptre. Nay the *Dutch* behaved with great Generosity towards his Son when Prince of *Wales* : For in September 1648, (*Whitelock's Memorials* 335.) ' When it was disputed amongst the States, whether they should entertain him in a publick way, or make an Allowance *p. diem*, they agreed to allow him a thousand *Gilders* a day.' And in his Return to *England*, we are told, (*Mercurius Publicus* num. 22. p. 341, 342. *penes me.*) ' That the States of *Holland* supped bare before his Majesty ; one of the Courses was served up to him all in Gold Plate, which was afterwards presented to his Majesty, valued at 60,000 l. That they presented his Majesty, with a Bed that cost 7000 l. Sterling, and Table Linen to the value of 10,000 l. and 600,000 *Gilders*. The Treatment of the King, and all who belonged to his Service (says Mr. *Ecbard*, Hist. vol. 2. p. 903.) at the Charge of the States, during the time of his Abode there, was incredibly noble and splendid ; the Expence of which and the Presents amounted to 100,000 l. and their Joy was so manifest that it could only be exceeded by his own Subjects. They presented him likewise by their Ambassador at *Whitehall*, the same Year, (*Mercurius Publicus*, num. 46. p. 741.) with an extraordinary Crimson embroidered Velvet Bed, Cloth of State, Chairs and Stools suitable, worth very many thousands of Pounds ; and also an excellent Collection of Pictures of the most famous, ancient, and modern Masters, with a great number of Statues of white Marble of excellent Sculpture.

' The Emperor of *Russia*, (*Heath's Chron.* p. 255.) indeed no sooner heard of the King's Death, but he immediately commanded all the *English* to depart his Dominions, and was hardly persuaded (having first secured their Goods) to give them leave to stay a while in *Arch-Angel*, his only Port of Trade, whither from his Court and City of *Mosco* he had driven them. He had proffered to the Lord *Culpeper* (his Majesty's Ambassador) to have given him all the *English* Estates : But he declining it, and telling the Emperor the King conceived very well of those his Subjects, he very frankly lent the King 20,000 l. with a Protestation of his farther Good Will if he had not been so greatly engaged in a War at home.

' The King of *Denmark* likewise sent an Ambassador to King *Charles* the Second to offer him his Assistance, (*Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 390.)

But according to Lord *Clarendon* (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 203.) Amongst the generality of the Princes of *Christendom*, there was scarce a Murmur at the King's Death. — They made hast to send over, that they might get Shares in the Spoils of a murdered Monarch. Cardinal *Mazarin* — sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the Purchase

chase

* *Royal Father of blessed Memory, their fast and un-*
 * *shaken Ally,* by which the Forms and Rules of all
 * kinds of Government were no less violated and
 * dissolved than that of Monarchy : That he came
 * to inform them, that he did intend, in a short
 * time, to dispose of his Person as might with
 * God's Blessing most probably advance his Af-
 * fairs; and that for the better doing there-
 * of, and that he might in so important an
 * Affair receive their particular Advice, he should
 * impart to them the true State and Condition
 * of his several Dominions, that he needed not in-
 * form them of the deplorable Condition of
 * his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts and
 * Affections of his Loyal Subjects were so depres-
 * sed, and kept under by the Power and Cruel-
 * ty of those who had murdered their late Sove-
 * reign, and who every day gave fresh and bloody
 * Instances of their Tyranny to fright Men from
 * their Allegiance, that at present no Man could
 * believe that miserable Kingdom could be fit
 * for his Majesty to trust his Person in : That
 * in *Scotland* it is very true, that his Majesty

* chase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the Crown. Of which he purchased
 * the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets which furnished his Palace at *Paris*.
 * The King of *Spain* from the Beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo*
 * *deCardenas* who had been his Ambassador to the King still residing at *London*.—
 * As soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Ambassador who had always a
 * great Malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures and other
 * precious Goods appertaining to the Crown as being sent in Ships to the
 * *Corunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid*, upon eighteen
 * Mules. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* purchased the Choice of all the Me-
 * dals and Jewels, and some Pictures of great Price, and received the Par-
 * liament's Agent with great Joy and Pomp, and made an Alliance with
 * them.—In this manner did the Neighbour Princes join to assist *Cromwell*
 * with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute and
 * finish his wicked Victory over what remained yet unconquered; and to ex-
 * tinguish Monarchy in this renowned Kingdom; whilst they enriched and
 * adorned themselves with the Ruins and Spoils of the surviving Heir, with-
 * out applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greatest Necessities
 * that ever King was subject to. And that which was stranger than all
 * this, (since most Men by recovering their Fortunes, used to recover most
 * of what they were before robbed of, and many who joined in the Robbery,
 * pretending that they took care of it for the true Owner) not one of these
 * Princes ever restored any of their unlawful Purchases to the King after
 * his blessed Restoration. [See likewise *Echard* vol. 2. p. 662, 663.]

is proclaimed King, but with such Limitations
 and Restrictions against his Exercise of his Royal
 Power, that in truth, they had only given him the
 Name, and denied him the Authority : That above
 five parts of six of the Nobility and chief Gentry
 of that Kingdom, were likewise excluded from
 their just Right, and from any part of the
 Administration of the publick Affairs; so that
 that Kingdom seemed not sufficiently prepared for
 his Majesty's Reception; but that he hoped and
 doubted not that there would be in a short
 time a perfect Union and right Understanding
 between all his Subjects of that his Kingdom,
 and a due Submission and Obedience from them
 all to his Majesty, for that he was resolved, (and
 had never the least Purpose to the contrary)
 to preserve and maintain the Government of
 Church and State, in that Kingdom, as it is
 established by the Laws thereof, without any
 Violation or Alteration on his part; so that
 there could be no Difference between him and his
 Subjects of that Kingdom, except they should
 endeavour, and press his Majesty to alter the
 Laws and Government of his other Kingdoms;
 which as it would be very unreasonable to desire,
 so it is not in his Power to do it if he should
 consent, and join with his Subjects of *Scotland*
 for that purpose which made him confident;
 That when they had thoroughly weighed, and
 considered what was good for themselves, as well
 as for him, they would acquiesce with en-
 joying the Laws and Privileges of that King-
 dom, without desiring to infringe or impose
 upon those of their Brethren and Neighbours."
 And his Majesty desired the *States*, " That if
 any Persons had endeavoured to make any Im-
 pressions upon them; That he hath or ever
 had any other Intentions and Desires, with re-
 ference to his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what he
 himself

" himself now expressed to them to have, That
 " they would give no Credit to them, and assured
 " them, That they should always find him con-
 " stant to those Resolutions, and especially that
 " all Ways and all Means, which might lead to
 " the Advancement and Propagation of the Pro-
 " testant Religion, should be so heartily embraced
 " by him, that the World shall have cause
 " to believe him to be worthy of his Title of
 " Defender of the Faith, which he valued as his
 " greatest Attribute."

N. P. 4. *Almost all Ireland was in the hands of
 the Royalists and Roman Catholics, except Dublin
 and Londonderry; the former of these Places had
 been lately besieged by the Duke of Ormond, with twen-
 thousand Men, but the Garrison being recruited with
 three Regiments from England, the Governour Colonel
 Jones surprised the Besiegers, and after a vigorous Sal-
 ly, stormed their Camp, and routed their whole Army.*

(1) Lord Clarendon observes, " That the Success
 " on the Rebels Side was in no Degree wonder-
 " ful, the Advantage in number being theirs. They
 " who sallied out of the Town, and were upon
 " the Field, being effectively 6000 Foot, and 1900
 " Horse, and the Army encamped at Rathmines
 " were not so strong in Horse and Foot. (From
 " whence it appears that the Duke's Army was
 " not 20000 Men.) And therefore 'tis nothing
 " strange, that so well governed and disciplined
 " Soldiers, under good Officers, should overcome
 " a lesser Number of raw, new levied, and un-
 " practised Men, under unexperienced Officers,

(2) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland,
 p. 126.

Mr. Clement Walker (History of Independency, part 2. p. 229.) observes,
 " That Jones made an Attempt with better Luck than he expected, though
 " not with half so good Success as was reported. Saturday August 12 when
 " the News first came to Town. (The Lion is not so terrible as he is
 " painted.) It is a peculiar Privilege of the Saints to lie (without Sin, or
 " at least without Imputation of Sin) for the Good Cause, either in re-
 " in *modo rei*, in the Matter or Manner, in the Thing or the Extent thereof
 " though

though possessed of some Advantage of Ground.'
 (m) Mr. Carte says, ' Jones made a Sally with a Body of 4000 Foot and 1200 Horse, a Force very near equal to the whole *Irish* Army if it had been all engaged. The Fate of the *English* that Day was to be most of them either slain or taken Prisoners. A small Party under Colonel *Wogan*, got a great Reputation, for their Behaviour, who being gotten together defended themselves so gallantly, and with so much Resolution against the whole Power of the Enemy, that at last, after a great Slaughter, they made Conditions for themselves, before they could be forced to yield or lay down their Arms. In this Engagement which happened on *Aug. 2.* Colonel *Richard Butler* was wounded, and taken Prisoner, with the Earl of *Fingal*, 300 Officers, and 1500 common Soldiers, most of *Inchiquin's* Men, afterwards enlisted themselves under (n) Jones, There were not above 600, as well Officers as Soldiers, killed in the Action; and of those, more than half were put to the Sword in an Hour after they had, upon promise of Quarter, laid down their Arms, and some even after they were within the Walls of the Town. The Defeat was owing chiefly to the Inexpertness of many of the *Irish* Officers (who were named by the Commissioners, not only for their Military Skill) and the Rawness of their Soldiers, not kept in Garrisons and exercised as Jones's were, and to the panick Terror which seized the *Irish* Horse, who quitted the Field upon Sir *W. Vaughan's* being killed in the first Charge, so early that very few of them were lost, and could never afterwards be brought to rally, notwithstanding all the Merits of *Ormonde's* Endeavours, who thought it very feasible with them by a resolute Onset to recover the Day.'

(m) Carte's Life of *James the First Duke of Ormonde*, vol. 2. p. 80.

(n) ' Ordered that an Act be brought in for settling 1000 *l.* per annum upon Colonel Jones and his Heirs, and that Thanks be sent to him and the rest for that good Service.' *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 420.

From

From whence the Reader may be left to judge of Mr. Neal's Account of the numbers of the Marquis of Ormonde's Forces, and of the Falshood of a MS. Account from one of the *English* Rebels, (who commonly magnified their Success) transcribed in to the (o) Appendix.

Mr. Neal p. 5. gives an Account of Cromwell's Landing in *Ireland*, and the encouraging Speech he made his Army, *That he was come to cut down and destroy the (p) barbarous and blood thirsty Irish, with all their Adherents.*

(o) Appendix; num. 6.

(p) Mr. Carte says (Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. 1. p. 471.) 'It is remarkable that when the Scots Forces were recalled out of *Ireland*, to serve against the King, several of the *Ulster* Rebels who had embued their hands deepest in Protestant Blood, were taken into the Service, transported into Scotland, and sent to fight against the King in England. Nay Colonel Monk's Treaty with Owen Roe O Neal, is too well known to be questioned, &c. (See Walker's History of Independency, part 2. p. 198, 231, &c.) Resolved, "That the House doth utterly disapprove of the Proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the Treaty and Cessation, (as they pleased to call it) made between him and Owen Roe O Neal; and that this House doth detest the Thoughts of any closing with any Party of Popish Rebels there, who have had their Hands in shedding English Blood. Nevertheless the House being satisfied, that what the said Colonel Monk did therein, was in his Apprehensions necessary for the Preservation of the Parliament of England's Interest: That the House is content, the farther Consideration thereof as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in Question." A sufficient Proof of their Guilt. And Mr. Whitlock observes upon it, (Memorials, p. 419.) 'That Major General Monk was much dissatisfied at their Proceedings in this Business in relation to him, especially at some Passages highly reflecting upon his Honour and Fidelity. And it was the Opinion of divers, either not at all to have questioned this Business, or having once questioned it not to have employed him any more in their Service. But the Major Part carried it thus: First to beat him, afterwards to stroke him, which some did think was never forgotten by him.' And yet these shameless Rebels, when the King was forced to a Cessation, were not ashamed to hint at the King's Encouragement of the Irish Massacre: From the Broad Seal's being affixed to their Commission; though they were convinced at the same time that it was an impudent Lie, and from the Deposition of Dr. Maxwell, must know how the Rebels came by it, with relation to which, one remarkable Circumstance is mentioned by Mr. Carte (History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, vol. 1. p. 182.) which still sets that Affair in a clearer Light. 'The very Patent (says he) from which the Great Seal was torn, and which contained a Grant of some Lands in Tyrone, was about five or six Years ago, upon a Suit at Law with relation to the Laps produced at the Assizes at Tyrone, by the late Lord Charlemont, having on it evident Marks of the Seal's being torn off from it, and an Indorsement proving the Fact; and was allowed by the Judges as a proper Evidence to prove his Lordship's Right to the Lands in question.'

By

By which he meant all the *Royalists*, whether *Papists* or *Protestants* it mattered not.

Nor was he and his Party less barbarous and blood-thirsty, than those inhuman Wretches immediately concerned in the *Irish Massacre*, as appears from the following authentick Account given by Lord *Clarendon* (q), ' 1650, in the Month of ' *June* about three thousand Horse and Foot of ' his Majesty's being defeated near *Letter-Kenny*, ' by the *English* Rebels adhering to *Cromwell*; most ' of the principal Officers of the said Party taken ' Prisoners in the Battle were killed in cold Blood, ' by order of Sir *Charles Coot* late Lord of *Monrath*, ' notwithstanding they had quarter from the Officer who took them Prisoners. (r) 1652, Colonel ' *Barrow* of *Cromwell's* Army, having taken an ' Island (in the County of *Monaghan*) defended by ' Lieutenant Colonel *Patrick*, and Mr. *Mabon*, for ' his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Colonel and his Soldiers, put all the Women and Children to the Sword to the Number of Eighty; among whom, a little pretty Child of six Years old being spared by the Soldiers was killed by Order of the said Colonel *Barrow*.'

(s) ' *Anno* 52. *Redmond Burke*, a Colonel in his Majesty's Army had Quarter given him by some of Colonel *Coot's* Men, he being taken in a Skirmish between Colonel *Grace* and some of *Cromwell's* Party, and being Prisoner for some time, Colonel *Henry Inglesby* caused his Head to be cut off.'

Anno 52, 53, ' It was an usual Practice with Colonel *Stubbers*, then Governor of *Galloway*, to take the People out of their Beds at Nights, and sell them for Slaves to the *Indies*, and by

(q) Appendix to Lord *Clarendon's* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in *Ireland*, p. 333.

(r) Id. ib. p. 334.

(s) Id. ib. p. 337.

Computation he fold out of the said County above a thousand Souls. (t) 1649, Captain *Harrington*, a *Protestant*, and three hundred Officers and Soldiers, taken Prisoners at the Defeat given his Majesty's Army before *Dublin*, were after *Quarter given*, put to Death by Order of Colonel *Michael Jones*.'

' Mr. *Wogan* of *Ratchoffy*, having *Quarter* given him in the same time, by Captain *Ottoway*, was killed by Lieutenant *Tomson*, as he rid behind one of *Ottoway*'s Troopers; and one Mr. *Hinny* an aged Person, after dividing his Goods to the Value of fifteen hundred Pounds among the Soldiers, was knocked in the Head, together with his Daughter, her Husband, and four Children, after *Quarter*.'

' Note, That no less than (w) twelve thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County [*Dublin*] were massacred the first Year of the War.'

(x) ' Anno 51. Captain *Hulet* coming to Sir *John Dongan*'s House at *Castle-Town* [County of *Kildare*] to search for a Priest, tortured a Child of Sir *John*'s of seven Years of Age with lighted Matches, to force a Confession from him where the Priest was, and the poor Child not telling, or not knowing, *Hulet* hung him up with the Reins of his Bridle, but the Troopers, when *Hulet*'s Back was turned cut him down half dead, whereof the Child died soon after.'

(t) Id. Ib. p. 344.

(w) ' Sir *William Petty* (says Mr. *Carte*, History of the Life of *James First* Duke of *Ormonde*, vol. 1. p. 178.) who had a Head excellently turned for Calculation, had been soon after the War in every part of the Kingdom, and had surveyed the whole of it, and had sufficient Opportunities of Information, and was neither by Interest nor Inclination disposed to favour the *Irish*; and yet he thinks that there were only thirty seven thousand *British* massacred in all the first Year of the Troubles, and that those who think that there were greater Numbers destroy'd, ought to review the Grounds of their Opinion.

(x) Lord *Clarendon*'s Appendix, &c. p. 345.

(y) 1647, Three thousand Soldiers at the Battle of *Dongans-Hill*, [County of *Meath*] were killed after Quarter given them by Colonel *Michael Jones* and many *Irish* Officers, taken in the Battle, and deeply wounded, were killed, the next Day after, when they could not march on foot.

(z) 1650, Colonel *Daniel Axtel* cut off the Head of Mr. *Fitz Gerret* of *Browneiford's* Son, and hanged the Sons of Mr. *Butler* of *Ballikify*, and Mr. *Butler* of *Benidstown*, [County of *Kilkenny*] Because their Fathers inlisted themselves in his Majesty's Army.

One *Francis Frisby* an *Englishman*, and a *Protestant*, Butler to the Duke of *Ormonde*, having had Quarter upon the Rendition of *Kilkenny* to *Cromwell*, was apprehended by the said Colonel *Axtel*, and for not confessing his Lord's Plate, was torured to Death, by burning Matches between his Fingers, in the Castle of *Kilkenny*.

1651, Major *Sbertal*, an Officer of his Majesty's Army, having delivered the Castle of *Balrimay*, upon Quarter of Life and Liberty, to Colonel *Axtel*, was run through the Body by the said Colonel, and all his Soldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, were killed.

1651, Captain *Thomas Sbertel*, a Captain of Horse in his Majesty's Army, coming to *Kilkenny* upon a safe Conduct, was hanged by the said *Axtel*, because he had a good Estate within two Miles of *Kilkenny*.

1650, Colonel *Axtel* hanged 50 of the Inhabitants near *Thomastown*, living under his Protection, for no other reason, but that a Party of *Cromwell's* Army was defeated the Day before in that place, by some of the Royalists.

(y) Id. Ib. p. 349.

(z) Id. Ib. p. 353, 354.

‘ Colonel *Axtel* meeting one Day forty Men, Women, and Children, near the Wood of *Kil-donan*, who were coming for greater Security to live within his Quarters, caused them all to be killed.

‘ Some Soldiers of the King’s Army being taken in a Village in *Grace’s* Parish, Colonel *Axtel* caused all the Inhabitants to be apprehended, hanged three of them and sold the rest to the *Barbadoes*.

‘ 1650, The said (a) *Axtel* (as Matter of Recreation) commanded his Troops to gather together a great Number of the protected People near *Kilkenny*, and being all in Cluster, bid

(a) ‘Tis no wonder that so bloody a Regicide as *Axtel*, who had embued his Hands in the Blood of his anointed Sovereign, should sport himself in the Butchery of so many innocent Persons. This Man was a Grocer by Profession, and went forth but a common Soldier. But (as is observed by Mr. *George Bates* in his Life, *Lives, Actions, and Executions of the Regicides*, 1661. p. 68.) ‘ That in his Expedition to *Ireland*, he soon commenced Colonel. And it is strange what hellish Cruelties he used there, not only against the Native *Irish*, whom he would murder like Vermin but even against *Protestants* and *English*, not favouring either, though he had not only promised, but assured them Quarter.—He was made Governor of the County and City of *Kilkenny*, and here he shews his Cruelty so conspicuous, that his very merciless Brethren of the Army condemn him. He hanged what Gentry of the County he pleased, whether guilty or not, never affording them any Trial, but making his own Will his Law; He exercised it according to his Discretion, by reason whereof many Innocents causelessly suffered, and for which his own Brethren of the Army drew up Articles against him in a Court Marshal, and he had then received Punishment, had not the *Anabaptists*, and *Charles Fleetwood* at the Head of them, at that time being the predominant Party passed by the Business.—This Man raised his Estate at least 2000l. per annum.’

‘Tis observed by Mr. *Walker* (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 255.) in general, ‘ That these bloody Saints that accompanied *Cromwell* into *Ireland*, (to make that Kingdom as miserable and slavish as they had done this) did pour forth the Blood of their own Bowels, in great abundance: God’s Vengeance having visited most of them with the Bloody-Flux; whereof many died: But that was a Secret that was not to be known to the Ungodly; and therefore *O. Cromwell*, and his Council of War at *Dublin* made an Order, that if any Person, residing within that Garrison, whether Inhabitants or Soldiers should (upon pretence of writing to their Friends) signify the Transactions of the Army (between *O’Neal* and *O. Cromwell* it may be) or their Engagement with the Enemy, so as to set forth their Success or Loss, untill the General Council of War have signified (falsified the same to the Parliament of *England*) they shall incur the Breach of the Article against Spies, and be accordingly punished with Death.’

the

‘ the Troops rush through them, and to kill as many as happened on the left Hand of the Troop, and to spare the rest : thirty Persons were murdered then, and on that Account.

‘ (b) 1651, Colonel *Cook* in one March out of (c) *Iniscorphy*, into the Barronies of *Bellagbkene* and *Goury*, [County of *Wexford*] murdered a hundred poor Labourers in Protection, and five hundred Women and Children, whom he caused to be locked up in their own Houses, commanding his Soldiers to set Fire upon them; and one Woman having escaped out of a House, was killed, and her Belly barbarously ripped up; others thrust their sucking Babes out of the Windows, hoping that their Innocency might beg Pity in the Soldiers, who by their Colonel’s Command received the poor Infants upon the Heads of their Pikes, and thrust them back into the Fire.

‘ 1650, 1651, The said Colonel *Cook* in his several Marches into the Barronies of *Bellagbkene* and *Skarawalsb*, murdered upwards of three hundred Men, Women, and Children, under Protection, yet the Wife and Children of this *Cook*, (notwithstanding all his barbarous Cruelties committed against the King’s Subjects, and having always eminently appeared against his Majesty and his Royal Father) have been so well befriended as to be provided for by special Name in his Majesty’s Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*.

‘ 1650, 1651, Captain *Thomas Barrington* murdered no less than three hundred Men, Women,

(b) *Id. lb.* p. 355, 356.

(c) Mr. *Whitelock* takes notice (*Memorials* p. 529.) ‘ Of the Forces of the Parliament about *Eniscorphy*, burning the Corn, and every Morning the Houses they quartered in the Night before : Killed and took many *Irish* : That he was an idle Soldier who had not Veal, Lamb, Pig, Poultry, or all of them for his Supper : That they destroy’d as much Provision as would have kept many Thousands of the *Irish* till next Harvest.

‘ and Children, under Protection, in the Barronies
‘ of *Goury* and *Bellagbkene*.

‘ 1650, the said *Barrington* killed fifty Women
‘ and Children at a Place called *Layen*; he was
‘ so noted through *Cromwell’s* Army for his Cru-
‘ elty, that they called him *Barrington kill all*.

‘ The above Colonel *Cook* cauted twenty two
‘ of Sir *Walter Dongan’s* Men taken at the Fight
‘ of *Clonigball*, to be killed after Quarter given,
‘ and one Captain *Birn* of his Majesty’s Army
‘ wounded in the Fight, and much made of by
‘ some of *Cook’s* Men, who took him Prisoner,
‘ was soon after stript and killed.

‘ Major *Thomas Hart* forced a Country Fellow
‘ under Protection to leap into the River of *Boina*,
‘ and took pleasure to see him drowned.

‘ 1650, Captain *William Bolton* of Colonel
‘ *Pretty’s* Regiment, slaughtered about two hun-
‘ dred and fifty Men, Women and Children un-
‘ der Protection, in the said Barronies of *Skara-*
‘ *wash*, *Bellagbkene*, *Bentry*, and *Gillmalere*.

‘ 1650, The same *Bolton* gave Quarter at *Castle-*
‘ *Kirk* to nine Soldiers, who after delivering their
‘ Arms were slaughtered by his Order.

‘ 1650, Mr. *Pierse Butler*, eldest Son of the
‘ Lord of *Galmoy*, and Captain of Horse in his Ma-
‘ jesty’s Army, being taken Prisoner in the Fight
‘ was killed in cold Blood, after Quarter, by
‘ the said *Bolton*.

‘ 1651, The said *Bolton* hanged *Pierse Doran*,
‘ who collected his Contribution, at his own Door,
‘ and one of his Servants to keep him Com-
‘ pany.

‘ 1651, *Nicholas Lenagh*, a Man known to be
‘ frantick, was killed in his own House, by the
‘ said *Bolton’s* Orders.

‘ 1651, Colonel *Pretty* meeting one Day upon
‘ the Road with Mr. *Philip Hill*, a Gentleman of
‘ his Acquaintance, and his Collector in the Bar-
‘ rony,

‘ rony of *Bellagbkene*, hanged him on the next Tree.

‘ (d) 1649, A Soldier of *Cromwell’s* being killed by some of the *Irish* Army, Colonel *Jeremy Sankey* summoned all the Inhabitants of the Parish wherein he was killed, being under his Protection, to come to *Fethered* [County of *Tipperary*] where he put them to the Dice and hanged five of them.

‘ One Lieutenant *Mac Gragh*, of his Majesty’s Army, being taken Prisoner by Captain *John Godfrey*, was five Days after hanged in the Town of *Fethered*, by Colonel *Sankey*, notwithstanding the said *Godfrey’s* Protection to have given him Quarter.

‘ 1652, Seventeen Poor Women and Children in Protection were murdered at *Tullogh* by Major *Elias Green* and his Party, and one of the Troopers refusing to kill a Woman big with Child (by Name *Elisabeth Cugly*) was wounded by the said Major who thrust his Sword through the Woman’s Bowels.

‘ Within a while after thirty Women and Boys ready to starve and digging Potatoes in their own Gardens in the said Village of *Tullogh*, were all killed by Order of the said Major *Green*.

‘ 1649, Captain *Cantuel*, and Captain *Fitzgerald* of his Majesty’s Army, were tied to a Tree and shot to Death by some Officers of *Cromwell’s* Army, after Quarter given.

‘ 1651, Colonel *Richards* hanged *Edward Mockler*, a protected Person, and also a Woman big with Child, saying, he did it lest she should be delivered of a Traitor.

‘ 1651, *Morish English*, a Gentleman in Protection, was dragged out of his House by the said Captain *John Godfrey*, and brought to *Cabirr*, where he was hanged the next Day.

(d) Id. Ib. p. 358, 359, 360, 361.

‘ 1651, Sixteen Soldiers of his Majesty’s Army
 ‘ taken Prisoners by Colonel *Abbot*’s Troops,
 ‘ near *Nenagh*, were all killed by them, after
 ‘ Quarter given.

‘ 1651, One *Moran*, a Soldier, after Quarter
 ‘ promised, was by Colonel *Abbot*’s Command
 ‘ hanged three Hours by the Heels from the Bat-
 ‘ tlements of the Castle of *Nenagh*, and next day
 ‘ hanged by the Neck till he died.

‘ 1651, Some of *Abbot*’s Troops having brought
 ‘ a Labourer out of Mr. *Grace* of *Clog Priory*
 ‘ his House, to shew them the Way, cut off his
 ‘ Head within a Musket-shot to the House.

‘ In the Year 1650, *David Walsh*, Esq; about
 ‘ eighty Years old, was murdered by Major *Mor-*
 ‘ *gan*, now Sir *Anthony Morgan*, in the Road
 ‘ between *Clonmell* and *Waterford*; and one of the
 ‘ said *David*’s Daughters endeavouring to preserve
 ‘ her Father was murdered over him, and a Grand-
 ‘ Child of the said *David*’s of seven Years of
 ‘ Age, then in the Company, was murdered by
 ‘ the said Sir *Anthony*’s own Hands.

‘ No less than five hundred poor Labourers
 ‘ and Women were hanged at *Clonmell* and other
 ‘ Garrisons in this County [*Tipperary*], guilty of
 ‘ no other Crime, but being found within the
 ‘ imaginary Lines drawn by the Governors of
 ‘ the several Garrisons in the said County.

‘ A Woman big with Child, having, in pre-
 ‘ sence of all the People, the Child stirring in
 ‘ her Womb, was hanged by Colonel *Richards* at
 ‘ *Clonmell*.

‘ 1651, Sir *Hardress Waller* and Colonel *Ingoldsby*
 ‘ commanding two Parties into the Barrony
 ‘ of *Bueren* (in the County of *Clare*) then under
 ‘ Protection, killed in one Day upwards of eight
 ‘ hundred Men, Women, and Children, and meet-
 ‘ ing with Squire *Donogh O Bryan*, an aged Gen-
 ‘ tleman, and protected by the said *Waller*, they

locked

‘ locked him up in a Country-House, to which
 ‘ they set fire, and burnt him to Death.

‘ 1651. The said Colonel’s Troop of Dragoons
 ‘ murdered, in the Town of *Quenne*, thirty aged
 ‘ Persons.

‘ 1651. The said *Ingoldsby*, after giving Quarter
 ‘ to nine Soldiers of his Majesty’s Army, and a
 ‘ Week’s Imprisonment, hanged them.

‘ 1651. The said *Ingoldsby*’s Men killed about a
 ‘ thousand poor Labourers, Women, and Chil-
 ‘ dren, in the Baronies of *Corckromroe*, and *Inchi-*
 ‘ *quin*, being all under his Protection. Captain
 ‘ *Puerefoy*, and other Officers commanded by the
 ‘ said *Ingoldsby*, murdered upwards of a hundred
 ‘ Men, Women, and Children, in the Baronies of
 ‘ *Bunratty* and *Tullagh* protected by the said Colonel.

‘ Captain *Stafe*, and Captain *Apers*, under the
 ‘ Command of the said *Ingoldsby* murdered no less
 ‘ than five hundred Families in Protection in the
 ‘ Baronies of *Island*, *J. Bracklane*, *Cluandarala*,
 ‘ and *Moyfarta*.

‘ 1651. The said *Ingoldsby*’s Men, when they
 ‘ were surfeited of killing, made it an ordinary
 ‘ practice to bridle the poor People, Men and
 ‘ Women, to tye them to their Horses Tails like
 ‘ Beasts, and sell them to the *Barbadoes*.

‘ *Anno* 1651. The said Colonel *Ingoldsby* being
 ‘ one Day with the Party in the Territory of *Clear-*
 ‘ *lish*, slaughtered upwards of five hundred of Men
 ‘ Women and Children, all under his Protection.

‘ 1651. The said *Ingoldsby*, and his Dragoons,
 ‘ murdered in one Day, about three hundred pro-
 ‘ tected Persons, in the Territory of *Tullagh-Hill*.

‘ 1653. The Inhabitants of the Barony of
 ‘ *Dunkueren*, being ordered by Lieutenant Colo-
 ‘ nel *Nelson*, then Governor of the County for
 ‘ *Cromwell*, to remove with their Goods and Cat-
 ‘ tle, for their greater Security, were met by the
 ‘ said *Nelson*, Major *Peppard*, Captain *Thomas*

‘ *Bar-*

‘ *Barrington*, Captain *Hasset*, and other Officers
 ‘ with a Party of Horse, and under colour to se-
 ‘ cure their Removal, and upon a sudden, upon
 ‘ a Sign given, the Soldiers fell upon the poor
 ‘ People, and killed upwards of three hundred
 ‘ Men, Women, and Children, The Cruelty of
 ‘ *Barrington* and *Hasset*, in that Massacre, was re-
 ‘ markable, causing many Women to be shame-
 ‘ fully stripped naked, and afterwards most in-
 ‘ humanly butchered, the Fingers of such as
 ‘ wore Rings to be cut off, and the Babes, and
 ‘ Infants, to be tossed on Pikes and Halberts, in
 ‘ Sight of their dying Parents.

‘ 1653, The said *Nelson* having granted his
 ‘ Protection under Hand and Seal, to *Tecig Mor-*
 ‘ *carty*, and *Conor Mac Donagh*, Catholick Priests,
 ‘ until their Transportation for *Flanders*, by
 ‘ a Time limited ; before half that Time
 ‘ was expired, apprehended the said Priests and
 ‘ hanged them with their Protection in their
 ‘ Hands.

‘ Many hundreds of the poor People of that
 ‘ County reduced by the Exaction and Cruelty of
 ‘ their Governors, to a starving Condition, were
 ‘ by *Nelson*’s Order for smelling of Horse-flesh,
 ‘ which they were necessitated to eat or starve,
 ‘ hanged.

‘ 1653, Captain *Thomas Barrington* aforesaid,
 ‘ caused the Arm of a poor Woman to be cut off
 ‘ with a Hatchet, and perceiving that she grasped
 ‘ with her other Hand a sucking Babe, she had at
 ‘ her Breast, he caused that Arm also to be cut
 ‘ off, and the Infant’s Head dashed against a
 ‘ Rock in her Presence.

‘ The said *Barrington* caused a Lieutenant and
 ‘ some Soldiers of his Majesty’s Army, taken Pri-
 ‘ soners upon Quarter, to be stripped naked, and
 ‘ their Brains knocked out with a Hatchet.

‘ (g) *Anno 50*, At *Shiell* (the County of *Cork*) there were forty Labourers, with Women and Children, put on the Edge of a great *Clift*, over the Sea, a Rope being drawn about them, with six Soldiers on each End, and so (b) thrown into the Sea and drowned. This was done by Major *Wallis*, and his Party, who about the same Time murdered in the West of *Carbery*, upwards of eight hundred Men, Women and Children.

‘ *Anno 51*, *Charles Mac Carty*, of *Killmydy*, being in a Party with Colonel *Phayre* at the Grate of his Castle; Colonel *Ingoldsby* rides up to the Grate, with a span’d Pistol, and shot him dead; at which Action, the said *Phayre* was much dissatisfied, being Commander in Chief of that Party.

Such (to use Mr. *Neal*’s Expression, p. 6.) were the Laurels which that Hero, Cromwell, gain’d; who (I will add) acted more Villanies in his time, than any Age or History can parallel. Nay, such were the Mercies of these fanatical Miscreants, Cromwell’s (i) Officers and Soldiers, (who on Mr. *Neal*’s

(g) *Id. ibid.* p. 368.

(b) Captain *Swanley*, an English Rebel, was so barbarous upon taking a Ship, in which the Marquis of *Ormonde* had sent Captain *Anthony Willoughby* with 150 Men, which had formerly served in the Fort of *Galloway*, from thence to *Bristol*. ‘ The Ship which carry’d them was taken by Captain *Swanley*, who was so inhuman as to throw seventy of the Soldiers overboard, under Pretence, That they were *Irish*, though they had faithfully served his Majesty against the Rebels, during all the Time of the War.’ *Carte’s Life of the D. of Ormonde.* Vol. I. p. 481.

(i) These Wretches, most of them, sprung from the Refuse of the People, and as the Writer of a *Traet* intitled, *Cromwell’s bloody Slaughter-House*, p. 32. observes, ‘ If there had been an Agreement made between the King and the two Houses, these *Buff-Grandeers*, and proud Officers, must have returned to their Needles, their Hammers, their Lasts, their Slings, their Carts, and their Flails.’

Nay such Blood-thirsty Wretches were these pretended Saints of the Army, that soon after the King’s Death, ‘ It was debated at the Council of War, (Walker’s Hist. of Independency, Part II. p. 130. from Mr. *Sedgwick*’s Justice upon the Army’s Remonstrance) ‘ to Massacre and put to the Sword, all the King’s Party: The Question put, was carried in the Negative but by two Voices.’ And elsewhere (*History of Independency*, Part III. p. 11.) he informs us, ‘ That their Endeavour was how to diminish the Number of their

Neal's Account, were under so severe a Discipline, that not an Oath was to be heard through the whole Camp, but the Soldiers spent their leisure Hours in (i) reading the Bible, and (k) singing of Psalms, and religious Conferences.) That notwithstanding all their hypocritical Sanctity Murder (with various other (l) Crimes) was discarded from their Catalogue of Sins. For they com-

‘ their Opposites, Royalists and Presbyterians, by a Massacre, for which Purpose, many Dark-Lanterns and Poniards were provided last Winter, 1649. But Fame prevented this Plot; which coming to be the common Rumour of the Town, put them in mind of the Danger, Infamy, and Hatred that would overwhelm them, so this was laid aside.

(i) Dr. South observes, (*Sermons*, Vol. V. p. 33.) ‘ That amongst the *Seraphical Illuminati*, and the highest *Puritan Perfectionists*, you should find People of fifty, threescore, or fourscore Years old, not able to give that Account of their Faith, which you might have had heretofore from a Boy of nine or ten.

(k) Dr. Richard Watson, (*Notes upon Bishop Cousins's Opinion for communicating rather with Geneva than Rome*, 1684. p. 48. *penes me.*) ‘ mentions some of the improper Uses they made of Psalms, as at their City Feasts (in the Place of more artificial Musick)—and as an hypocritical Property to gain the Reputation of Piety, in the strict Observance of Family Duties, as they call them, whereof some of their own Children have taken notice, as did the Boy, who being reproached by his Play-Fellow, That they sung no Psalms, on the Sabbath Days in the Evenings, as his Father and the rest did at their House, received this Answer, with too much Truth, as the young Gamester ingeniously meant it, “ That the Reason why at his Father's House, no Psalms were wont to be sung was, “ Because they had no Window towards the Street.

(l) So many Crimes were those hypocritical Cut-throats guilty of: That the Cavalier-Soldiers are not to be brought in comparison with them in any other way, than that of Peggy and the three Sisters in the Fable, (*L'Estrange's Fables*, Vol. II. Fab. 87. p. 86.) ‘ Peggy was such a Precedent for Sanctity, that her Mother would be twitting the other three every Day with their Sister Peggy.—Now this same Sister Peggy of theirs was a notable Revelation Girl, and never without Heaven and heavenly Things in the Mouth of her, though they never came near her Heart: A Friday-Face for every Day in the Week, a Short-band Book still at her Girdle, and, a Crums of Comfort at her Bed's-Head. The very Thoughts of a Play-house, or a Dancing-bout, would put her into Fits. She dreaded the Inside of a Popish Chapel more than all the Woes of the Gospel; and her Closet Devotions were heard further than a Proclamation. As for the other Sisters, they lived civilly and sociably all this while in the innocent Enjoyments of the lawful Comforts of Life; but without the least Colour of Scandal, or Offence to Conscience, Honour, or good Manners. But this did not hinder the Mother with hitting the Girls in the Teeth with these honest Liberties, *Yes, yes, she'd cry, you are like to be hopeful Birds, when will you renounce the World, I wonder, as your Sister Peggy has done?* Oh, never fear us, good Madam, cry'd the Wenches, but by that time we know as much of the World as Sister Peggy, we shall think every Jot as ill on't as she does. Now poor Peggy had had already two Bastards, &c.

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mitted such, as even the barbarous *Spaniards*, who murdered so many Innocent *Indians*, unprovoked, would have blush'd at ; and were not to be parallel'd in any other Age or Nation. Nor was any thing more common with the Rebels, than to decry the *Irish* as *Papists*, tho' their Attachment was never so great to the *Protestant* Religion. For a remarkable Instance, I refer the Reader to the (m) Margin. N. Ibid.

(m) Mr. Carte informs us (History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 471.) ' That Sir W. Brereton having Advice of the Fleet (which brought over the Forces from Ireland to the King's Assistance, 1643.) lying off the Coast, sent Warrants over the Country, requiring all Persons between sixteen and sixty, to take Arms, to oppose 4000 bloody *Irish* Rebels, that were come to invade them ; there could not be a fouler Aspersions upon a Body of Troops, who had underwent the extreme Hardships in the Prosecution of those Rebels, and had done signal Services against them, for they had been originally sent out of *England*. There was not an *Irishman* or Rebel among them, not a Man but had taken the Oath to defend the *Protestant* Religion, as settled in the Church of *England*, which was likewise taken by the other Forces that followed these from *Dublin*, as well as by those which Lord Inchiquin sent from *Munster* into the West. Brereton might possibly mistake as to the number of these Forces, but he would not mistake the Quality of them : The exaggerating of the First, might help to apologize for his hasty Retreat or Flight out of *Wales*, and the misrepresenting of the Latter, was useful to cast an *Odium* upon the King's Cause. For these Reasons he sent the like Account to the Parliament, who, by a wicked Policy, too common in their Proceedings in those Days, were not ashamed to publish it to the World, and thereby adopt it for their own.

Brereton had so little Sense of Shame in his own Conduct, that on the very Day that he signed the Warrants, asserting this palpable Falshood, and dispersed them over the Country, he wrote a Letter to Sir M. Ernle, and Colonel Gibson (then on Shipboard) " extolling to the Skies their brave Adventures in *Ireland* in Defence of the *Protestant* Religion, confessing the unworthy Reward the Parliament gave them for that Service, desiring them to excuse that Neglect, promising them if they would adhere to the Parliament, they should have all their Arrears paid them without fail, and intreating them earnestly to condescend to a Parley with them." Those Commanders sent him a very noble Answer, such as was fit to be given to Rebels, and told him, They would enter into no Parley with Persons that were in Rebellion against their King. Brereton was superior in number, — but seeing nothing was to be done by Parley, and not daring to attack such a Body of redoubtable Warriors, he quitted *North Wales* immediately, was, himself, the first Man that passed the Bridge of Holt, — (The Castle of which Place was never taken, having been gallantly defended by young Robinson of *Gwersyitt*) and for his greater Security, broke the Draw-bridge, and an Arch of the great one behind him, though the Enemy was at some Miles distance. Sir William Brereton (says Mr. Walker, History of Independency, Part. I. p. 170.) Col. Gen. for the *Cheshire* Forces, hath *Cashicbery*, and other Lands of the L. Capel's, worth 2000 *per Ann.* and the Archbishop's House and Lands at *Croyden*, were he hath turned the Chapel into a Kitchen. A goodly Reformation, and fits with his Stomach, as well as his Religion.

N. Ibid. *Cromwell having refreshed his Forces, marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrison'd with 2500 Foot, and 300 Horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a Month, but the General neglecting the common Forms of Approach, batter'd the Walls with his Cannons, and having made two accessible Breaches, like an impatient Conqueror, entred the Town in Person, at the Head of Colonel Ewer's Regiment of Foot, and put all the Garrison to the Sword.*

And this was one of those gallant Actions in which he signalized himself as a *Hero*: But if Mr. *Neal* will take into his Account his Barbarity here, and Breach of Faith, he must abate much of the Character of the *Christian Hero*. Lord *Clarendon* observes (n), ' That as soon as their Summons
' was rejected, they made a Breach with their
' Cannon, and stormed the Place; and though they
' were for some time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, yet in the End they entred, and pursued
' their Victory with so much Cruelty, that they
' put the whole Garrison to the Sword, not sparing those, upon second Thoughts, to whom, in
' the Heat of the Action, they promised and
' gave Quarter, so that excepting some few, who

(n) Lord *Clarendon's* History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 131. In Appendix, p. 349. ' After the taking of *Drogheda*, by *Cromwell*, the
' Slaughter of Men, Women, and Children, continued there for four or
' five Days together, in cold Blood, to the number of about four thousand
' *Ashton's* Men (says the Writer of *Cromwell's* Life, styled, *The perfect Politician*, p. 55.) ' Desperately disputed every Corner of the Streets, in making
' the Assailants win what they had by Inches; and at last the Streets
' being too hot, they betook themselves to the Churches and Steeples, and
' other Places of Shelter: In *St. Peter's* Church Steeple were got about one
' hundred, who were resolved to sell their Lives at as dear a Rate as they
' possibly could: But they were all soon blown up with Gunpowder, only one
' Man escaped by leaping from the Tower, the Wind being favourable to him,
' only broke his Leg by the Fall, which the Soldiers seeing, took him up,
' and gave him Quarter. In other Places they were summoned to yield, which
' they refusing, presently strong Guards were put upon them, to prevent their
' Succour, that they might be starved out; which Device was so effectual
' that it made them soon yield to the Conqueror's Mercy, which was but
' small, for all the Officers with the tenth Man of the Soldiers were presently
' killed, and the rest thrust on Shipboard for *Barbadoes*.

• during

during the time of the Assault, escaped at the other Side of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels, as their own Men, disguised themselves as they were not discovered, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or religious Person belonging to that Garrison left alive.

(o) The Marquis of Ormond, in his Letters to the King, and Lord Byron, says, " That on this Occasion, Crommell even exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of in *the Breach of Faith and bloody Inhumanity*; and that the Cruelties exercised there for five Days after the Town was taken, would make as many several *Pictures of Inhumanity*, as are to be found in the *Book of Martyrs*, or in the Relation of *Amboyna*.

Hugh Peters, That infamous Buffoon, and bloody Regicide, gives the following Account of it.

(p) Sir, The Truth is, *Drogheda* is taken, 3552. of the Enemy slain, and Sixty-four of ours. Colonel *Castles*, and Colonel *Symonds* of Note. *Ashton* the Governor killed, none spared, we have also took *Trym*, and *Dundalk*, and are marching to *Kilkenny*. *I come now from giving Thanks in the great Church, we have all our Army well landed.*

I am yours,

Dublin, Sept.
15.

(q) Hugh Peters.

Mr. Carte observes, ' That (r) this was certainly an execreable Policy in that Regicide (Crom-
' well

(o) Mr. Carte's History of James, First Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 84.

(p) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 428.

(q) Peters led a Brigade against the Rebels in Ireland. Whitelock, p. 426.

(r) Carte, Ibid. p. 84. where he says, ' The Garrison consisted of 2000 Foot and 300 Horse, with Sir Arthur Ashton, as experienced and gallant a Governor as could be wished.' The Author of the Fourth Part of the History

well); But it had the Effect proposed : It spread abroad the Terror of his Name : It cut off the best Body of the *Irish* Troops, and disheartened the rest to such a Degree, that it was a greater Loss in itself, and much more fatal in its Consequences, than the Rout at *Rathmines*.

N. Ibid. *From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by Storm, and after the Example of Drogheda, put the Garrison to the Sword.*

(s) He marched (says Lord Clarendon) before *Wexford*, the inhabitants whereof appear'd willing to make Defence, albeit they had too long neglected the means thereof, and were at last (when Part of the Rebels Army were lodged within half a Musket-shot of their Walls) consented to receive an Assistance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which upon the first Intimation his Excellency hastened to them of the choicest he had left, all *Catholicks*, (for that was still insisted upon) under the Command of his Cousin Sir *Edmond Butler*, a Man considerably worthy of a greater Charge, who with some Difficulty passed the River into that Part of the Town, when Captain *Strafford*, (who was Governor of the Castle, and whom the Lord Lieutenant would have removed from that Charge, as not being equal to it, but placed there because he was a *Catholick*, and had exercised that Charge during the time that the Confederates were in Arms against the King) gave up the Place to Cromwell, and took Conditions under him, and thereby gave entrance to him into the Town, where *all the Soldiers were*

History of Independency, observes, p. 13. ' That at the taking of *Tredagh*, Cromwell's Rage spared neither Age nor Sex, a Barbarism scarcely used by the *Turks*.' And Mr. *G. Bate*, in his *Life of Isaac Lower* (*Lives of the Regicides*, p. 136.) ' That *Erwer* was at that unheard of bloody Quarter, which was given to 4500 accomplish'd Men at *Tredagh*, where none in Arms escaped their Murder, although many of them laid down their Arms upon Promise of their Lives, which notwithstanding they murdered.

(s) *History of the Rebellion, &c. in Ireland*, p. 133. See a Fuller Account *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. II. p. 92, 93. See *Perfect Politician*, p. 57.

‘ cruelly put to the Sword, and Sir *Edmond Butler*
 ‘ himself, endeavouring (when he discovered the
 ‘ Treachery) to escape was killed before he was
 ‘ two Hours in the Town.

N. Ibid. *The Conquest of these Places struck such
 a Terror in the rest, that they surrendered upon the
 first Summons.*

This is true as to some Places, but not all.
 For *Kilkenny* defended itself some Days with great
 Bravery, with a handful of Men, and had honour-
 able Terms upon the Surrender, ‘ Sir *Walter Butler*,
 ‘ the Governor (*Carte* Vol. II. p. 114.) and the Of-
 ‘ ficers, when they marched out, were complimented
 ‘ by *Cromwell*, who said, “ That they were gal-
 “ lant Fellows, that he had lost more Men in the
 “ storming that Place, than he had in the taking
 “ of *Drogheda*, and that he should have gone
 “ away without it, had it not been for the Trea-
 “ chery of the Townsmen.”

N. Ibid. *Lord Inchiquin deserted the Remains of
 the Royal Army, and Ormonde fled into France.*

‘ (1) Dean *Boyle* (says Mr. *Carte*) had several
 ‘ hints given him by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, where-
 ‘ by he plainly understood, that if he would
 ‘ move any thing from the Marquis of *Ormonde*,
 ‘ or Lord *Inchiquin*, they would willingly hearken
 ‘ to it. He waved them all, so that at last they
 ‘ asked him plainly, What their Lordships in-
 ‘ tended to do, when the *English* were come away.
 ‘ The Dean said, He was not acquainted with
 ‘ their Resolutions, but believed, they would en-
 ‘ deavour to form an Army of the *Irish*, unless
 ‘ their Behaviour was such as to destroy all Con-
 ‘ fidence, and enforce them to desert the King-
 ‘ dom; for in case of Disobedience, nothing
 ‘ would detain those Noblemen but the want of
 ‘ convenient Transportation. *Cromwell* reply’d,
 ‘ They might (if he desired it) have a Pass for

(P) *Carte. Ibid. p. 220.*

that Purpose. The Dean answered, He had no
 Commission on that Subject; but on the con-
 trary, had positive Order not to ask any thing
 either on the Lord Lieutenant's, or Lord *In-*
chiquin's behalf: But if they would deliver him
 any such Passes for them, he would reserve them
 by him, and make use of them as Opportunity
 offered. The Passes were accordingly given
 him, *Cromwell* expressing a great Regard not
 only for them, but for the Marquis of *Clanric-*
karde, Sir *G. Hamilton*, and several others, par-
 ticularly for the Marchioness of *Ormonde*, whose
 condition he pretended much to pity, and said
 openly, That the Estate which she brought her
 Lord, should not be given from her to any
 Body. The Marquis of *Ormonde* was much dis-
 quieted at the Dean's Breach of Instruction,
 and Weakness in receiving a *Pass*, entirely use-
 less, as to the Marquis, but capable of being
 turned to his Dishonour, and the Advantage of
 the Rebels, by an unworthy Use, to which it
 might well be supposed it would be applied by
 their Craft and Villainy. It was immediately
 made use of to debauch the *Irish* Garrisons to
 take Conditions, assuring them, that the 'Lord
 Lieutenant had received his Pass to depart the
 Kingdom in two Months. Thus a Copy of it
 was sent to General *Preston*, to induce him to
 surrender *Waterford*. This was sent by *Preston*
 to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, who, having before
 ordered Dean *Boyle* to return the *Pass* to *Crom-*
well, did thereupon order it to be sent to him-
 self, and returned it by a Trumpet to that Re-
 gicide, with a Letter, expressing " His won-
 der, why he either gave, or the Dean accepted
 it; adding, though I am yet to seek a Rea-
 son for the Dean's Part of that Transaction,
 yet yours appears to me in *Axtel's* Letter to
Preston. I have by this Trumpet returned your
 " Paper,

“ Paper, and, for your unsought Courtesy, do
 “ assure you, that when you shall desire a
 “ Pais from me, and I think fit to grant it, I shall
 “ not make use of it to corrupt any, that com-
 “ mands under you.”

An Answer worthy so brave a Loyalist to
 such a traiterous and deceitful Rebel; whose fel-
 low Traytors 'tis plain had a Design upon the
 Marquis's Life; (u) for one *Rockford*, by whom
 a Correspondence with *Jones* was 'carry'd on, says
 ' in his Letter to him of *June 4*, (1649.) from
 ' *Catherlogh*, “ That the Soldiers of the Army
 “ were so seem'd to *Ormonde*, far beyond
 “ their Expectation, that nothing but a sudden
 “ Attempt could prevail against him.” What
 ' this sudden Attempt was (says *Mr. Carte*) may
 ' be explained by a Letter which *Sir E. Nicolas*
 ' wrote about this Time to the Marquis of *Or-*
 ' *monde*, conjuring him to take care of his Per-
 ' son, on the Safety of which depended all the
 ' King's Affairs under his Management, and ad-

(u) *Carte's Life of James, First Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. II. p. 72.
 This was not the only Attempt made upon the Life of this brave and loyal
 Subject: That Attempt made by *Blood* (a daring Rebel, who likewise stole
 the Crown) is mentioned by many of our Historians (*Bishop Kennet's Com-*
plete History, Vol. III. p. 305. *Ecchard*, Vol. III. p. 282, 285. *Carte's*
Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 420, &c.) And as there
 was great Reason to suspect that the Duke of *Buckingham*, a con-
 firm'd Enemy to the Duke of *Ormonde*, was concern'd in this Plot
 against the Duke's Life, *Mr. Carte* informs us (*ibid.* p. 425.) from *Bishop*
Turner, the Chaplain then in waiting, ‘ That the Earl of *Ossey* coming in
 ‘ one Day, not long after the Affair, and seeing the Duke of *Buckingham*
 ‘ standing by the King, his Colour rose, and he spoke to this Effect,
 “ My Lord, I know well, that you are at the Bottom of this late Attempt
 “ of *Blood's* upon my Father, and therefore I give you fair Warning, if my
 “ Father comes to a violent End by Sword, if he dies by the Hand of a
 “ Russian, or by the more secret way of Poison, I shall not be at a loss
 “ to know the first Author of it; I shall consider you as the *Assassin*, I
 “ shall treat you as such; and where-ever I meet you, I shall pistol you,
 “ though you stood behind the King's Chair, and I tell it you in his Ma-
 “ jesty's Presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my Word.” I
 ‘ know not whether this will be deemed any Breach of *Decorum* to the
 ‘ King, in whose Presence it was said, but it was an Act of Spirit and Resent-
 ‘ ment worthy of a Son, when his Father's Life was at Stake, and when the
 ‘ *Assassin*, who fail'd in the Attempt, was so much courted, caressed, and
 ‘ in high Favour at Court immediately afterwards, it was perhaps neces-
 ‘ sary to prevent a further Blow.’

' vertising him, that he was informed by several
 ' Hands out of *England*, and elsewhere, " That
 " the *English* Rebels looking upon him as the
 " great Obstacle to their Conquest of *Ireland*,
 " had hired at least six or eight desperate Villains
 " of their own Faith, for a considerable Reward,
 " to assassinate him." It is not improbable, but
 ' something of this kind might be hinted in what
 ' *Rockford* says in the Letter, with regard to
 ' the Caution given him by *Jones*, in relation to
 ' Persons to whom the Design should be com-
 ' municated. " None (says he) hath been made
 " privy to our Proceedings, but General *Preston*,
 " his Son, Colonel *Warren*, and a few other
 " leading Men, so far embarked in the Work,
 " as a Syllable hath not dropped from any
 " of them. This I gather by *Ormonde's* being
 " friendly invited hither to Dinner on *Thursday*
 " last, though he would not (as we suppose
 " by Reason of the Caution thence given him)
 " commit his Person to us, without his own
 " Guards of Horse and Foot; by which Adver-
 " tisement we miss of our (x) last Oppor-
 " tunity.

He tells us, That after the *Roman Catholics* had
 insisted upon the Duke of *Ormonde's* leaving
Ireland, ib. p. 6. That they offered the Kingdom
 to the Duke of *Lorain*, a bigotted Papist, who was
 wise enough to refuse it.

But for this he produces no Authority. (y) Pro-
 posals indeed were made by the Bishops and Gen-

(x) *Owen Roe O Neile* was killed by a pair of poisoned Boots sent him
 by a Gentleman of the Name of *Plunket* in the County of *Leuth*, who
 afterwards boasted, ' That he had done the *English* an eminent Piece
 ' of Service, by dispatching *O Neile* out of the World.' See *Carte's Life*
 of the D. of *Ormonde*, Vol. II. p. 83.

(y) *Carte's Life of James*, the First Duke of *Ormonde*, Vol. II. p.
 149. *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 575. mentions ' An Agreement for the
 ' Duke of *Lorain* to exchange his Country for *Ireland*; that the Prince of
 ' *Conde* was to be King of *Scotland*, and King *Charles* to be King of *England*
 ' only.

tlemen of the *Popish Persuasion*, (which were not
 agreed to by the Earl of *Clanrickarde*, (the Lord
 Deputy, in the Absence of the Marquis of *Or-*
monde) ‘ who thought there was no way to pre-
 ‘ serve the Nation but by agreeing to the
 ‘ *Enemy’s* Demands, which were, that the Duke
 ‘ of *Lorain*, his Heirs and Successors, should
 ‘ (with a saving to his Majesty’s Rights and the
 ‘ Liberties, Estates, and Property of the Subjects)
 ‘ be accepted as Protectors of the Kingdom,
 ‘ should, whilst there resident, be subordinated to no
 ‘ Superior, and should have the whole Government
 ‘ of the Militia in his Hands; and in Case of
 ‘ Abuses, have Power to call a general Assembly,
 ‘ till he was repaid all his Disbursements. The
 ‘ Marquis of *Clanrickarde* (then Lord Deputy)
 ‘ required the Persons who gave this Advice, to
 ‘ sign it, before he gave any Answer to it; and
 ‘ to get likewise the *Envoy* to declare under
 ‘ his Hand, either that he would not agree on less
 ‘ Terms, or if he would admit of any Qualifications
 ‘ to specify what they were. The Bishops and
 ‘ Gentry did not care to sign their Advice, but
 ‘ the Envoy giving in his lowest Demands,
 ‘ insisted on his Master’s having the Protection
 ‘ and Military Power of the Kingdom; and if
 ‘ he did not come thither in Person, to have the
 ‘ Appointment of what *Roman Catholics* he
 ‘ thought fit to command the Forces of the King-
 ‘ dom, and to assist in his Name in the Council
 ‘ of State with the same Power as other Coun-
 ‘ sellors authorised by his Majesty: To have the
 ‘ Estates of Rebels and Delinquents applied to his
 ‘ own Repayment, or the Maintenance of the War,
 ‘ and to establish Garrisons in all Places where he
 ‘ should deem it necessary; and in Consideration
 ‘ hereof he offered to advance 20000 *l.* (including
 ‘ 6000 *l.* already received by *F. G. Dillon*) for a
 ‘ present Supply. The Bishops and Commis-
 ‘ sioners

' sioners recommended an Agreement upon these
 ' Terms; but the *Lord Deputy* absolutely rejected
 ' them, would not so much as admit the *Envoy* to
 ' take Leave of him, after offering such an Affront
 ' to the King's Honour and Interests, by his Pro-
 ' posals, of which he should give an Account to
 ' both their Masters. A Message to this Effect
 ' was sent to the *Abbè de S^{re} Catherine* in Writing,
 ' and joined with the Instance of the Prelates,
 ' had such an Effect, that he agreed to advance
 ' the 20000*l.* upon the Security of *Limerick* and
 ' *Galloway*, and to refer the other Articles about the
 ' Protectorship and Military Power of the King-
 ' dom, and farther Supplies, to be settled in Treaty
 ' at *Bruxelles*. An Agreement was accordingly
 ' concluded on *April 4.* (1651.) to this Effect,
 ' between the Lord Deputy and the Envoy: In
 ' Consequence of which the former sent over
 ' Sir *N. Plunket* and Mr. *G. Brown* to treat (in
 ' Conjunction with Lord *Taafe*, with the Duke of
 ' *Lorain* in *Flanders*, enjoining them not to pro-
 ' ceed in the Treaty (except with regard to pro-
 ' cure more Supplies upon caution) otherwise or
 ' farther than they should be directed in writing
 ' by the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the
 ' Lord Lieutenant.' But notwithstanding all this
 ' Precaution, Mr. *Carte* informs us, (z) That Sir
 ' *N. Plunket* and Mr. *Brown* concluded and signed
 ' a Treaty upon *July 22.* the same in Substance,
 ' with that which the Marquis of *Clanrickarde* had
 ' before rejected, calculated to put the Kingdom
 ' into the Duke's Hands, under the Title of
 ' Royal Protector, &c. which occasioned its
 ' coming to nothing. See farther (a) Account.

(z) *Carte*, *ibid.* p. 151.

(a) *Carte*, *ibid.* p. 144. to p. 152. inclusive. Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 363, &c. Appendix, No. 7. Mr. *Whitelock* (Memorials, p. 584.) takes Notice of the Reason of a Match between the King of Scots and the Duke of *Lorain's* Daughter, and that the King was to have four Millions, and the Duke's Assistance for his Restoration.

N. p. 10. *When the Scots were beat they (some of the Presbyterian Ministers) refused to observe the Day of Thanksgiving, but shut up their Churches and went out of Town. For which they were summoned before the Committee; and reprimanded: But the Times being dangerous, no other Notice was taken of them at present.*

A Complaint of this kind I meet with in an Original Letter from Thomas Lord Grey, for which I refer the Reader to the (a) Appendix.

N. p. 14. *The Parliament did all they could to satisfy the Malecontent Presbyterians, by securing them in their Livings, and by ordering the Dean and Chapter Lands to be sold, and their Names to be extinct, except the Dean of Christ-Church, the Foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton-Schools.*

The Money raised by the Sale of Dean and Chapter Lands amounted to a very considerable Sum (tho' they were sold at less than half the Worth) as appears from an original Account transcribed into the (aa) Appendix.

N. p. 15. *The Parliament passed an Ordinance for the Encouragement of Religion and Learning (March 8. 1649.) in Ireland, invested all the Lands of the late Archbishop of Dublin, &c. in the Hands of Trustees for the Maintenance and support of Trinity-College in Dublin: and for the creating, settling, and maintaining another College in the said City; and of a Master, Fellows, Scholars and publick Professors, &c. —*

(a) Appendix, No. 8. October, 1650. 'Letters of Refractoriness of Ministers in several Places, and their refusing to observe the Day of Thanksgiving for the Victory of Scotland. Whitelock's Memorials p. 475. 'That the Minister and Mayor of Northampton refused to observe the Thanksgiving Day, saying, It was a Sin to do it. Whitelock, ibid. 'Several Ministers of London, appeared before a Committee, for not observing the Thanksgiving Day for the Victory against the Scots, Whitelock's Memor. p. 472. 'The Ministers about Taunton would not observe the Day of Thanksgiving for the Victory in Scotland, but prayed indirectly to the Contrary. Whitelock, ibid.

(aa) Appendix, No 9.

The University of Dublin being thus revived and put upon a new Foot; the Parliament sent over six of their most acceptable Preachers to give it Reputation, appointing them two hundred Pounds per Annum out of Bishops-Lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the Publick Revenue,—By these Methods, Learning began to revive, and in a few Years Religion appeared with a better Face than ever it had done in that Kingdom before.

The State of the College of Dublin at the Restoration was very bad. Mr. Carte informs us, (b) ' That the Marquis of Ormonde pitched upon ' Dr. Jeremy Taylor (appointed Bishop of Downe) ' to reform the Disorders of the College of Dublin, ' and to qualify him for that Matter made him ' Vicechancellor of the University. When he ' came over into Ireland, he found the Disorders ' much greater than he imagined, though they ' were but the natural Consequence of a long War, ' unsettled Times, and an evil incompetent Government set over them. There was indeed an ' Heap of Men and Boys, but no Body of a ' College; no one Member, either Fellow, or ' Scholar having any legal Title to his Place, ' but thrust in by Tyranny and Chance. By the ' Statutes of the College, no Election could be ' made but by the Provost and four Senior Fellows at the least; and as there was not one ' remaining of the whole Foundation, it was necessary to have Recourse to the Chancellor's, and ' even the Royal Authority to re-instate the Col-

(b) Life of James, the First Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 208. Mr. Carte tells us, (*ibid.* p. 200.) ' That Henry Cromwell had acted in the Post of ' Chancellor of that University, during the Usurpation, with so little Regard to the good of the Society, that it was in a manner ruined; there having been neither Provost, nor Fellows according to the Statutes placed therein, and the Intruders, for the most Part, insufficient, disloyal, and eminently active in spreading Faction, Schism, and Rebellion. The pretended Provost had lately, upon a Complaint of his Tyrannical and Arbitrary Proceedings, and for Contempt of their Authority, been suspended by the Convention of Ireland, and the College was in great Confusion for want of Discipline and Government.

' lege. The Bishop proposed that Himself, with
 ' the Provost, and the Archbishop of *Dublin*,
 ' who was Visitor of the College, should be
 ' empowered to make an Election of the seven
 ' Senior Fellows, whereby it would be put in
 ' its former State, and be enabled to proceed
 ' according to the Statutes in making other
 ' Elections. The Marquis followed this Plan in
 ' part, and directed the Vicechancellor and Pro-
 ' vost to recommend five Persons to him, who
 ' might by the Royal Authority be made Senior
 ' Fellows of the College. They named *John*
 ' *Stearne*, M. D. *Joshua Cowley*, *Richard Lingard*,
 ' *William Vincent*, and *Patrick Sheridan*, A. M.
 ' All of them capable of Election by Statute
 ' without Dispensation; one only excepted, this
 ' was Dr. *Stearne*, a Person of great Worth, but
 ' a married Man, living out of the College,
 ' though in a House belonging to it, and in the
 ' Neighbourhood thereof. But his great Learn-
 ' ing and Skill in College Affairs made him ab-
 ' solutely necessary in this Juncture, so that the
 ' Provost earnestly desired he might be admitted
 ' (at least till the Affairs of the Society were
 ' quite settled) to this Capacity of serving the
 ' College and doing Honour to it, in the great
 ' Want of able Men. The Chancellor's Power
 ' was sufficient to confer upon them academical
 ' Honours and Advantages; but the King's only
 ' could enable them to make Leases, and to im-
 ' prove their Rents, which at that time were
 ' very low, and insufficient to maintain them.
 ' They were confirmed by the King, and thus
 ' was a perfect College formed: Yet still they
 ' were but an imperfect University. They had
 ' no publick Statutes relating to an University, no
 ' established Forms of collating Degrees, no pub-
 ' lick Lectures or Schools; no *Regius Professor* of
 Divi-

' Divinity, and scarce any Ensigns academical.
 ' The Bishop of *Downe*, at the Marquis of Or-
 ' *monde's* Desire, set himself to collect and frame
 ' such a Body of Statutes for an University as
 ' were necessary, honourable and useful to the
 ' Society, and fit for the Chancellor's Approba-
 ' tion; a Work for which he was admirably quali-
 ' fied, nor could there have been found an-
 ' other Person whose Talents so well fitted him
 ' to finish what the great Archbishop *Laud*
 ' had left imperfect, having digested and esta-
 ' blished a Body of Statutes for the College.
 ' These were not the only Advantages that
 ' learned Society owed to the Marquis of Or-
 ' *monde*; He was a vigilant Overseer of their
 ' Discipline, and Conduct, a powerful Encoura-
 ' ger of their Studies, a generous Patron to such
 ' as were educated in that College, the Interests
 ' whereof he took more Care of than he did of his
 ' own; and it was chiefly by his Interposition
 ' in their Behalf, that they recovered their Lands
 ' in *Kerry*, and other Parts of the Kingdom,
 ' of which they had been dispossessed, and much
 ' improved their Revenues by new Grants from
 ' the Crown, obtained whilst he was at the
 ' Head of Affairs in *Ireland*.

N. p. 18. *The whole Nation was civilized and
 considerably improved in sound Knowledge, though
 Bishop Kennet and Mr. Echard are pleased to say,
 That Heresies and Blasphemies against Heaven were
 swelled up to a most prodigious Height.*

And questionless so they were, notwithstanding
 Mr. *Baxter's* Assertion to the contrary: Religion then
 was mere Farce and Grimace, as appear'd by the
 villainous Actions of the greatest Pretenders
 to it; and 'tis an Observation made by a learn-
 ed Person, who lived in the Times, and com-
 plied but too much with them, in an Affize

Sermon

Sermon at *Reading*: (c) ' That in the little Town
 ' of *Reading*, he was verily persuaded, if *Au-*
 ' *gustin's* and *Epiphanius's* Catalogues of Heresies
 ' were lost, and all other modern and ancient Re-
 ' cords of that Kind, yet it would be no hard
 ' matter to restore them with considerable Enlarge-
 ' ments from that Place: That they have *Anabap-*
 ' *tism*, *Familism*, *Socinianism*, *Pelagianism*, *Ranting*,
 ' (and what not); and that the Devil was served
 ' in heterodox Assemblies, as frequently as God
 ' in theirs: and that one of the most eminent
 ' Church Livings in that County was possessed by
 ' a *Blasphemer*, and one in whose House he believed
 ' some there could testify, *That the Devil was as*
 ' *visibly familiar as any one of the Family.*

Marchamont Needham (a political Writer for
 the State, during *Oliver's*, and *Richard's* Usurpa-
 tions); says, (d) ' That he received a memorable
 ' or sure Intelligence concerning the Examination
 ' of one *William Harris*, taken before two
 ' Justices of the Peace of the County of *Hun-*
 ' *tingdon*, upon the 28th of *July* 1648. Where
 ' he avows himself to be God, and that there is no
 ' God besides himself, with many such Blasphemies;
 ' with him there is likewise, in Prison, a good
 ' Sister of his, one *Lockington's* Wife, of *God-*
 ' *manchester*, committed for the like damnable Ex-
 ' pressions.

(c) *Simon Forde's* Sermon at the Assizes at *Reading*, Feb. 28. 1653. p.
 21, 22. *penes me.* This Mr. Forde was Student of *Christ-Church*, but was
 cast out of it for preaching, in *St. Mary's*, against the Independent Oath,
 called the *Engagement*. See a good Character of him, *Wood's Athenæ*,
 p. III5.

(d) *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, Numb. 22. *August* the 29th, 1648. *penes me.*
Bishop Kennet informs us, from *Birkbly's* *Christian Moderator*, 1652. p.
 51. (*Compleat Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 261.) ' That the increasing Madness of
 ' *Seſtaries* and *Enthusiaſts* was incredible; at the Quarter Sessions at *West-*
 ' *minster*, on 24. *June* 1651. There were five *Ranters* convicted before
 ' Col. *Baxter* and other Justices upon sufficient Proof, That they had
 ' maintained, that one *Robert a Glazier* was a Prophet, and that his Wife
 ' was with Child of the *Messias*, &c.

' The following is a Copy of the Man's Ex-
 ' amination *verbatim*, being demanded, why he
 ' did commit *Adultery* on the Lord's-Day, with
 ' *Lockington's Wife of Godmanchester*, he confesseth,
 ' That she did come to his Bedside, and kifs him,
 ' and did lie down upon the Bed by him, and
 ' that he did kifs her ; and that she staid above
 ' an Hour with him. He farther saith, *That she*
 ' *came to him by the Will of God, and could not*
 ' *keep away, and that when God extends himself to*
 ' *any Man, he must do whatsoever he would have*
 ' *him, though it be to the committing Adultery (as*
 ' *some call it) or killing of a Man.*—He far-
 ' ther saith, That which we call *Adultery* or any
 ' other Sin, is no Sin ; and that it is a Suggestion
 ' of the Devil, he saith, is the Mistake of those
 ' that are not called, *there being no Devil*: But God
 ' being in him, and he in God, all his Actions
 ' (how weak soever seeming to us) are no Sin
 ' but his Commands.' Unto which Examina-
 ' tion he set his Hand, and both he and his
 ' *Adultress* lie now in *Huntingdon Goal*.

Very just is the Observation of a learned, and
 ingenious Writer, upon those Times. (e) ' That
 ' the Church was on a sudden shamefully de-
 ' faced and demolished ; overspread with Errors
 ' and Heresies and Blasphemies ; defiled with most
 ' horrid Abominations, rent in Pieces with num-
 ' berless Divisions, and swallowed up with Disorder,
 ' Contention, and Confusion.—To see the House
 ' of God profaned ; his Instructions neglected
 ' and contemned, his Ministers out-raged and op-
 ' pressed ; their Rights and Revenues sacrilegi-
 ' ously invaded ; the People deprived of the Be-
 ' nefits and Comforts of their Ministrations,
 ' and left exposed to the poisonous Infusions
 ' of *Blasphemers, Enthusiasts, and illiterate Me-*

(e) Miserable and distracted State of Religion in *England*, upon the Down-
 fall of the Church Establishment, *London*, 1736. Pref. p. 6.

chanicks. Such a Spectacle as this could not but very deeply affect all those who had any real Concern for the Honour of God, and the Salvation of Men's Souls, which were hereby so greatly violated and endangered.

(f) 'An eminent Author of those Times, (Dr. Featly, *Dipper dipped.*) thus complains of the scandalous Usurpation of the *Priestly Office*. "The Apostle comparing the Dignity of it, "with the Indignity and Insufficiency of most "Men's Gifts for it, crys out, *Who is sufficient for these Things?* But if we consider Men's Opi-

(f) *Id. ib.* p. 33. Mr. Walker (History of Independency, Part 2. p. 152.) observes, 'That about the Beginning of *Lent*, 1649. Mr. Fauet, Minister of *Walton upon Thames*, in *Surrey*, preached in his Parish Church after Dinner, when he came down, 'twas *Twilight*, and into his Church came six Soldiers; one with a *Lanthorn* and a *Candle* burning in it, in the other Hand he had four *Candles* not lighted; he with the *Lanthorn* called to the Parishioners to stay a little, for he had a Message to them from God, and offered to go up into the *Pulpit*, but the Parishioners would not let him; then he would have delivered his Message in the Church, there they would not hear him; so he went forth into the Church-Yard, the People following him, where he related to them, *That he had a Vision, and received a Command from God to deliver his Will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of Damnation. It consisted of five Lights.*

1. 'That the *Sabbath* was abolished as unnecessary, Jewish, and meerly Ceremonial; and here (quoth he) I should put out my first Light but the Wind is so high I cannot light it.

2. 'Tythes are abolished as Jewish and Ceremonial, a great Burden to the Saints of God, and a Discouragement of Industry and Tillage: and here I should put out my second Light, &c. *afore said.* Which was the Burden of his Song.

3. 'Ministers are abolished as Antichristian, and of no longer use, now Christ himself descends into the Hearts of his Saints; and his Spirit enlighteneth him with Revelations and Inspirations; and here I should put out my third Light, &c.

4. 'Magistrates are abolished as useless, now that Christ himself is in the Purity of the Spirit come amongst us, and hath erected the Kingdom of the Saints upon Earth; Besides they are Tyrants and Oppressors of the Liberty of the Saints; and tie them to Laws and Ordinances, meer human Inventions: And here I should have put out, &c.

5. 'Then putting his Hand into his Pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he shewed it open to the People, saying, Here is a Book you have in great Veneration, consisting of two Parts, the Old and the New Testament; I must tell you it is abolished: It containeth beggarly Rudiments, Milk for Babes; but now Christ is in Glory amongst us, and imparts a fuller Measure of his Spirit to his Saints than this can afford; and therefore I am commanded to burn it before your Faces: So taking his Candle out of his Lanthorn, he set fire to the Leaves. And then putting out the Candle, and here my fifth Light is extinguished.

“ nions

" nion of their own Gifts, and their Practice at
 " this Day, we may say, *Who is not sufficient*
 " *for these Things?* Not the *meanest Artizan*, nor
 " the most *illiterate Day Labourer*, but holds
 " himself sufficient to be a *Master-Builders* of
 " the Church of *Christ*.— I wonder that our Doors
 " and Walls sweat not, upon which such Notes
 " as these have late been affixed,— On such a Day
 " such a *Brewer's-Clerk* exerciseth, such a *Taylor*
 " expoundeth, such a *Waterman* teacheth.— In
 " short there were not only Swarms of me-
 " chanick Preachers, but of *Women* and *Boy*
 " *Preachers*." And so fond were the common
 " Soldiers of shewing their Gifts this Way, that
 " they not only prayed and preached among
 " themselves, but did the same in all Churches
 " to the People, nay they scrupled not to de-
 " clare, *That if they might not preach, they would*
 " *not fight*.

Nay such was the Religion of those Times,
 that there was almost a total Disuse of the *Sacra-*
ment of the Lord's-Supper: The Neglect of which
 might, in some Measure, be guessed at, from the
 Practice of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*; (g) Where
 " it was not so much as once administred during
 " the whole Time of the *Usurpation*. The same
 " Person who administred it before his Expul-

(g) *Miserable and distracted State of Religion, &c.* p. 35. from *Reforma-*
tion Reformed, p. 32. Sir *William Dugdale* (*Short View of the late*
Troubles, p. 569.) informs us That one *Isaac Massy*, a *Lecturer of*
Uppingham, in *Rutland*, " when he was to administer the Communion at
 " *Easter*, 1644. and had consecrated the Wine after his Fashion, smote
 " himself on the Breast, and said to the People, *As I am a faithful Sinner,*
 " *Neighbours, this is a Morning's Draught*, and turning himself round to
 " them, said, *Here's to you all*, and so drank up the whole Cup full.
 " Which Celebration of the Communion in this Manner, puts me in
 " mind of Mr. *Redman*, about that time Minister of *Castle Donnington*,
 " in *Leicestershire*; who to thwart the Order therein prescribed by the Laws,
 " administred it to his Parishioners in the *Afternoon*; and instead of *Wine*,
 " made use of *Ale*. And Mr. *Cole*, one of these *Bouteefeus*, to encourage
 " his Auditors to bring in liberally upon the *Propositions* for *Money*, *Horse*,
 " and *Plate*, upon his Administration of the Sacrament, (*Dugdale's Short*
 " *View*, p. 566.) began thus, *All you that have contributed to the Parlia-*
 " *ment come and take this Sacrament to your Comfort*.

• sion by the Visitors, at his Return after twelve
 • Years, administering the next Sacrament in that
 • great Cathedral.

N. Ibid. *I know (says Mr. Baxter) you may meet with Men who will confidently affirm, that in these Times, all Religion was troden under foot, and that Heresie and Schism were the only Piety; but I give warning to all Ages, that they take heed how they believe any, whilst they are speaking for the Interest of their Factions or Opinions, against their real or supposed Adversaries.*

And yet so inconsistent is Mr. Baxter with himself, as to affirm, elsewhere, what amounts to the same thing. (b) ‘What shall I tell you (says he) of all those hideous Pamphlets against Ordinances, and for the Mortality of the Soul, and that the Soul is God himself, and against the Truth of the Scripture, as downright Familism, and Libertinism, and Paganism. I cannot but think how Men cried out against Mr. Edwards’s *Gangræna* at first, as if he had spoken nothing but Lies, and now they have justified it with a fearful Overplus.’ And yet Mr. Edwards took the Liberty of expressing himself in the following Manner.

(i) ‘Our Evils (says he) are not removed or cured, but only changed; one Disease and Devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in its room. Yea this last Extreme is far more high, violent and dangerous in

(b) Baxter’s *Plain Proof of Infants Church Membership*, p. 147.

(i) *Gangræna*, Ep. Dedicat. ‘We are fallen to Madness (says Mr. Edwards, *Gangræna*, Book I. Part 3. p. 75.) and Folly, that I am persuaded, that if the Devil came visibly among many, and held out *Independency* and Liberty of Conscience, and should preach never such false Doctrines, as that there were no Devils, no Hell, no Sin at all, but these were only Mens Imaginations, with several other Doctrines, he would be cried up, followed, and admired. And again (p. 80.) We are insensible and not affected, under all the spiritual Plagues of Heresy, Schism, Blasphemy, intolerable Anarchy; the 40th Part of these Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, which are now in the midst of us would, seven Years ago, have made our Hearts ache, and our Hair stand an End, filled our Faces with Paleness and Blackness, whereas now we make light of them.

‘ many Respects.— Have we not worse things
 ‘ come upon us than ever we had before?
 ‘ Were any of these Monsters heard of heretofore
 ‘ which are now common amongst us? As deny-
 ‘ ing the Scriptures, pleading for a Toleration of
 ‘ all Religions and Worship, yea of blaspheming,
 ‘ and denying there is a God.— You have put
 ‘ down *the Book of Common-Prayer*, and there
 ‘ are many amongst us, who have *put down*
 ‘ the Scriptures, slighting them, yea blaspheming
 ‘ them.— You have broken down the Images of the
 ‘ *Trinity, Christ, Virgin Mary, Apostles*; and we
 ‘ have those (k) who overthrow the Doctrine of the
 ‘ *Trinity*, oppose the *Divinity of Christ*, speak
 ‘ evil of the *Virgin Mary*, and slight the *A-*
 ‘ *postles*.— You have cast out the Bishops and
 ‘ their Officers, and we have many that cast to
 ‘ the Ground all Ministers in the reformed
 ‘ Churches. You have cast out Ceremonies in
 ‘ the *Sacraments*, as the Cross, kneeling at the
 ‘ *Lord’s Supper*, and we have many that have cast
 ‘ out the Sacraments of *Baptism*, and the *Lord’s-*
 ‘ *Supper*. You have put down *Saints Days*, and
 ‘ we have many that make nothing at all of the
 ‘ *Lord’s-Day*, and *Fast-Days*. You have ta-
 ‘ ken away the superfluous, excessive Mainte-
 ‘ nance of Bishops and Deans; and we have
 ‘ many who take away and cry down the ne-
 ‘ cessary Maintenance of Ministers. In the
 ‘ Bishops Days we had the singing of Psalms
 ‘ taken away in some Places, conceived Prayer and
 ‘ Preaching; and in their Room Anthems (l),
 ‘ stinted Forms, and reading brought in, and now
 ‘ we have singing of Psalms spoken against,

(k) See *Appendix*, No. X. and *Biddle’s Book* against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

(l) See the gallant Behaviour of Mr. Charles Robson, at Barbadoes, when the Common Prayer was by Order put down there, *Appendix*, No. 11. See Declaration of Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbadoes, &c. against the Rump, *Appendix*, No. 12.

‘ and cast out of some Churches, yea, all public Prayer questioned, and all ministerial preaching denied. — In the Bishops Days we had many unlearned Ministers, and have we not now a Company of *Jeroboam's* Priests? In the Bishops Days we had the fourth Commandment taken away, but now we have all the ten Commandments taken away at once by the *Antinomians*, yea, all Faith and Gospel denied. — The worst of the *Prelates*, in the midst of many *Arminian* Tenets, and popish Innovations, held many sound Doctrines, and had many commendable Practices; yea, the very Papists hold and keep to many Articles of Faith and Truths of God, have some Order amongst them, encourage Learning, have certain fixed Principles of Truth, with Practices of Devotion and good Works: But many of the *Sects*, and *Sectaries*, in our Days, deny all Principles of Religion, are Enemies to all Holy Duties, Order and Learning, overthrowing all.

N. Ibid. *The Beginning of this Year (1649.) the Marquis of Montrose was taken in the North of Scotland by Colonel Straughan, with a small Body of Troops, and hanged at Edinburgh, on a Gallows thirty Foot high; his Body was buried under the Gallows, and his Quarters set upon the Gates of the principal Towns of Scotland; but his Behaviour was great and firm to the last.*

‘ Those Blood-thirsty Wretches of the (m) Committee of Estates, and Commission of the General Assembly, were very angry that he (*Montrose*) was not already swallowed up, and exercised their Wrath upon such as they could reach — Likewise divers Assassins were secretly employed (and large Rewards promised them for it) to murder *Montrose* and *Mac Donald*, and for that

(m) *Echard's Hist. Vol. 2. p. 684. Bishop Gutbry's Memoirs, p. 132. Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 273.*

End, they had Permission given them to join their Army, whereby they might have the better Opportunity ; but Providence disappointed that Plot. (Which was in the Year 1644. after his famous Victory of *Tippermure*.)

He was defeated indeed with his small Forces by *Straughan*, but not taken Prisoner by him. For after the Defeat he threw himself upon Lord *Aston*, formerly a Friend and Follower of his : But that Lord, either out of Fear or Covetousness, would not protect him, but sent him with a strong Guard to *David Lesley* ; who also took Possession of the Rest of the Prisoners. Bishop *Burnet* says (n), That he was betrayed by *Mackland*, of *Affin*, and was carried through the Streets with all the Infamy that brutal Men could contrive.—His Behaviour under all that (o) barbarous Usage was Great and Firm to the last, looking on all that was done to him with a noble Scorn, as the Fury of his Enemies was black and universally detested. This Cruelty raised a Horror in all sober People, against those who could insult over such a Man in Misfortunes. The Triumphs that the Preachers made upon this Occasion rendred them odious, and made Lord *Montrose* to be more pitied and lamented, than otherwise he could have been. And (p) that he might not enjoy any Ease (after the iniquitous Sentence was passed upon him) their Ministers came presently to insult over him, with all the Reproaches imaginable ; pronounced his Damnation, and assured him,

(n) Bishop *Burnet's* Hist. of his own Time, Vol. 1. p. 52. *M. Heath* (Chronicle, p. 262.) gives an Account of their barbarous Usage of him.

(o) See a false Account of him, *Appendix*, No. 13. compared with *Appendix*, No. 14.

(p) Lord *Clarendon's* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 274. *Echard*, Vol. 2. p. 684. History of King *Charles 2d.* By a Person of Quality, p. 45.

" That the Judgment he was the next Day to
 " suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which
 " he was to undergo afterwards." After many
 " such Barbarities they offered to intercede for
 " him to the Kirk; upon his Repentance; and to
 " pray with him; but he too well understood
 " the Form of their Common Prayer, in those
 " Cases, to be only the most virulent and inso-
 " lent Imprecations upon the Persons of those they
 " pray'd against. (" Lord vouchsafe yet to touch
 " the obdurate Heart of this proud incorrigible
 " Sinner, this wicked, perjured, traiterous and
 " profane Person, who refuses to hearken to the
 " Voice of thy Kirk." And the like charitable
 " Expressions.) And therefore he desired them
 " to spare their Pains, and to leave him to his
 " own Devotions." He told them, " That they
 " were a miserable, deluded, and deluding Peo-
 " ple; and would shortly bring that poor Na-
 " tion under the most insupportable Servitude
 " ever People had submitted to." He told them,
 " He was prouder to have his Head set upon
 " the Place it was appointed to be, than he could
 " have been to have his Picture hang in the
 " King's Bed-Chamber: That he was so far
 " from being troubled that his four Limbs
 " were to be hanged in four Cities of the
 " Kingdom; that he heartily wished, that he
 " had Flesh enough to be sent to every City in
 " *Christendom*, as a Testimony of the Cause for
 " which he suffered." After he had performed
 " his Devotions, and finished all he meant to say,
 " and was (q) expecting to expire, they had yet
 E 2 one

(q) Lord *Clarendon*, Vol. 3. p. 274. *Edward*, *ibid.* p. 685. These
 Rebels used all Loyalists in an inhuman Manner. Bishop *Gubory* informs
 us (*Memoirs*, p. 204.) " That *Archibald*, Lord *Napier* (a Nobleman for
 " true Worth and Loyalty, inferior to none in the Land, having in the Year
 " 1645. died in his Majesty's Service at *Francesle* in *Arbol*, the Committee
 " resolved to raise his Bones, and pass a Forefaulture thereupon, and for that
 " End Letters were ordained to be executed at the Pier of *Leith*, against *Ar-*
 " *chibald*

‘ one Scene more to act of their Tyranny. The
 ‘ Hangman brought the Book that had been pub-
 ‘ lished of his truly heroick Actions, whilst he
 ‘ had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book
 ‘ was tied in a small Cord and put about his
 ‘ Neck. The Marquis smiled at this new In-
 ‘ stance of their Malice, and thanked them for
 ‘ it, and said, “ He was pleased that it should
 “ be there ; and was prouder of wearing it than
 “ he had ever been of the Garter.” And so re-
 ‘ newing some devout Ejaculations, he patiently
 ‘ endured the last Act of the Executioner.

(r) ‘ Thus died the gallant Marquis of *Mont-
 ‘ trose*, after he had given as great a Testimony
 ‘ of Loyalty and Courage as a Subject can do.
 ‘ He was a Gentleman of a very ancient (s) Ex-
 ‘ traction, many of whose Ancestors had exer-
 ‘ cised the highest Charges under the King in
 ‘ that Kingdom, and had been allied to the
 ‘ Crown itself. He was of very (t) good Parts,
 ‘ which

‘ *chibald*, Lord *Napier*, his Son, then in Exile, for his Loyalty, to appear
 ‘ upon sixty Days Warning to see the same done ; and when his Friends were
 ‘ startled at it, and made Enquiry what was meant by it, they found, that
 ‘ it was only to draw Money from the new Lord *Napier*, for the Use
 ‘ of some Sycophants that expected it, and so they advanced 500 Marks for
 ‘ that End, and thereupon the intended Forefaulture was discharged.

(r) Lord *Clarendon*, ib. p. 275.

(s) He was descended (says Bishop *Wisebeart*, *Pref.* to History of the
 King’s Affairs under the Marquis of *Montrose*) from the famous *Grabam*,
 who was Son-in-Law to *Fergus* the Second King of *Scots*, and was the
 first that (with the Assistance of his Father-in-Law) cast down the Trench
 which *Severus* had made, and set out for the utmost Limit of the Ro-
 man Empire. Whence some Remains of that Trench are called
Gremesdihs. He flourished in the Time of the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Ho-*
norius, about the Year of our Lord CCCC. From whom descended in a
 direct Line, that valiant *Grabam*, who with the Help of *Dunbarre*, so
 seasonably rescued his Country from the *Danus*, who were then Masters of
England ; and had frequently, but with little Success, invaded *Scotland* with
 mighty Armies, &c.

(t) The Marquis of *Montrose* wrote the following Lines upon the Royal
 Martyr, with the Point of his Sword.

Pref. to Bishop *Wisebeart*’s History of the King’s Affairs in *Scotland* under
Montrose, &c. 1649. *Guthry*’s Memoirs, p. 255. *Medulla Hist. Anglican.*
 p. 346. 4th Edit.

Great,

' which were improved by a good Education.
 ' He had always a great Emulation, or rather
 ' Contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle*, (as he
 ' was too apt to condemn those he did not love)
 ' who wanted nothing but (u) Honesty and (x)
 ' Courage to be a very extraordinary Man, hav-
 ' ing all other good Talents in a very great De-
 ' gree. *Montrose* was, in his Nature, fearless of
 ' Danger, and never declined any Enterprize for
 ' the Difficulty of going through with it, but
 ' exceedingly affected those which seemed despe-
 ' rate to other Men, and did believe somewhat
 ' to be in himself above other Men, which made
 ' him live more easily towards those who are,

*Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate,
 My Grief, and thy too wretched Fate,
 Ide weep the World to such a strain,
 As it should deluge once again.
 But since thy loud tongued Blood demands Supplies,
 More from Briareus Hands than Argus Eyes,
 I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets Sounds,
 And write thy Epitaph in Blood and Wounds.*

(u) Bishop *Wiseheart* observes (*Hist. &c. of Montrose*, p. 59.) ' That
 ' *Argyle* desired a Cessation (with *Montrose*) and proposed that Engagements
 ' might be given on both Sides for a Conference and Treaty, yet at the same
 ' time he did not only tempt the Soldiers to forsake *Montrose*, by promising
 ' them Indemnity and Rewards to boot, but (which is a Shame to say even
 ' of an Enemy) set a great Price upon *Montrose's* Head, to be paid unto
 ' any Assassin or Murderer, that should bring it in. Of which, when *Mon-*
 ' *trose* was well assured (who well knew the Disposition of the Man to be
 ' more bent to overreach and betray, than fight with his Enemy) he thought
 ' nothing concerned him more, than with all speed to bring off those small Forces
 ' he had as far as he could, both from *Argyle's* Horse and Knavery.' See a far-
 ' ther Account of the Earl of *Argyle's* Treachery, and his barbarous Usage of his
 ' own Sisters. *Appendix* to the first Part of the History of Independency,
 p. 6, 7, &c.

(x) *Argyle* fled from *Montrose*, at *Inverary*, to a Boat (1644.) and left
 his Friends to shift for themselves. (*Gutbry's Memoirs*, p. 136.) At *In-*
nerlochy, where *Argyle* betook himself to his Boat again. (*Gutbry*, p.
 140. *Wiseheart's Hist. of Montrose*, &c. p. 68.) At the Battle of *Kilsyth*
 he fled, and never looked over his Shoulder, until after 20 Miles riding,
 he reached the South *Queen's-Ferry*, where he possessed himself of his Boat
 again. (*Gutbry*, p. 154. *Wiseheart*, &c. p. 117.) From *Monroe's* Army,
 taking his Way by *Stirling-Bridge*, he never looked behind him, until (after
 18 Miles riding) he reached the North *Queen's-Ferry*, and there possessed him-
 self of a Boat again (now the fourth Time) (*Gutbry*, p. 241.) and Bishop *Wise-*
heart observes (*History of Montrose*, &c. p. 95.) ' That the Earl of *Argyle* was
 ' the first in that Age that introduced that cruel and dreadful Precedent of
 ' destroying Houses and Corn; being better at Fire, than Sword, when they
 ' came into empty Fields, and Houses unmanned.

or were willing to be inferior to him, (towards whom he exercised wonderful Civility and Generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals: He was naturally jealous, and suspected those, who did not concur with him in the Way, not to mean so well as he.

He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much superior; and he well deserved to have his Memory preserved and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age, in which he lived.

And tho' this great Man, was so barbarously and inhumanly used by those rebellious Scots, yet some of the Loyalists of that Nation paid the proper Regard due to him in the honourable Interment of his scatter'd Limbs, after the Restoration.

(y) *Edinburgh, March 9. 1661.*

The Arm of the immortal Marquis of Montrose, which the Citizens of Aberdeen, upon his Majesty's first Arrival to Scotland, had taken down and decently interr'd, being with very great Solemnity raised, and put in a Box cover'd with crimson Velvet embroidered, was carried by Henry Graham, Son to the Baron of Morphee, bare-headed; it was conducted by the Members of the University, the Lord Provost, Bailiffs, and Town Council, and 500 of the Trained-Bands thro' the City. After it had been carried three times in Triumph about the Cross, with the Acclamations of the People, and several Volleys of Shot, it was delivered to the Magistrates, who convey'd it to the Town

(y) *Mercurius Publicus* (published by Authority, Numb. 11. p. 162.) *Castro* was more humane, for Sir Edward Waller says, (*Journal of a Tour in Scotland, 1650. Historical Discourses, p. 187.*) He heard that *Castro* when he had block'd up the Castle of *Edinburgh*, released the Prisoners there, he caused the Head of the Marquis of Montrose to be taken down and buried.

Houle,

House, and placed it among the Records, to remain there, till they shall receive farther Orders for the Disposal of it.

(2) *Edinburgh, May 11.*

We have (a) formerly told you that the Body of the Marquis of *Montrose* was honourably interr'd, but having received a more particular Account, and the Names of the chief Persons, that with the Militia of the City, and Lifeguard of Horse, attended the Lord Commissioners at that Solemnity, from the Abbey Church to St. *Giles's*, (where it was interr'd.) We could not but pay this Respect to the Name of that great (b) Person, to give you at large the Manner of proceeding, which was thus.

The two Conductors, in Mourning, with one *Gumpbione* of 24 Sallies, in long black Gowns, and black Callots on their Heads.

Ane open Trumpet, with the Defunct's Col-lars at his Banners.

Ane Gentleman in compleat Armour, with one Plumet of Feathers in his Armour, of the Colour of the Defunct's paternal Coat; his Saddle-Horse, with a rich Saddle, led by two Lackies.

Servants of Friends, two and two in Mourning.

John Graham, of *Dowcherie*, carrying the great Pistol of Honour.

Thomas Graham, of *Polento*, carrying the great Standert of Honour.

(2) *Mercurius Public.* Numb. 20, p. 314, 315, 316. *penult.* See *Heath's* Chronicle, p. 497. (a) *Merc. Publ.* Num. 14. p. 212. 213.

(b) An Act brought in, Friday, Feb. 8. by the Lords of Articles, rescinding the Forfeiture of the late Marquis of *Montrose*, and restoring his Son (the now Lord Marquis) to his whole Estate, which was cheerfully approved, and agreed unto by all. (*Mercurius Publicus*, Numb. 70. p. 100.)

- ‘ Ane Horſe with a great Saddle, Piſtols, and
- ‘ Uthers fit for Service, led by a Lackey in Li-
- ‘ very.
- ‘ His particular Servants, two and two, in
- ‘ Mourning.
- ‘ His Parliament Horſe, with a rich Foot
- ‘ Mantle, led by two Lackies, in Livery, with
- ‘ Badges Back and Breſt.
- ‘ Four Trumpets, in Mourning, carrying the
- ‘ Arms of the Deſunct on both ſides of their Ban-
- ‘ ners.
- ‘ *William Grabam*, of *Duntrune*, the Younger,
- ‘ carrying the great *Gumſion* on the Point of a
- ‘ Lance.
- ‘ *George Grabam*, of *Carine*, the Younger,
- ‘ carrying a Mourning Pinſell.
- ‘ *George Grabam*, of *Inchbechie*, the Younger,
- ‘ carrying a Mourning Standart.
- ‘ Lords, Friends two and two in Mourning.
- ‘ *Walter Grabam*, of *Duntrune*, the Elder, car-
- ‘ rying the Spurs.
- ‘ *Alexander Grabam*, of *Drumye*, carrying the
- ‘ Gantlet.
- ‘ *George Grabam*, of *Menzie*, carrying the
- ‘ Corſlets, with Back and Breſt.
- ‘ *Mungo Grabam*, of *Gortbie*, carrying the
- ‘ Head-piece.
- ‘ *John Grabam*, of *Belgome*, carrying the great
- ‘ Mourning Banner with his *Hale* Atchieve-
- ‘ ment.
- ‘ Eight Gentlemen carrying the eight Branches,
- ‘ viz. for the North Side, *William Hallyburton*
- ‘ of *Buttergeſk*, for the Lord *Dirltonne Hallybur-*
- ‘ *ton*; Sir *Robert Douglas* of *Blackerſtone*, for Earl
- ‘ *Dowglas* of *Angus*; *Stuart* of *Bute*, for *Stuart*
- ‘ Lord *Meibven*; *William Rutbven* of *Gairdon*,
- ‘ for — *Gowry*. For the further Side, Co-
- ‘ lonel *George Keith*, for the Houſe of *Marſhall*;
- ‘ Sir *Robert Flemming*, for the Houſe of *Wigtonne*;

Sir

- ‘ Sir *James Drummond* of *Mathanie*, for the House
- ‘ of *Pertb*; *James Graham* of *Ortbill*, for the House
- ‘ of *Montrose*.

Captain *James Buckleyvin* carrying the Defunct's Arms in Black Taffetie Mourning Banner.

- ‘ An Horse in Mourning led by two Lackies in
- ‘ Livery, in Mourning.

- ‘ Four Trumpets in Mourning with the De-
- ‘ funct's Arms and their Banners.

- ‘ Sex Pursevants two and two in order.

- ‘ Sex Heralds, the first carrying ane Antique
- ‘ Shield with the Defunct's Arms thereon, ane
- ‘ Uther carrying the Chreist, ane Uther carrying
- ‘ the Sword, ane Uther carrying the Target, ane
- ‘ Uther carrying his Scrow and Dittone, ane Uther
- ‘ carrying his Helmit.

Mr. *William Ord*, and *Tomas Sinserffe*, Secretaries.

Mr. *John Lombie* Cheaplin, Dr. *George Middleton* Physitian.

- ‘ *James Graham* of — carrying the Parlia-
- ‘ ment Robes.

- ‘ *Robert Graham* of *Cairnye* carrying the Gene-
- ‘ ral's Battoon.

- ‘ *Patrick Graham* the Elder of *Incbbeckie*, carry-
- ‘ ing the Order of the Garter. — *Graham*,
- ‘ Lord of *Morfie*, carrying the Coronet. *Graham*
- ‘ Lord of *Fintrie*, carrying the Commission and
- ‘ Purse.

- ‘ The Defunct's Coat of Arms to be carried by
- ‘ the Lyon King at Arms in Mourning.

- ‘ Twelve Noblemen to carry the Pall, viz.
- ‘ Viscounts of *Sturmout*, *Arbutbnett*, *Kingstonne*;
- ‘ the Lords *Strenawe*, *Kilmaris*, *Montgomerie*, *Cold-*
- ‘ *ingham*, *Fleming*, *Gask*, *Drumlanekirk*, *Sincklar*,
- ‘ and *Macdonald*.

- ‘ The Earls of *Marre*, *Atboll*, *Morton*, *Eglintonne*,
- ‘ *Cathnes*, *Linlithgow*, *Hume*, *Roxburgh*, *Tillibar-*
- ‘ *den*, *Seasforth*, *Callender*, *Annandal*, *Dundie*,
- ‘ *Aboyne* carrying the Corps under the Pall.
- ‘ Gentle-

4 Gentlemen of Quality walking on both sides of
 4 the Pall, to relieve the Noblemen, viz. Sir John
 4 Keith Knight Marshal. ——— Gordone Son
 4 to the Earl of Sutherland. Mr. ——— Levingstone
 4 Brother to the Earl of Linlithgow, Sir David
 4 Ogilby Son to the Earl of Airlie, the Lairds of
 4 Pitcure, Powrie, Cromlicks, Abertarne, Loud-
 4 wbonne, Macintosh, Glorat, and Colwbonne.

4 The Chief Mourners with Hoods and long
 4 Robes, carried by Pages, with Gentlemen un-
 4 covered on every Side.

4 Nine of the nearest Noblemen in the same
 4 Habit, marching three and three, the Marquis
 4 of Douglas, the Earls of Marshal, Wigtonne,
 4 Southesk, the Lords Drummond, Meddertie, Nap-
 4 per, Rolloc, and Laird of Luse.

The Scots Parliament did Justice likewise to the
 Marquis's Son. (2) 4 April 10, the Process be-
 4 twixt the Marquis of Montrose and Argyle, be-
 4 ing reported by the Commissioners for Bills, the
 4 Parliament hath found, that Argyle should pay
 4 to the Marquis of Montrose 32668 l. for his
 4 Intermissions with the Land of Mugdock, and o-
 4 thers belonging to Montrose, as also the Sum of
 4 50000 l. with Interest, which he got from him,
 4 when he repossessed him in the same; for after
 4 Montrose's Forfeit, Argyle got them from the
 4 pretended Committee of Estates.

And they did Justice to the Loyalists of that
 Kingdom in an Act passed by them 1662, con-
 demning the Transactions concerning the King's
 Majesty, whilst he was at Newcastle, in the Year
 1646, and 1647, at Edinburgh.

(4) 4 The Estates of Parliament considering the

(2) *Mercurius Publicus*, Numb. 16, p. 247. Mr. Heath observes, Chronicle
 p. 302, that the Marquis of Montrose's Children and Family were honour-
 ably taken into Protection by General Monk. Argyle, (as Sir Philip
 Warwick observes, *Memoirs*, p. 372.) was as deliberately obsequious to
 Cromwell as he had been insolently rebellious against his late Majesty.

(4) *Murray's Laws of Scotland*, Part 2, p. 7. *Mer. Public.* Numb. 13,
 1662. p. 193, &c.

many dangerous Consequences that doe accom-
 pany the Neglect and Contempt of lawful Au-
 thority, and that amongst the other Judgments,
 wherewith it pleaseth Almighty God to visit
 such who resist the Powers, and oppose the
 Commands of those intrusted by him as his
 Vicegerents, for the Government of his People,
 they are oftentimes left to their own Councils, to
 do that which highly provokes God to Wrath,
 renders themselves justly odious to the World,
 and hateful to their Posterity. Whereof there
 is too doolful an Experiment in an Act of the
 printed Records of Parliament of the 15th of
 January 1647. Intituled, *A Declaration of the
 Kingdom of Scotland concerning the King's Ma-
 jesty's Person*, which being now taken into Con-
 sideration, the Estates of Parliament do find and
 declare, that it was carried on and concluded
 by a prevalent Party, against the Judgment of
 many of his Majesty's loyal Subjects; and that
 it is a most sinful and disloyal, and unworthy
 Act, contrary to the Will and Commandment
 of God, contrary to all Laws Divine and Hu-
 man; contrary to the Duty and Allegiance of
 Subjects; contrary to all the Rules of Justice,
 Honour, Gratitude and Humanity, and highly
 reflecting on the Honour of this antient King-
 dom, and the Reputation of his Majesty's good
 Subjects therein. And therefore the King's
 Majesty, with Advice and Consent of his Estates
 of Parliament, doth hereby annul and con-
 demn the same for ever: and ordains it to be
 expunged out of all Records, and never to be
 remembered again but with due Abhorrence and
 Detestation.

And the Estates of Parliament conceiving
 themselves obliged in Conscience to make the
 Truth of this Business, and the Manner of the
 carrying of it, known to the World, for the
 just

‘ just Vindication of this Kingdom and his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s dutiful and loyal Subjects, who otherwise
 ‘ may seem to be comprehended and conclud-
 ‘ ed in it. They do therefore from their certain
 ‘ Knowledge declare, that even in that Parlia-
 ‘ ment, (from which many of his Majesty’s good
 ‘ Subjects were debarred for their Affection and
 ‘ Adherence to his Majesty’s Service and Com-
 ‘ mands) there was a considerable Number of
 ‘ worthy Patriots of all Estates who at the passing
 ‘ of that base Act, gave a publick Testimony and
 ‘ Disassent from it. Which is here recorded for
 ‘ their due Honour, and for which their Memory
 ‘ will in all Ages receive a famous Celebration:
 ‘ and that there were divers others who upon the
 ‘ Pretexts of Reformation, and Assurances of the
 ‘ Safety of his Majesty’s Person, being inveigled,
 ‘ were in the Simplicity of their Hearts drawn
 ‘ along for the Time. But shortly hereafter be-
 ‘ ing convinc’d of their Error, did embrace the
 ‘ first Opportunity to expiate the same, by freely
 ‘ hazarding their Lives and Fortunes in the Year
 ‘ 1648, to redeem his Majesty from these Re-
 ‘ straints and Dangers, which by that impious
 ‘ Act he was drawn into. And therefore his
 ‘ Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, doth
 ‘ declare, that the Act of Parliament aforesaid of
 ‘ the 16th of *January* 1647, is not to be looked
 ‘ upon as the Deed of the Kingdom, but is the
 ‘ Act of a few disloyal and seditious Persons,
 ‘ who having upon specious but false Pretences,
 ‘ screw’d themselves into the Government, did by
 ‘ force of Arms keep the same, and from the Con-
 ‘ science of their own Guiltiness, being afraid of
 ‘ the Justice of his Majesty’s Government, did
 ‘ violently carry on that Act: and in further
 ‘ owning thereof, did in the same Year 1648,
 ‘ rise in Arms in Opposition to those who en-
 ‘ deavoured to restore his Majesty to his Govern-

ment, and to relieve him from the Imprisonment and Hazard he was then lying under, as the unnatural Effects of that unworthy Transaction so justly hereby condemn'd.

And for the further clearing of the Sense of this Kingdom, as to that base and treacherous Act, and the Aspersions which have been thereupon raised, as if there had been previous Transactions and Bargains of Money for the carrying on of the same, the Estates of Parliament declare, they do abominate the Thoughts of any such Thing, and that if at any time hereafter there shall be Discovery of any such Wickedness, (which they are confident God Almighty will in his Justice bring to Light (if it be time) and wherein they earnestly intreat the Concurrency of his Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects) the Persons guilty thereof shall without Mercy be pursued as the vilest of Traitors, and shall be incapable of the Benefit of any Act of Pardon, Oblivion, or Indemnity for ever.

N. Ibid. *The Marquis appeared openly for the King, in the Year 1643, and having routed a small Party of Covenanters in Perthshire; got a great deal of Reputation: but his little Successes were very mischievous to the King's Affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were.*

I am persuaded, that the like Success of any English Rebel in the wickedest of Causes, would have been magnified with the highest Strains of Panegyric, and he would have been styled a Hero, that had gained more Laurels, and done more Wonders for the Time, than any Age or History can parallel. But the brave Montrose must be robb'd of that Glory which all impartial Historians allow him. The noble Historian tells us, (b) ' That the

(b) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 275.

gallant

gallant Marquis of Montrose perform'd as wonderful Actions in several Battles, upon as great Inequality of Numbers, and as great Disadvantages in respect of Arms, and other Preparations for War, as had been performed in that Age. And in another Place, he informs us, (c) That with a Handful of Men (a Regiment of 1500 Men sent over by the Marquis of Antrim, and headed by *Alexander Macdonnell*, a stout and active Officer) he brought in so many of his Countrymen to join with him, as were strong enough to arm themselves at the Charge of their Enemies whom they first defeated; and every Day encreased in Power, till he fought, and prevailed in so many several Battles, that he made himself, upon the Matter, Master of the Kingdom; and did all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject of a History by itself, excellently well written in Latin by a (d) Prelate of that Nation.

But to instance in Particulars. In a Battle near *Perth* some time in *August 1644*, he obtained a very great Victory. (e) Most of the Horse made

(c) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. 2. p. 475, Mr. *Parvial* in his History of this iron Age, 2 Edit. Part 2. p. 255 reflecting upon *Montrose's* Death, This (says he) was the End of the best and noblest Servant his Master had in *Scotland*, and had he lived, 'tis very likely, that the Scots would not have fallen into so many Calamities, nor his said Master have been so easily overthrown in the middle of *England*.

(d) *Bishop Wisebart*, Mr. *Heath*, (*Chronicle* p. 255) Calls him one of the noblest gallantest Persons that Age saw amongst all the Wars and Broyles in *Christendome*: A Captain, whose unexampled Achievements have framed a History, and were its Volume ten times bigger, it would yet be disproportionate to the Praises of this matchless Hero. And *Bishop Wisebart* says (the History of the King's Majesty's Affairs in *Scotland* under the Conduct of *James Marquis of Montrose* 1649, p. 38. *passim*) he performed such Adventures without Men, without Money, without Army, as were not only to the Astonishment of us that were present, and were Eye and Ear Witnesses to them, but also the Example and Envy of all great Commanders hereafter.

(e) *Bishop Wisebart's* History of the King's Affairs under *Montrose*, &c. p. 44. the Bishop informs us, (p. 42.) that before this Battle was fought, *Montrose* had sent unto the Commanders of the Enemy, *Drummond*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Mulharty*, a noble Gentleman, and accomplished with all kind of Virtues, who declared in his Name, "That *Montrose*,

made so good Speed as to save themselves ; but there was a great Slaughter of the Foot whom they pursued for seven Miles. There were conceived to be 2000 of the Covenanters slain, and more were taken Prisoners: of whom some taking a Military Oath, took up Arms again with the Conqueror, but perfidiously almost all forsook him afterwards. The rest taking a solemn Protestation, that they would never after bear Arms against the King, he set at Liberty. Whether the Battle of *Tipperary* mentioned by Bishop *Guthry*, be the same I cannot tell, that he says (f) was fought upon the first of *September*; where *Montrose* obtained an absolute Victory, notwithstanding the great Odds of Numbers. The Covenanters were reckoned six thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, whereas *Montrose's* Foot exceeded not 1300 (besides (g) *Kilpont's*

as well as the King's Majesty from whom he had received his Commission, was most tender of shedding his Country's Blood, and had nothing more in his Devotions than that his Victories might be written without a Red Letter. And such a Victory they might obtain as well as he, if they should please but to have the Honour to conquer themselves, and before a Stroke were struck to return to their Allegiance. That for his part, he was covetous of no Man's Wealth, ambitious of no Man's Honour, envious at no Man's Preferment, thirsty after no Man's Blood. All that he desired was, that in the Name of God, they would at length give ear to sound Counsel, and submit themselves and what belong'd unto them unto the Grace and Protection of so good a King: Who as he had hitherto condescended unto all Things (either for Matter of Religion or any thing else) which they thought good to ask, though to the exceeding great Prejudice of his Prerogative; so still they might find him like an indulgent Father, ready to embrace his penitent Children in his Arms, although he had been provoked with unspeakable Injuries. But if they should continue still obstinate in their Rebellion, he called God to witness that it was their own Stubbornness that forced him to the present Encounter. The Commanders of the Enemies answered nothing at all to this, but against the Law of Nations sent the Messenger (who out of meer Love to his Country had undertaken the Employment) Prisoner with a Company of rude Soldiers unto *Perth*, vowing that as soon as they had got the Victory, to cut off his Head. But God was more merciful to him, and provided otherwise than they intended for the Safety of that gallant Man.

(f) Bishop *Guthry's* Memoirs, p. 143.

(g) The Lord *Kilpont* was basely and treacherously murdered by one *Seary*, because he would not join with him in the Murder of *Montrose*; wherefore for fear of a Discovery, he assaulted him unawares, when he

little

' *Kilpont's* Men, in whom he did not confide, in
 ' that they had been brought in against their Willy
 ' and of Horse he had only (b) three, whereof two
 ' were for his own Saddle, and the third for Sir
 ' *William Rollock's*, who being somewhat lame
 ' from his Childhood, could not well march on
 ' Foot. By this Victory, as *Montrose's Irish* came
 ' to be provided both of Clothes and Arms,
 ' (whereof they had neither before) so the Com-
 ' mittee of Estates were startled to that degree,
 ' that they resolv'd to send up the Lord Chan-
 ' cellor to *London*. He obtained a great Victory
 over the Rebels at *Aberdeen*, September 12, 1644,
 where his Men behaved with great Bravery (i).
 ' Among others, there was an *Irishman* who had
 ' his Leg shot off by a Cannon Bullet, only it
 ' hung by a little Skin; he seeing his fellow Sol-
 ' diers something sad at this Mischance, with a
 ' loud and chearful Voice cries out "Come on,
 " my Comrades, this is but the Fortune of War,
 " and neither you nor I have reason to be sorry
 " for it. Do you stand to it as becomes you,
 " and as for me, I am sure my Lord Marquess,
 " seeing I can no longer serve on Foot, will mount
 " me on Horseback;" so drawing out his Knife,
 ' being nothing altered or troubled, he cut asun-
 ' der the Skin with his own Hand, and gave his
 ' Leg to one of his fellow Soldiers to bury; and

' little suspected any Harm from one whom he took to be his Friend, and
 ' stabbed him with many Wounds. Bishop *Wisebart* says (*History of*
Montrose, p. 46) ' That Lord *Kilpont* was a Nobleman who had deserved
 ' well both from the King and *Montrose*, being a Man famous for Arts and
 ' Arms and Honesty; being a good Philosopher, a good Divine, a good
 ' Lawyer, a good Soldier, a good Subject and a good Man.

(b) See Bishop *Burnet's* History of his own Time, Vol. 1. p. 37.

(i) History of *Montrose*, &c. p. 51. Mr. *Whitelock* (*Memorials* p. 459)
 mentions an Account from *Edinburgh* June 14, 1650, ' That one
 ' *Dalgely*, one of *Montrose's* Party, being sentenc'd to be beheaded, and
 ' being brought to the Scaffold, ran and kissed the Scaffold, and without
 ' any Speech or Ceremony, laid down his Head on the Block and was pre-
 ' sently beheaded.

truly

‘ was well again and made a Trooper, he often
 ‘ did very faithful and gallant Service.

(k) ‘ The so much talk’d of Expedition of
 ‘ *Dundee* (says Bishop *Wisebart*, which was about
 ‘ *April 4, 1645*) was infamous indeed for the
 ‘ Mistake of the *Scots*, but as renowned as any
 ‘ for the Valour and Constancy and undaunted
 ‘ Resolution of the General; and even admir-
 ‘ able for the Hardiness of the Soldiers in en-
 ‘ counterling all Extremities with Patience; for
 ‘ threescore Miles together they had been often
 ‘ in fight, always upon the March, without Meat
 ‘ or Sleep or the least Refreshment, which whe-
 ‘ ther foreign (l) Nations or after Times will be-
 ‘ lieve, I cannot tell, but I am sure I deliver no-
 ‘ thing but what is most certain of mine own
 ‘ Knowledge. And indeed amongst expert Sol-
 ‘ diers, and those of eminent Note both in *Eng-
 ‘ land, Germany, and France*, I have not seldom
 ‘ heard this Expedition of his preferred before
 ‘ *Montrose’s* greatest Victories.

(m) ‘ In a Battle fought at *Alderne* the 4th of
 ‘ *May, 1645*, he obtained a great Victory over
 ‘ Colonel *Hurrey*. In which were slain about three
 ‘ thousand Foot of the Enemy; but their Horse
 ‘ escaped by a more timely, than honourable
 ‘ Flight.

(n) ‘ At the Battle of *Alford* *July 2, 1645*,
 ‘ there was a greater Slaughter of *Baily’s* Men
 ‘ without the Loss of one common Soldier. But
 ‘ the brave and noble Lord *Gordon* Son of the
 ‘ Earl of *Athol* unfortunately after the Battle was
 ‘ won, rushing fiercely into the thickest of the

(k) History of *Montrose*, p. 81.

(l) ‘ In such high Esteem (says Mr. *Heath*, Chronicle, p. 255) was the
 ‘ Marquis of *Montrose* abroad, that he was offered to be Captain of the
 ‘ *Scots* Guards to the King of *France*, a Place of great Honour and Revenue:
 ‘ and after that by the Emperor at *Piemont*, was proffered the Command of
 ‘ an Army of 10000 Men, and to be independent of any other General.

(m) History of *Montrose*, p. 89.

(n) History of *Montrose*, p. 100.

‘ Enemy, received a Shot through his Body by
 ‘ the conquered and flying Enemy, and fell down
 ‘ dead.

(o) ‘ Upon *August* the 15th, 1645, there was
 ‘ a Battle (between *Montrose* and the Covenanters)
 ‘ wherein *Montrose* carried an absolute Victory.
 ‘ Their Foot which were reckoned 7000 being
 ‘ wholly cut off in the Flight, except very few
 ‘ Straglers that escaped. Yet no Loss on *Mon-*
 ‘ *trose*’s side except seven or eight Persons (where-
 ‘ of three were Gentlemen of the Name *Ogilby*,
 ‘ the rest but common Soldiers) the Reason
 ‘ whereof was, because the Covenanters never
 ‘ stood to it, but upon the first Charge given
 ‘ by the Earl of *Airly* and his Friends, did all
 ‘ fly on a sudden, their Horse riding over the
 ‘ Foot, and among the Horse the Nobles the
 ‘ first of any. But beyond them all the Marquis
 ‘ of *Argyle*, who never look’d over his Soulder
 ‘ until after 20 Miles riding he reached the
 ‘ *South Queen’s Ferry*, where he possessed himself
 ‘ of a Boat.

How would *Cromwell* (that execrable Regicide)
 have been cried up by some Men, had he killed
 7000 in one Battle, tho’ 6999 had been murdered
 in cool Blood, and after Quarter given?

After he had been complimented upon this
 Victory by several Towns which had been but too
 far engaged with the Rebels, ‘ His next care
 ‘ was for the Prisoners in the *Tolbooth* in *Edin-*
 ‘ *burgh*, who had been sentenced to Death, viz.
 ‘ *Lodowick* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ogilby*,
 ‘ and *Raes*, the Lairds of *Drum*, *Powry*, *Ogilby*,
 ‘ and Dr. *Wishart*: So for their sakes he dispatch-
 ‘ ed his Nephew, *Archibald* Master of (p) *Na-*

(o) Bishop *Gutbry*’s Memoirs, p. 154, &c. This was the Battle of *Kilsyth*
 which Bishop *Wishart* says (*History of Montrose*, p. 117.) was upon the 15th
 of *September*, where he observes, that ’twas believed, that no less than 6000
 of the Rebels were slain.

(p) Bishop *Wishart*’s *History of Montrose*, &c. p. 122, 124.

‘ pier, and with him *Nathaniel Gordon*, to receive
 ‘ in Protection the City of *Edinburgh*, and to
 ‘ bring from thence those Prisoners, which they
 ‘ did, with two Prisoners more, viz. *Archibald*,
 ‘ Lord *Napier*, and Sir *George Stirling*, of *Kier*,
 ‘ his Son-in-Law, who were most welcome to
 ‘ *Montrose*. Such (as Mr. *Carte* observes, *Hist.*
 of the Life of the Duke of *Ormonde*, Vol. 2.
 p. 278.) ‘ were the great Enterprizes which he
 ‘ undertook, and the amazing Victories he
 ‘ gain’d in that Kingdom.’ And the Cardinal
 de *Retz* says, (q) ‘ That the Earl of *Montrose*
 ‘ (the only Man in the World, that had recalled
 ‘ in him the Ideas of some Heroes which are now
 ‘ to be found only in *Plutarch*’s Lives) had main-
 ‘ tained in his Country the King his Master’s
 ‘ Party with a Greatness of Soul, that had not
 ‘ had its Equal in that Age. That he beat the
 ‘ Parliament’s Troops, that had been victo-
 ‘ rious every where else, and did not lay down
 ‘ his Arms till his Master had delivered up him-
 ‘ self into the Hands of his Enemies.

N. p. 20. *The young King being in Treaty with
 the Scots Covenanters at Breda, was forced to
 stifle his Resentment for the Marquis, and submit to
 the following hard Conditions, &c.* which he makes
 mention of.

And this was one of the most imprudent Acts
 of his Life, nor was he very inclinable to it (r).
 ‘ For his late unhappy Experience of the Faith of
 ‘ the Covenanters had induced him absolutely to
 ‘ refuse his Consent to that Proposition; till
 ‘ after the *Scots* had actually entred *England* with
 ‘ their Army. But the (s) Queen was inclined
 ‘ to it, and believed the *Scots* (who had held of late
 ‘ a very diligent Correspondence with her) so en-

(q) *Memoirs*, Vol. 2. p. 75.

(r) *Carte*’s Life of *James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p. 27.

(s) See likewise *Whitelock*’s *Memorials*, p. 422.

• tirely, that she earnestly pressed the King to
 • trust them, as the only Persons who had Power
 • and Credit to do him Service, and to redeem
 • him from his Captivity——But *M. de Mon-*
 • *treuil* (who knew their treacherous Dealings but
 • too well) the *French* Minister in *Scotland*, had
 • constantly in all his Letters, for some Months
 • past, represented in the strongest Manner the
 • Danger and Mischief of that Design, assuring
 • the Count de *Brienne*, then Secretary of State,
 • “ That whatever Professions the *Scots* made of
 • “ serving the King, they really had no View but
 • “ of serving themselves, and of getting the Mo-
 • “ ney which was due to them from *Eng-*
 • “ *land*; that their Design in pressing for the
 • “ Prince’s coming was, to make use of him
 • “ for accommodating their own Affairs, which
 • “ were much disconcerted, to make a better
 • “ Bargain with the *Independents*, by selling him
 • “ as they had done his Father, or by keeping him
 • “ in their Hands to oppose him against that
 • “ Party, whenever they should make an At-
 • “ tempt upon *Scotland*; that the Prince’s com-
 • “ ing over would hasten their Agreement with
 • “ the *Independents*, would prevent their Inva-
 • “ sion of *England*, which otherwise they might
 • “ possibly enter with an Army; and in short
 • “ would absolutely ruin the King’s Affairs, and
 • “ perhaps be fatal to his Life, the best Security
 • “ of which lay in the Prince’s Safety.” But not-
 • withstanding this, the Queen’s Advice prevailed;
 • and he trusted himself with those treacherous
 • Persons, in whose Hands the Administration then
 • was.

(1) These Indignities (offered to the Marquis
 of *Montrose*, &c.) and Cruelties (says Bishop *Ken-*
net) ‘ might have justly provoked the King to

' break off the Treaty, and desert a People
 ' given up to Bigottry and Blood; yet such
 ' were his Majesty's Necessities, and so great
 ' the Importunities of his Relations and Friends
 ' at any Rate, that he was forced to connive at
 ' all this Insolence, and to write to *Edinburgh*
 ' in no harder Words than these, *That he was*
 ' *very sorry at a Report he heard, that there was*
 ' *some Blood of his good Subjects shed of late; but*
 ' *not knowing how it was, he desired to know more*
 ' *fully.* To which the Parliament took a Li-
 ' berty to answer, *That they hoped for a happy*
 ' *Agreement with his Majesty, and desired him not*
 ' *to be discouraged, at some seeming Obstacles, such*
 ' *as the Death of Montrose, and some few others,*
 ' *they doing nothing therein but to accomplish his*
 ' *Interest.* And his Majesty was bound to seem
 ' as if he did believe them, though they were
 ' so conscious of their own Guilt, as to question
 ' the King's Forgiveness of it: So that after
 ' long Negotiations, in the Month of *June*, they
 ' put it to Vote in Parliament, *Whether they should*
 ' *make any more Addresses to him.* But 'twas car-
 ' ried in the *Negative.*

N. p. 20. *The King arrived in Scotland, June*
23.—July 22. the General crossed the Tweed, and
marched his Army almost as far as Edinburgh,
without much Opposition; the Country being deserted
by reason of the Name of Cromwell, and the Re-
ports that were spread of his Cruelties in Ire-
land.

Tho' from an original Letter (u) *Rushworth's*
 (Secretary of War) dated from *Newcastle, August*
15. 1650. it seems probable that some Part of
 the Army was then at that Place; yet the great-
 est Part of *Cromwell's* Forces were certainly in
 Scotland about the Time that Mr. Neal fixes their

(u) *Appendix, No. 15, 16.*

Passage over the *Tweed*. And the following Account given by Sir *Edward Walker* confirms it. (x) ' On the 28th of *July* (says he) a strong ' Party of Horse, commanded by Colonel *Mountgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglanton*, fetching ' a Compass, fell into *Cromwell's* Quarters about ' *Mussleborough*; routed six or eight Parties of ' Horse, forced (as 'tis said) *Cromwell* himself, ' in his Drawers, to take his Horse, and pass over ' the River. *Lambert* was hurt in the Action, and ' some slain. And 'tis as probable, that if *Mountgomery* had been seconded, he might as well ' have ruined *Cromwell's* Army, as he did after ' the *Scotish* Army; but being in some Disorder ' in his Retreat, he lost some Men and all his ' Prisoners. And they had probably been too hard ' for *Cromwell* had not the (y) Committee commanded away all *Malignants* and *Engagers*, and ' so lessened the Army of three or four thousand of the best Men, and displaced all Officers suspected, concluding then, they had an ' Army of Saints, and that they could not be ' beaten, for so their (z) lying Prophets daily told ' the People out of the Pulpits. Besides, the ' Gentry out of *Mers* and *Tividall*, who offered ' to offend *Cromwell's* Rear, were, on pain of ' Forfeiture, forbidden to embody themselves, ' or to attempt any thing on him, but to come ' away and leave all to his Power. And I have ' been assured (says Sir *Edward Walker*, (Id. ib.)

(x) A Journal of Affairs in *Scotland*, Anno. 1650. Sir *Edward Walker's* Historical Discourses, p. 163. (y) Id. Ib. p. 165.

(z) Very proper was the Answer given by the brave Sir *Robert Spotswood*, before his Execution, to *Blair* a fanatical Teacher, when he asked him, ' Whether he would not have him and the People to pray for the Salvation of ' his Soul? (Bishop *Wisebart's* History of *Montrose*, p. 173.) He made ' answer, ' That he desired the Prayers of the People, but for his impious ' Prayers which were abominable to God, he desired not to trouble him. And added, ' That of all the Plagues with which the offended Majesty ' of God had scourged that Nation, this was the greatest (greater than Sword, ' or Fire, or Pestilence) that for the Sins of the People, God had sent a lying ' Spirit into the Mouths of the Prophets.

‘ by Persons of great Honour and Integrity, that
 ‘ Offers were made by considerable Persons of
 ‘ the *malignant* and *engaging* Parties, that they
 ‘ would raise another Army, that in case this
 ‘ were beaten, to take up their Quarrel, and in
 ‘ the Interim, to give their Wives and Children
 ‘ in Hostage; that if this was victorious pre-
 ‘ sently to lay down Arms; or at least that
 ‘ they might come into the Army, and have
 ‘ the *Van* against *Cromwell*, but neither would
 ‘ be accepted; the prevailing Party, to colour
 ‘ their Malice and Fear of them (should they get
 ‘ any Power) by their Instruments the Ministers
 ‘ declaring against them, and terming the Sin
 ‘ of *Malignancy*, a Sin against the Holy Ghost :
 ‘ That it was better to fight their Enemies
 ‘ with a handful of elect and godly People, than
 ‘ with mighty Arms loaden with Sin, which
 ‘ like *Achan’s* Wedge, would surely be the
 ‘ Cause of their Destruction.’ And yet it is ob-
 served by him elsewhere (*Journal of Affairs in*
Scotland, Anno 1650. Historical Collections, p.
194.) ‘ That as to the Disposition of the People
 ‘ (of *Scotland*) they were (a) generally for the
 ‘ King and his Government, being most under
 ‘ the Notion of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, above
 ‘ 100 of a 120 Noblemen being in that Con-
 ‘ dition. That most of the Gentry were very
 ‘ loyal, and in a Manner all the common Peo-
 ‘ ple. So that if the King had had the Power
 ‘ of Government, he could not have wanted the
 ‘ Bodies and Hearts of many thousands of gal-
 ‘ lant Men to follow him upon his own Interest,
 ‘ without the Clogs of Declarations and Cove-
 ‘ nants. For it was the sole Affection and Duty
 ‘ of the People to the King, that raised the late

(a) Letters from *Berwick* (1649.) ‘ That the *Scots* Troubles increase,
 ‘ that there are among them five for the King, for one against him.
Whitelock’s Memorials, p. 399.

‘ Army, and without his Interest, all the Power
 ‘ of the ruling Party, with the Prayers, and
 ‘ Threats of their Ministers, would never have
 ‘ brought any considerable Force together.

Mr. Neal, Id. ib. in his Account of the Battle at Dunbar, makes the *Scottish Forces* to consist of thirty thousand of the best Men that ever Scotland saw; in this Battle (says he) four thousand Scots fell, and ten thousand were taken Prisoners:

Cromwell, in his canting Letter from Dunbar, transcribed from the Original into the (b) Appendix, says, “ That the Scots Forces consisted of
 “ 6000 Horse, and 16000 Foot at least: And
 “ that his own Forces (as to sound Men) were
 “ 7500 Foot, and 3500 Horse, and that about
 “ three thousand were slain.” — (c) ‘ Great
 ‘ Lamentations were made by the Scots Ministers
 ‘ upon the ill Success of their Army, who in
 ‘ their Pulpits told God Almighty, “ That it was
 “ little to them to lose their Lives and Estates;
 “ but to him it was great loss to suffer his Chosen
 “ and *Elect* to be destroyed.” Still crying out,
 ‘ not to take in any of the *Engagers*, or to
 ‘ assert the Kingdom of Christ by carnal and
 ‘ selfish Means; then presently they caused a
 ‘ (d) Fast to be kept by his Majesty, and both
 ‘ in their Prayers and Preachings ascribed the
 ‘ Defeat to the Sins of the King’s House and Family, and to his Hypocrisy in complying with
 ‘ them, not for Conscience, but the Love of a
 ‘ Crown. And the Sunday following, at Sterling, Mr. Guthrie said, “ That if his Majesty’s
 “ Heart was as upright as David’s, God
 “ would no more pardon the Sins of his Fa-

(b) Appendix, No. 17.

(c) Eekard’s History of England, Vol. 2. p. 695. Sir Edward Walker’s Historical Discourses, p. 182. See David Lesley’s Letter with the Scots Declaration, Appendix, No. 18.

(d) See fourteen remarkable Reasons by the canting Scots Ministers, as Causes of solemn Humiliation for the Defeat of their Army. Sir Edward Walker’s Historical Discourses, p. 184, 185, 186.

“ ther’s

“ ther’s House for his Sake, than he did the Sins
 “ of the House of *Judah*, for the Goodness of
 “ Holy *Josiah*.”

(e) ‘ The Prisoners were driven like *Turkeys*
 ‘ to *Newcastle*, where 1600 of them were starved
 ‘ with eating of (ee) *Cabbage* Leaves and Oats
 ‘ in small Proportion. The stranger Persons
 ‘ that out-lived this Diet, were condemned to the
 ‘ Sugar-Mills, and by the *English* Planters were
 ‘ transported into the (f) *West-Indies*, which in
 ‘ some Measure proved the Opinion of the *Scots*
 ‘ to be well grounded of the *Barbarity* of *Crom-*
 ‘ well’s Temper.

N. p. 22. ‘Tis an odd Reflection Lord
Clarendon makes upon this Victory, never was
 Victory obtained (says his Lordship) with less La-
 mentation; for as *Cromwell* had great Argument
 of Triumph, so the King was glad of it, as the great-
 est Happiness that could befall him, in the Loss of so
 strong a Body of his Enemies.

And the Reflection would have appeared very
 just, had Mr. *Neal* given his Lordship’s Reasons
 for saying so. (g) ‘ That if they had prevail-
 ‘ ed

(e) *Echard’s History*, Vol. 2. p. 695.

(ee) *Bishop Gutbry* (Memoirs, p. 170.) observes, ‘ That among the *Eng-*
lish Items, he remembered one of 80,000*l.* Sterling, to be allowed them
 ‘ for the *Cabbage* the *Scots* had devoured. Hereby (says he) our great Men
 ‘ saw, how they were slighted by the *English*, and that they meant to give
 ‘ them no more Money, which afflicted them much.

According to Mr. *Clement Walker*, (*History of Independency*, Part 3. p.
 26.) ‘ three thousand of the *Scotish* Prisoners, taken at *Dunbar*, were
 ‘ starved to death at *Durham*, where they ate one another for Hunger, and
 ‘ many hundred Prisoners have been murdered in Goal with Hunger, Cold,
 ‘ Nastiness, and Contagion, after they had been robbed of their Estates, and
 ‘ no Crime laid to their Charge.

(f) Sir *William Dugdale* informs us, (*Short View*, &c. p. 577.)
 ‘ That Mr. *Rigby* a beloved Member, moved twice, that those Lords and
 ‘ Gentlemen who were Prisoners (for no Cause but being Malignants as
 ‘ they termed them) should be sold as Slaves to *Algiers*, and sent to the
 ‘ new Plantations, because he had contracted with two Merchants for that
 ‘ Purpose.

(g) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. 3. p. 294. *Echard’s History*
 Vol. 2. p. 695. *Bishop Kennet’s Compleat History*, Vol. 3. p. 198.
 Mr. *Whitelock* observes (Memorials, p. 472.) ‘ That upon News of the
 ‘ Victory at *Dunbar*, brought to the King, “ He thanked God, that he
 “ was

' ed, his Majesty did believe, that they would
 ' have shut him up in Prison the next Day;
 ' which had been only a stricter Confinement
 ' than he suffered already. For Lord *Lorne*,
 ' eldest Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being
 ' Captain of his Guard, had so watchful a Care
 ' of him Night and Day, that his Majesty could
 ' not go any whither without his Leave; but af-
 ' ter this Defeat, they all looked upon the King
 ' as one they might stand in need of, and per-
 ' mitted his Servants, who before had been se-
 ' questered from him, from his Arrival in the
 ' Kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and
 ' began to talk of a Parliament, and a Time
 ' for the King's Coronation, which had not hi-
 ' therto been spoken of.—So that the King
 ' did, in a good Degree, enjoy the Fruit of this
 ' Victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Ma-
 ' jesty's Advantage was discerned by a few Men
 ' only, and those reduced into an obscure Cor-
 ' ner of the Kingdom.' Nay, the King's Usage
 is hinted at in two original Letters from Mr.
George (afterwards Sir *George*) *Downing*, Scout
Master General to *Cromwell*, a Transcript of
 which the Reader will meet with in the (b)
Appendix.

N. p. 26. *The Scots lost their Courage, and
 surrendered the impregnable Castle of Edinburgh
 into the Hands of the Conqueror.*

" was so rid of the *Scots*, and said, the *Kirk* might now see their Error
 " in prohibiting him to be in Person with their Army, and keeping out
 " the *English* and the rest of his Followers." [See likewise History of In-
 dependency, 4th Part, p. 18.] and Sir *Edward Walker* takes notice, (Histo-
 rical Discourses, p. 195.) ' That he was outwardly served and waited on
 ' with all fitting Ceremony due to a King, but his Liberty not much
 ' above a Prisoner: Centinels being every Night set about his Lodging; few
 ' daring to speak freely or privately to him, and Spies set on his Words
 ' and Actions.—To conclude (says he) Except these Men change their
 ' Principles, or God raise his Majesty other Friends, he shall at best be but
 ' the Shadow of a King, without Power or Authority to defend himself, or
 ' protect his Subjects.

(b) *Appendix*, No. 19, 20.

*Tis plain they did, by the several (i) Letters that passed betwixt *Cromwell*, and *Dundas* the Governor, from the 12th of *December* to the 24th, and *Cromwell's* original Letter of that Day, setting forth the Strength of the Place. All which are transcribed into the (i) *Appendix*.

N. p. 27. *In the University of Oxford, Dr. Reynolds, the Vice-Chancellor, refused the Engagement, but after some time offered to take it, in hopes of saving the Deanery of Christ-Church, but the Parliament resenting the Example, took Advantage of his Forfeiture, and gave the Deanery to Dr. Owen, an Independent Divine, who took Possession of it March 18. 1650-1.*

(k) ' Poor *Dr. Reynolds* (says *Mr. Baxter*) had ' the hardest Measure; for when he refused to ' take the *Engagement*, his Place was forfeited; ' and afterwards *they drew him in to take it*, in ' hopes to keep his Place, (which was no less than ' the Deanery of *Christ-Church*) and then turned ' him out of all, and offered his Place to *Mr. Jos. Caryl*; but he refusing, it was conferred ' on *Dr. Owen*, to whom it was continued from ' Year to Year.

N. p. 29. *An Ordinance was passed for punishing blasphemous and execrable Opinions.*

And never was there so much Occasion for it.

(l) ' It was high Time (says *Bishop Kennet*) ' to think of repressing *Heresies* and *Blasphemies*, ' which now swelled up against Heaven to a ' prodigious Height. One *Salmon*, a Preacher ' in *Coventry*, taught his People to swear and ' curse and commit Whoredom upon this profest Principle *That it was God which did*

(i) *Appendix*, No. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. *Mr. Heatb* observes upon the Surrender of this impregnable Castle (Chronicle, p. 280.) ' That it was always before called the *Maiden*, it ' may now be called the *Prostitute* Castle.

(k) *Baxter's Life*, Part 1. p. 64.

(l) *Bishop Kennet's Compleat Collections*, Vol. 3. p. 194. *Whitelock* p. 446. *Scwell's Hist. Quak.* p. 22.

' *swear*

‘ swear in them ; and that it was their Liber-
 ‘ ty to keep company with Women, to satisfy their
 ‘ natural Appetites : And one *Wike* set up for breath-
 ‘ ing the Spirit of God into Men by kissing them
 ‘ three Times.

(m) ‘ At York a Woman was condemned, March
 ‘ 1647. for crucifying of her Mother, and sa-
 ‘ crificing a Calf, a Cock, &c. and the Hus-
 ‘ band of that Woman was hanged, for having
 ‘ a Hand in that Fact.

(n) A Woman at *Dover* cut off her Child’s
 Head, pretending a particular Command, like
 that God gave *Abraham*.

(o) A Quaker fasted so long that he died at
Colchester. Resolving to eat nothing, because it
 it is witten, *That Men shall not live by Bread
 alone, but by every Word which proceedeth out of
 the Mouth of God.*

(p) Letters of many Robberies and wicked
 Actions, and of a Butcher of *Malton*, who hanged
 his Wife ; and of a Woman who burnt two of
 her Children, as soon as she was delivered of
 them : And *Whitlock* says, (Memorials, p. 248.)
 ‘ That there was Information of one in *Kent*,
 ‘ who married his Father’s Wife, and had a Child
 ‘ by her.

(q) ‘ From *Dumfrieze*, (*Scotland*) May 13.
 ‘ 1656. *Alexander Agnew*, commonly called
 ‘ *Jock*

(m) A Copy of a Letter from York, 1. April 1647, Packets of Let-
 ters from Scotland, &c. Publick Library Cambridge, XIX. IX. 2. *Whit-*
lock’s Memorials, p. 298. *Kennet*, Vol. 3. p. 194.

(n) History of *English and Scotch Presbytery*, p. 203. *penes me.* ‘ When
 ‘ shall a Man read in Story of a Father’s slaughtering his Son (says Bishop
 ‘ *Bramhall*, *Serpent Salve*, Works, p. 543.) except perhaps, some frantick
 ‘ *Anabaptist* in Imitation of *Abraham* ?

(o) History of *English and Scotch Presbytery*, p. 104. *Whitlock’s Me-*
morials, p. 636.

(p) *Whitlock’s Memorials*, p. 446.

(q) *Mercurius Politicus*, Numb. 316, p. 7064, 7065, &c. *penes me.* Mr.
Whitlock tells us, *Memorials*, p. 438. ‘ That one *Coppe*, an *Anabaptist* in
 ‘ Prison, was a great Swearer and Curser, and held that God could not damn
 ‘ him, and persuaded many to be of his Religion. And (p. 440.) That his
 ‘ Book, Intituled, *A Fiery Flying Roll*, &c. was ordered to be burnt by the
 ‘ common Hangman. And remarkable was the Behaviour of some of their
 ‘ *Enthusi-*

' *Jock* of broad *Scotland*, being accused; Foras-
 ' much as by the divine Law of Almighty God,
 ' and Acts of Parliament of this Nation, the
 ' Committers of the horrid Crime of *Blasphemy*
 ' are punished by Death; nevertheless in plain
 ' Contempt of the said Laws and Acts of Par-
 ' liament, the said *Alexander Agnew* uttered hei-
 ' nous and grievous *Blasphemies* against the Omni-
 ' potent and Almighty God, and second and third
 ' Persons in the Trinity, as the same is set down
 ' in divers Articles in manner following; to
 ' wit,

" First, The said *Alexander* being desired to
 " go to Church, answered, *hang God, God was*
 " *hanged long since*, what had he to do with God;
 " he had nothing to do with God.

" Secondly, He answered, He was nothing in
 " God's *Common*, God gave him nothing, and he
 " was no more obliged to God than to the Devil,
 " and God was very greedy. Thirdly, When
 " he was desired to seek any thing in God's
 " Name, he said, he would never seek any thing
 " for God's Sake, and that it was neither God
 " nor the Devil that gave the Fruits of the
 " Ground, the Wives of the Country gave him
 " his Meat. Fourthly, Being asked, Wherein
 " he believed? answered, He believed in white
 " Meal, Water, and Salt. Fifthly, Being asked,
 " How many Persons there were in the God-
 " head? answered, There was only one Person
 " in the Godhead, who made all; but for
 " Christ he was not God, because he was made,
 " and came into the World after it was made,
 " and died as other Men, being nothing but mere
 " Man.

' *Enthusiastick* Clergy before this Time, for *Montague* has this Query in his Vi-
 ' sitation Articles (*Tit. 6. Sect. iv.*) ' Doth your Minister refuse to baptize
 ' the Child, unless the Father will make publick profession that he taketh
 ' it to be his own, and not begotten in Adultery; which to my Knowledge
 ' hath been practised by some indiscreet Zealots of the *preciser* Cut?

" Sixthly,

“ Sixthly, He declared that he knew not
 “ whether (r) God or the Devil had the greater
 “ Power; but he thought the Devil was the
 “ greatest; and when I die (said he) let God
 “ and the Devil strive for my Soul, and let
 “ him that is strongest take it. Seventhly, He
 “ denied that there was a Holy Ghost, or knew
 “ that there was a Spirit, and denied that he
 “ was a Sinner and needed Mercy. Eighthly, he
 “ denied that he was a Sinner, and scorned to seek
 “ God’s Mercy. Ninthly, He ordinarily mocked
 “ all Exercise of God’s Worship, and Invocation
 “ of his Name, in Derision, saying, Pray you to
 “ your God, and I will pray to mine, when I think
 “ time; and when he was desired by some to
 “ give Thanks for his Meat, he said, Take a
 “ Sackful of Prayers to the Mill, and grind
 “ them, and take your Breakfast of them; to
 “ others he said, I will give you a Two-pence,
 “ and pray until a *Boll* of Meale, and one Stone
 “ of Butter fall down from Heaven through the
 “ House Rigging to you; to others, when Bread
 “ and Cheefe was given him, and was laid on the
 “ Ground by him, he said, If I leave this I will
 “ long cry to God before he give it me again.
 “ To others he said, Take a *Bannock* (a Cake)
 “ and break it in two, and lay down one half
 “ thereof, and you will long pray to God before
 “ he put the other half to it again.

“ Tenthly, Being posed whether or not he
 “ knew God or Christ? he answered, He never
 “ had any Profession, nor never would; he ne-
 “ ver had any Religion, nor never would; also
 “ that there was no God nor Christ, and that

(r) As blasphemous almost was what *Bond* a Preacher uttered at the
Savoy (*Dugdale’s Short View*, p. 569.) ‘ Telling them in the Pulpit, that
 ‘ they ought to contribute, and pray, and do all they were able to bring in
 ‘ their Brethren of *Scotland*, for the settling of God’s Cause, I say, (quoth
 ‘ he) this is God’s Cause, and if our God had any Cause, this is it. *And*
 ‘ if this be not God’s Cause, then God is no God for me; But the Devil is got
 ‘ up into Heaven.

“ he never received any thing from God, but
 “ from Nature, which he said ever reigned and
 “ ever would ; and that to speak of God and
 “ their Persons was an idle thing, and that he
 “ would never name such Names, for he had
 “ shaken his Cap of these Things long since ;
 “ and he denied that a Man has a Soul, or
 “ that there is a Heaven, or a Hell, or that
 “ the Scriptures are the Word of God. Con-
 “ cerning Christ, he said, He heard of such a
 “ Man, but for the second Person of the Trinity,
 “ *he* had been the second Person in the Trinity,
 “ if the Ministers had not put him in Prison,
 “ and that he was no more obliged to God than to
 “ the Devil. And these aforesaid Blasphemies
 “ are not rarely or seldom uttered by him, but
 “ frequently and ordinarily in several Places
 “ where he resorted, to the entangling, delud-
 “ ing, and seducing the common People, thro’
 “ the committing of which *Blasphemies*, he hath
 “ contravened the Tenor of the said Laws and
 “ Acts of Parliament, and incurred the pain
 “ of Death mentioned therein, which ought to
 “ be inflicted upon him with all Rigour, in
 “ manner specified in the *Indictment*.

‘ Which Indictment being put to the Know-
 ‘ ledge of an Assize, the said *Alexander Agnew*,
 ‘ called *Jock of broad Scotland*, was by the said
 ‘ Assize, all in one Voice, by the Mouth of
 ‘ *William Carlile*, late Bailly of *Dumfrieze*, their
 ‘ Chancellor, found guilty of the Crime of *Blas-*
 ‘ *phemy*, mentioned in the Indictment. For which
 ‘ the Commissioners ordained him upon *Wednes-*
 ‘ *day*, 21. *May* 1656. betwixt two and four
 ‘ Hours in the Afternoon, to be taken to the
 ‘ ordinary Place of Execution for the Burgh of
 ‘ *Dumfrieze*, and there to be hanged on a Gib-
 ‘ bet while he be dead, and all his moveable
 ‘ Goods to escheat.

See

See a remarkable Account of one *Faulkener* in the (s) Margin.

And nothing more plainly discovers the Iniquity of those Times than the great Numbers of People executed in *England* and *Scotland* for Witches

(s) *Howel's Philanglus*, p. 166. *Whiteock's Memorials*, p. 556. The following Account is given of *Faulkener*, *Perfect Diurnal* Number, 180. p. 2723. *penes me.* ' On Friday the 20th Day of May, 1653, there was a Great Trial in the upper Bench-Bar in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord Chief Justice *Rolls*, and the rest of the Justices of the Upper-Bench, upon an Indictment of Perjury against one *Richard Faulkener*, the single Witness against the Lord *Craven*, as to the Petition pretended to be promoted by the Lord *Craven*, when the King of *Scots* was at *Breda* in *Holland*, subscribed by the said *Faulkener*, and about 30 Officers more, and wherein the *Parliament of England* (as it was sworn by the said *Faulkener*) was styled by the Name of barbarous and inhuman Rebels. The hearing of this Business held from nine in the Morning till two in the Afternoon. There were produced on behalf of the Commonwealth several Witnesses whose Hands were to the same Petition with *Faulkener's*, who positively proved the Falseness of his Oath, and gave Evidence, that the Petition then delivered was for no other Purpose but for Monies to discharge the present Wants they were reduced unto, being run much upon the Score where they quartered at *Breda*, which Testimony of these Witnesses was confirmed by one of *Faulkener's* own Witnesses, which he produced in Court; and there was further Evidence given in Court, upon Oath, on behalf of the Commonwealth, as to the Life and Conversation of the said *Faulkener*, that the said *Faulkener*, did at *Petersfield*, in *Suffex*, kneel down upon his Knees in the Middle of the Town, and drunk a Health to the Devil, that he said, It should not be said that the Family of the *Faulkeners* should be extinct without doing some infamous Act.

Another Witness depos'd, That he said, Our Saviour Christ was a Bastard, and that his Father was a poor Carpenter, and that he carried his Father's Tools after him in a Basket.

And lastly, It was proved by his own Witnesses, That he was sent over as a Spy beyond the Seas, and proved by the Witnesses for the Commonwealth, that he said in *Holland*, When he see he could get no Monies to his Mind, God dam him, he would goe into England to doe all the mischief he could, and then came and made the said Oath against the Lord *Craven*, which upon this Evidence, and the producing a Copy of the first original Petition (all of *Faulkener's* own Hand writing) wherein he would have had the Words barbarous and inhumane Rebels inserted, but the rest of the Officers refused to give way to it; and much more Evidence was then made appear unto the Court and Jury, concerning the Falsity of the said *Faulkener's* Oath, whereupon the Jury found him Guilty of corrupt, wilful, false, and malicious Perjury. Mr. *Healy*, (*Chronicle*, p. 291.) says, ' That this wretched Subornation was laid to the Lord *Grey*, of *Grooby*, who afterwards sold his own Inheritance to purchase some of this Lord's. And tho' this Villain, *Faulkener*, was convicted of wilful Perjury, and afterwards Lord *Craven* prosecuted his Right before a Committee appointed to judge Claims, where *Bradshaw* had the Chair (who to captate an Opinion of Justice, seem'd to favour the Merit of the Cause, and gave a Resolution accordingly :) yet could his Lordship by no means recover his Possession; being baulk'd and wearied with a fruitless Suit and Attendance during the Usurpation." Such was the Justice of those Times.

if they were guilty; or the barbarous Superstition of the Times, if they were innocent (which is the more probable.)

Take a Specimen from Mr. *Whitelock*.

(t) ' The *Scots* (says he) execute many for Witches.

(u) ' Letters (July 1649.) that five Witches were burnt at *Edinburgh* who had the Marks upon them which they had from the Devil.

(x) ' Letters from *Scotland*, September 3. 1649. that more and more Witches were condemned to the Fire, two that Day, eleven the next Day, and twenty-five burnt before.

(y) ' In a Letter from Serjeant *Widdrington*, to the Lord *Whitelock*, that he met with a Discovery of Witches by a *Scotchman*, who professeth himself an (z) Artist in that way, I know
' not

(t) *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 407.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 411.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 423.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 424.

(z) Such an Artist we had in *England*; *Witch-Finder* to the associated Counties, of whom Dr. *Hutchinson*, (*Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, published 1718. p. 65.) gives the following Account, ' One *Hopkins*, (says he) a noted *Witch-Finder*, went on searching and swimming the poor Creatures, till some Gentlemen, out of Indignation to the Barbarity, took him, and tied his own Thumbs and Toes, as he used to tie others, and when he was put into the Water, he himself swam as they did; this cleared the County of him, and 'tis a pity they did not think of the Experiment sooner.

'Tis to this Man probably that Mr. *Butler* alludes.

Has not this present Parliament
A Ledger to the Devil sent,
Fully empower'd to treat about
Finding revolted Witches out?
And has not be within a Year,
Hang'd Threescore of them in one Shire?
Some only for not being drown'd:
And some for sitting above Ground
Whole Nights and Days upon their Breeches,
And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches,
And some for putting knavish Tricks
Upon Green Geese and Turkey Cocks,
Or Pigs that suddenly deceas'd
Of Grievs unnatural, as he guess'd,

‘ not whence he derives his Skill, his Salary was
 ‘ 20s. for every Witch, he got 30l. after that
 ‘ rate.

(a) ‘ Letters, *October*, 1649. That a Minister
 ‘ and his Wife, near *Edinburgh*, were lately ap-
 ‘ prehended as Witches.

(b) From *Newcastle*. ‘ A great many Witches
 ‘ were apprehended thereabouts, of late, that the
 ‘ Witch-Tryer taking a Pin, and thrusting it into
 ‘ the Skin in many parts of their Bodies, they were
 ‘ insensible of it, which is one Circumstance of
 ‘ Proof against them.

(c) Letters from *Edinburgh*, *January* 1649.
 ‘ That many Witches were daily apprehended,
 ‘ and brought to the Fire. (d) ‘ From *Ber-*

‘ *wick* (15. *April*, 1649.) That at a little Vil-
 ‘ lage within two Miles, two Men, and three
 ‘ Women were burnt for Witches, and nine
 ‘ more were to be burnt, the Village consisting but
 ‘ of 14 Families, and there were as many Witches.

(e) *July* 24th 1650. Letters of one Man and
 ‘ two Women about *Boston* committed for Witches.
 ‘ That the Man confessed, That he had a Fa-
 ‘ miliar suckt him at some Paps which he then
 ‘ shew’d: That he sign’d a Writing to the Devil,

*Who after prov’d himself a Witch,
 And made a Rod for his own Breech,*

Hudibras, 2d Part. Canto III.

Dr. *Hutchinson* confirms these Remarks of Mr. *Butler*, (*Ibid.* p. 63.)
 ‘ Do but imagine a poor old Creature, under all the Weakness and Infirmi-
 ‘ ties of old Age, set like a Fool in the Middle of a Room, with a
 ‘ Rabble of ten Towns round about her House; then her Legs tied cross,
 ‘ that all the Weight of her Body might rest upon her Seat; by that means,
 ‘ after some Hours that the Circulation of the Blood would be much stop-
 ‘ ped, her sitting would be as painful as the Wooden-Horse: Then she
 ‘ must continue in her Pain four and twenty Hours without either Sleep
 ‘ or Meat; and since this ungodly way of Trial, what wonder was it,
 ‘ if when they were weary of their Lives, they confessed any Tales that
 ‘ would please them, and many times they knew not what?

(a) *Whitelock*, p. 429.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 434.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 439.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 450.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 465.

(f) 'to deny God, and *Jesus Christ*, and that the
 ' Familiar drew Blood from those Paps, and ap-
 ' peared to him in the Shape of a white Chicken.
 ' That he signed the Devil's Covenant with a
 ' Piece of Stick, with the same Mark that he
 ' now made at the Bottom of his Examination;
 ' that both the Women confessed the like. (g)
 ' Letters (*October* 4, 1652.) that sixty Persons,
 ' Men and Women, were accused before the
 ' Commissioners for Administration of Justice
 ' in *Scotland*, at the last Circuit for Witches;
 ' But they found so much (b) Malice, and so
 ' little Proof against them that none were con-
 ' demned.

(i) ' Letters, *October* 29. That some accused
 ' for Witches had been tortured to make them
 ' confess, by tying their Thumbs behind them, and
 ' then hanging them up by their Thumbs, while two
 ' Highlanders whipt them; after which they set
 ' lighted Candles to the Soles of their Feet, and be-
 ' tween their Toes, then burned them by putting
 ' lighted Candles in their Mouths, and then burn-
 ' ing them in the Head.

' That six of them were accused, of whom
 ' four of them died of the Torture; the Judges
 ' resolved to examine the Business, and to find
 ' out these *Scotch* Tormenters; that another Wo-
 ' man being accused for a Witch, was kept
 ' 28 Days with only Bread and Water, and
 ' stripped naked, and laid upon a cold Stone,

(f) The Author of *Mercurius Publicus*, Numb. 20. p. 319, 320.
 penes me, has the following Words. ' You may possibly suspect that this
 ' is feigned News, but so many express Letters from sober Hands will
 ' testify for us, and may mind you of that *Witch*, who upon his Examina-
 ' tion at *Edinburgh*, confessed, " That the Devil had bound him to re-
 ' nounce his Creed and *Christianity*, (*Christianity*) but gave him leave to
 ' keep his Covenant." (The Wags add this as the Reason that the Devil
 ' himself was at the making of it) (g) *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 545.

(b) Mr. Petyt (*Visions of the Reformation*, p. 123.) says, ' You de-
 ' bauch'd the People with superstitious Fears, which made them fly into a
 ' wicked Rebellion, and afterwards they were as unjustly hanged up in
 ' Bundles for the Sin of Witchcraft.

(i) *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 548.

‘ with only Hair-Cloth over her ; that among the
 ‘ accused, others had Hair-Shirts dipt in Vinegar
 ‘ put over them to fetch off the Skin.

‘ (k) Letters *December*, 1653. of diverse
 ‘ Witches examined and sent to Prison, some of
 ‘ them called *black Witches*, who killed Men, Wo.
 ‘ men, and Children, and Cattle, by their Witch-
 ‘ crafts, and others of them called white Witches,
 ‘ who healed those that were bewitched by
 ‘ the other, and that this was confessed by
 ‘ them.

Nor were the Executions of this kind less fre-
 quent in *England*, as appears from the Book re-
 ferred to in the (l) Margin.

N. p. 30. *Though several Ordinances had been
 made for the strict Observation of the Lord's-Day ;
 yet the present House of Commons thought fit to en-
 force them, and ordain, that all Goods cried and put
 to Sale on the Lord's-Day, &c. shall be seized, no
 Waggoner, or Drover shall travel on the Lord's-
 Day, on Penalty of ten Shillings for every Offence,
 the like Penalty for being at a Tavern, such was the
 Severity of these Times.*

There is nothing here mentioned, but what
 our Laws took notice of both before and since
 that time. By the 3d of *Charles the First*, Cap.
 1. 'tis enacted, That no Carrier, Waggoner,
 Carman, Wainman, or Drover shall travel on
 the Lord's-Day, upon pain to forfeit 20s. and
 every Butcher killing or selling Meat on that Day,
 incurred the Forfeiture of 6s. 8d. and since,
 by the 29th of *Charles the 2d*, Cap. 7. which
 is entitled, *An Act for the better Observa-
 tion of the Lord's-Day*, 'tis enacted, That all
 Laws relating to the Observation of the Lord's-

(k) Ibid. p. 570. Mr. *Ady*, as Dr. *Hutchinson* informs us (*Historical Essay*,
 p. 38.) says, There were many thousands burnt in *Scotland* in those un-
 settled Times.

(l) Dr. *Hutchinson's Historical Essay*, &c. p. 37, 38, &c. Where he
 mentions about sixty executed in the County of *Suffolk*.

Day shall be put in Execution. That no Labour shall be done upon that Day, on pain of forfeiting 5 s. that no Person shall cry Goods, or expose them to Sale upon pain of Forfeiture, and that no Drover, Horse-Courser, Butcher, Higler, shall travel on *Sundays* on pain of forfeiting 20 s. for each Offence, nor any Waterman be employed upon pain of 5 s.

And the *Spiritual* Courts formerly had (as I suppose they still have) Power to enjoin Penances in Cases of this kind, which Power they frequently put in (kk) Execution. But notwithstanding this, they could never arrive at that *Sabbatarian* Strictness practised by (l) some in those Times.

Mr. Neal in his Account of *George Fox*, observes.

N. p. 33. That he apprehended, that the Lord had forbid him to put off his Hat to any one, high or low.

And his Followers have generally kept up to his Rule.

Mr. Sewell (himself a *Quaker*) informs us (m),
 ' That King *James* (the Second) used the *Quakers*
 ' kindly in all Respects, and would not suffer

(kk) *Appendix*, No. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

(l) ' Some have killed their Cat, because she had taken a Mouse on Sunday, but deferred the Execution till Monday.

Hist. of English and Scotch Presbytery, p. 202, 203, *penes me*.

*Veni Banbury, O profanum !
 Ubi vidi Puritanum,
 Felem facientem furem,
 Quia Sabbatbo strav it murem.*

*To Banbury came I, O profane one !
 Where I saw a Puritane one,
 Hanging of his Cat on Monday,
 For Catching of a Mouse on Sunday.*

Drunken Barnaby's Journal, 3d Edit. p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

' And a good old puritanical Gentlewoman killed her Cock for treading the Hens on the Sabbath-Day.

Petyt's Visions of the Reformation, p. 9.

Nay, a *Precisian* of those Times knocked out the Head of his Barrel of Beer, for working upon the Sabbath-Day.

(m) *Sewell's History of the Quakers*, p. 609.

his Servants to molest any for not pulling off their Hats when they came near his Royal Person: Nay, so far went this Condescension, that a certain Countryman of the Quakers Persuasion coming to him with his Hat on his Head, the King took off his own Hat, and held it under his Arm, which the other seeing, said, *The King needs not keep off his Hat for me.* To which the Prince returned, *You don't know the Custom here, for that requires, that but one Hat must be on here.*

N. p. 34. *In the Year 1650. these wandering Lights first received the Denomination of Quakers upon this Occasion; their speaking to the People was usually attended with convulsive Agitations, and Shakings of the Body. All their Speakers had these Tremblings which they gloried in, asserting it to be the Character of a good Man to tremble before God.*

Remarkable is the Account given of their Tremblings by John Gilpin, of Kendal, in Westmoreland, one of their Followers for some time, (n) 'Going (says he) a second time to one of their Meetings, at Edmund Newby's, I had some Conference by the Way with some of themselves, which went with me: Amongst other Blasphemies, one Robert Collison affirmed, *That Christ was a Man, had his Failings, for he distrusted God (quoth he) upon the Cross, when he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* To whom I answered, *That then he suffered as an Evil-doer, and so could not purchase Redemption for us: After his coming home, he, who was then the Speaker, urged us to take up the Cross daily, and to abide under*

(n) The Quakers shaken, or a Warning against Quaking. Being 1. A Relation of the Conversion and Recovery of John Gilpin, of Kendal, in Westmoreland, who was not only deluded, but possessed with the Devil, &c. p. 2, 3, 4. London, printed 1655. Publick Library, Cambridge, XIV. 5. 11.

‘ it; saying, *Carry the Crosse all Day, and it*
 ‘ *will keep thee at Night.* That this would keep
 ‘ us low and humble, and kill and make alive;
 ‘ Further he endeavoured to persuade his Audi-
 ‘ tors to *bearken to a Voice within them, teaching*
 ‘ *that God’s Voice was still a Voice:* After which,
 ‘ I resolved in my Thoughts to wait for the Ma-
 ‘ nifestation of all these things within my self.

‘ After a while, going a third Time to their
 ‘ Meeting, as I went, I was somewhat troubled in
 ‘ my Thoughts, at the Remembrance of that
 ‘ *hideous Blasphemy* utter’d by the Party before
 ‘ named. Whereupon I spake publickly to them
 ‘ in their Meeting concerning it, telling them,
 ‘ I would not any further join with them, if they
 ‘ were all of that Mind: To which some of them
 ‘ (after much whispering) answered *negatively*, wish-
 ‘ ing me not to let it trouble me; for he which
 ‘ spake so to me was not rightly called, with which
 ‘ Answer I was at present satisfied, and did ad-
 ‘ here to my former Resolution: Not long after,
 ‘ I went to another Meeting upon a *Lord’s-*
 ‘ *Day*, at *Robert Collison’s* House, in *Kendall*,
 ‘ where the aforesaid *Atkison* was Speaker, who
 ‘ beginning about nine a Clock in the Forenoon,
 ‘ continued till three in the Afternoon, in which
 ‘ time he spake much (according to his usual
 ‘ Manner) of the great Experience which he had
 ‘ of God *from the Light within him*, which *Light*
 ‘ I not finding to be in my self, was very much
 ‘ troubled, apprehending my Condition to be very
 ‘ bad, finding nothing but Blindness and Hard-
 ‘ ness; yet I still expected the Appearance of the
 ‘ Light within me, and earnestly desired I might
 ‘ fall into *Quaking and Trembling*, apprehending
 ‘ that I should thereby attain to the immediate
 ‘ Discovery of God unto me. Upon my Depart-
 ‘ ure from thence, I perused a Pamphlet, set
 ‘ forth by some of the same Faction being in

‘ York Castle, the main Scope of it was against
 ‘ the *Ministry* ; immediately after, walking in
 ‘ my Bed-chamber, I began (as I have formerly
 ‘ desired) to *tremble* and *quake* so extremely,
 ‘ that I could not stand upon my Feet, but was
 ‘ constrained to fall down upon my Bed, where
 ‘ I *howled* and *cried* (as it is usual with them) in
 ‘ a terrible and hideous manner, to the great
 ‘ Astonishment of my Family ; nevertheless, I my
 ‘ self was not at all affected with Fear, because
 ‘ it was Satisfaction to my former Desires, and I
 ‘ looked upon it as the Pangs of the new Birth.
 And after relating several remarkable Things
 which he took to be Illusions of the Devil,
 he concluded (p. 14.) ‘ I rest fully persuaded, and
 ‘ I think it doth evidently appear (by what is
 ‘ mentioned in this Relation) to Persons unpre-
 ‘ judiced, *that my quaking and trembling was of*
 ‘ *the Devil*; and that I was acted wholly and solely
 ‘ by him, whilst in this Condition ; and I do
 ‘ really believe, that others in the like Condition
 ‘ which I was then in, would be of the same
 ‘ Mind with me upon a serious Trial of their
 ‘ Condition, by the Principles of the *Christian*
 ‘ Religion ; and sanctified Reason. Lest the
 ‘ Strangeness of some Passages in this Relation
 ‘ should put the Faith of any one upon the
 ‘ Rack, or make them question the Truth here-
 ‘ of, I have not only given Testimony my self
 ‘ of it, by subscribing my Name, but also pro-
 ‘ cured several Persons of known Fidelity living
 ‘ in or near *Kendall* (whose Names are under
 ‘ written to testify the Probability (if not the Cer-
 ‘ tainty) of the Truth of it, by what they have
 ‘ seen and heard.

John Gilpin.

‘ I believe this Relation to be true.

Edward Turner, Major of Kendall.

‘ By

‘ By what I have heard of the Carriage
‘ of *John Gilpin*, and his Actings, I do believe
‘ this Relation to be true.

Jo. Archer.

‘ I saw him, when he went through the Town,
‘ declaring himself *the Way, the Truth, and the*
‘ *Life.*

Ja. Cock.

We believe this Relation to be true.

J. Walker, Pastor of *Kendall*.

J. Myrriell, Master of the Free-School there.

Rich. Prissoe.

Thomas Sands.

Allan Gilpin.

John Washington.

Robert Fisher.

N. p. 35. *Mr. Baxter says, Many Franciscan Friars and other Papists have been disguised Speakers in their Assemblies, but little Credit is to be given to such Reports.*

And *Mr. Baxter*, (if he is to be credited) gives his Authority elsewhere for saying so.

(o) ‘ The Information of *George Cowlishaw* of
‘ the City of *Bristol*, Ironmonger, taken the
‘ 22. Day of *January*, 1654.

Who informeth on his Oath, “ That in the
“ Month of *September* last, this Informant had
“ some Discourse in *Bristol* with one *M. Coppinger*,
“ an *Irishman*, formerly a School-Fellow of his, that
“ came thither purposely for his Passage into *Ire-*

(o) The *Quakers Catechism*, or the *Quakers* questioned, their Questions answered, and both published for the Sake of those that have not yet sinned unto Death. By *Richard Baxter*, London, 1656. Publick Library Cambridge, xiv. 5. 11. Preface, *Mr. Baxter* says, in the same Book, Answer to *Quakers Queries*, p. 1. That he had received Letters from some of them with the following Appellations. [*Tbou Serpent, Viper, tbou Child of the Devil, tbou Son of Perdition, tbou dumb Dog, tbou false Hireling, tbou false Liar, Deceiver, greedy Dog, tbou ravening Wolf, tbou cursed Hypocrite*]

“ land,

‘ This is a true Copy of the Original Information, taken upon Oath, Jan. 22 last at *Bristol*, before the Town Clerk and Magistrates of the City.

Various other Instances about that time as well as of later Date, in proof of Mr. *Baxter's* Assertion might be produced, but I shall trouble the Reader only with two or three.

(r) ‘ One, a known *Papist*, being formerly in *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, coming lately from *London* to *Plymouth*, to pass in a Ship to *Portugal* discovered himself to be a *Quaker*, and carried away with him but in another Ship a *Professed Quaker*.

This Account from *St. Martin's* in *Cornwall*, April 24, 1656. (s) From aboard the *Yarmouth Frigate* at the *Spithead*, Feb. 9. 1657.

‘ By reason of contrary Winds we still remain here. We are sorry to hear of the Plots against the Life of his Highness; but more may be expected, when so many *Jesuits* flock into *England*.

‘ When I was at *Rochel*, I was credibly informed that two *Jesuits* went from thence to *England* being sent by the *Pope*, to frame themselves *Quakers*, thereby the more easily to persuade the People to cast off all Government, under pretence of a *Light within* them. This I thought fit to acquaint you with, that you may know what Disguises the *Jesuitical Crew* walk under among you.

Remarkable is the Account given by the late Reverend Dr. *Taswell*, in his Letter to a *Quaker*, concerning the Rise and Original of *Quakerism*.

(t) ‘ About the end of the Year 1664, (says he) when we had broke up at *Westminster*, where I was

(r) *Mercurius Politicus*, April 17, 1656. No. 306. p. 6910. penes me.

(s) *Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 348. p. 7587. penes me.

(t) The Popish Priest unmasked, or the Quakers Plea for Non-payment of Tythes answer'd. By *William Taswell*, D. D. London printed for Richard

' was then a School Boy, I went to *Greenwich*,
 ' where my Father had a Country House. While
 ' I was there, a *French* Merchant came to visit
 ' my Father, who was of the same Profession.
 ' After they had talked together a little about
 ' *France*, the Gentleman told my Father, that im-
 ' mediately after the beheading of King *Charles*
 ' the First, he went over into *France*, and that
 ' during his Stay there, he was several times at-
 ' tacked by a *Popish Priest*, who would have per-
 ' suaded him to change his Religion. The *Priest*
 ' urged, that there was no Salvation to be had but
 ' in the *Catbolick Church*, that the Church of
 ' *England* (which alone had the Appearance of a
 ' Church) was down, and that when 'twas stand-
 ' ing, 'twas a Building but of late Erection, begun
 ' by King *Henry* the Eighth, merely upon a Pique
 ' between him and the Pope, not upon any re-
 ' ligious Account, which by the bye, is the same
 ' Argument made use of in your *Quakers Plea*.

' I had no mind, said the Gentleman, either to
 ' change my Religion, or to enter into any Dis-
 ' pute with him upon that Subject, and therefore
 ' made the more haste to return home, that I
 ' might be rid of his Importunity.

' When I came into *England*, I found Swarms of
 ' Sectaries rising out of the Ruins of the Church

Richard Sare ————— 1722. p. 48. Mr. Long (Epistle Dedicatory to his Compendious History of *Popish* and *Pbanatical* Plots) calls *Quakerism* a Compound of the Dregs of *Popery* and *Fanaticism*. Remarkable is the Account given the Author of *Foxes* and *Firebrands* (Part 2. p. 102.) of a pretended *Quaker* in a Red Coat reading and construing the learned Languages, (*viz.* *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*) which when Dr. Hammond asked him, how he came to that Science, he replied, *by the Holy Spirit*. But when the Doctor called for a *Welsh* Bible, and said, If thou beest inspired, read me this Book and construe it: But the Red Coat being at last catched, said, I have given thee Satisfaction enough. The Doctor charged a Constable with him, and had him carried before *Oliver Cromwell*, whom *Quaker* like, he *thou'd* and *thee'd*; but upon searching his Chamber at the Doctor's Request, they found an old Chest with several Papers and seditious *Popish* Books, and in his Boots Papers stuffed, and a *Parliament Bull* of Licence to this Impostor granted under several Names, to assume what Function or Calling he pleased.

of *England*, like Insects out of a dead Carcass.
 Among the rest, the Sect of *Quakers* was then
 in *Embryo*, not quite hatched. I was of Opin-
 ion, that it was requisite for me to join with
 some Congregation; but was in suspense which
 of them I should go to. At last I was
 told that at such a Place there was a very
 heavenly Man, that preached by the Spirit, and
 strangely captivated all his Hearers. I had
 the Curiosity to go and hear him. As soon as I
 cast my Eye upon him, I thought I had seen
 that Man, and had been in his Company some-
 where, but I could not tell where; he delivered
 himself with a great deal of Zeal and Earnest-
 ness; and talked with much Fervency of the
In-dwellings of the Spirit; he inveighed bitterly
 against the *Pope*: And pretending to be an un-
 designing Man of no Reach, he let fall this Ex-
 pression: *Davus sum, non Oedipus*.

Then the Gentleman turning to me, said,
 Do you understand that, Child? I told him, I
 had lately learned it in *Terence*. The Gentleman
 then went on, and said; upon this I fixed my
 Eye on him again, and presently called to mind
 who he was.

When he was come down from Preaching,
 I took him aside, and called him by his Name.
 He was startled, and seemed to be surprized:
 but said, Sir, you are mistaken, that is not my
 Name. Then I said, Sir, Did I not see you in
France? and did not you there use such Argu-
 ments to bring me over to the Church of *Rome*?
 He denied that he had ever seen me there. Then
 I told him I had no Design to betray him, nor to
 bring him into Trouble, but if he persisted in
 his Denial of what I knew to be true, I would
 presently charge a Constable with him, and car-
 ry him before a Magistrate. Upon this, he
 owned the whole Matter, and said, what he did
 was

‘ was in Obedience to his Superiors, who had sent
 ‘ him to preach up *Quakerism* in *England*.

‘ Now *Friend*, you may perceive how the Re-
 ‘ ligious of those *Saxon Anabaptists* might be trans-
 ‘ lated here into *England*, and withal may see in
 ‘ what Hands you are, and how you and your
 ‘ Party are made the Tools of subtle and designing
 ‘ Men, who, by your Destruction, work out their
 ‘ own Ends.

I am

Your sincerest Friend

Nov. 28, 1721.

W. T.

Nor can the *Dissenters* of other (u) Denomina-
 tions clear themselves in this respect: In a late
 Search (1658 says the Author of *Mercurius*
Politicus Num. 409. p. 430.) ‘ There was found
 ‘ one, who for a Season has lodged up and down
 ‘ in several places in and about the City, pretend-
 ‘ ing himself a *Protestant*, and frequented several
 ‘ of the *Presbyterian* Assemblies, seeming to own
 ‘ them with Respect, and inveighed against the
 ‘ *Papists*, saying, that if he knew of any Design
 ‘ they had, he would be the first that should reveal
 ‘ it. And when he was apprehended, it being in
 ‘ *Wapping*, and questioned what he was, professed
 ‘ himself to be a *Frenchman*; but upon other Dis-
 ‘ covery of him by Beads, a Wafer Cake, Cru-
 ‘ cifixes, and Letters, and further Examination,
 ‘ acknowledged that he was a *Roman Catholick*

(*) The Stories of *Heath* and *Cummin* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days are well
 known, and too well attested ever to be disprov'd, though the *Dissenters* have
 frequently, but ineffectually attempted it.

Bishop *Bramhall* (in his Answer to *Militere*, Works p. 27, 28.) has the
 following Words, ‘ Only give me Leave as a By-stander to wonder, why you
 ‘ are so cholerick against them, (viz. *Presbyterians*, *Brownists*, *Independents*,
 ‘ &c.) for certainly they have done you more Service in *England*, than ever you
 ‘ could have done yourselves.

‘ The Story of the *Scottish* Missionary (says the Author of the Detection
 ‘ of *Papish Missionaries* and *Sectaries*, printed 1710, p. 16, penes me) that
 ‘ pretended himself a *Jew*, and gave the *Anabaptists* the Glory of his Con-
 ‘ version and Rebaptizing, who was afterwards discover'd at *Newcastle*, is
 ‘ published, and commonly known.

‘ born

born in *Ireland*, and lived in *Limerick*, and was there during all the Rebellion. And Bishop *Kennet* (from exact Collections, p. 425.) (*) takes Notice, that in 1649, there were Papers taken in a *French Man's Trunk* at *Rye*, discovering a *Popish Design* to be set on foot in *England*, with Commissions from the Bishop of *Chalcedon* by Authority of the *Pope*, to *Popish Priests* and others for settling the Discipline of the *Romish Church* in *England*, and *Scotland*. And the Bishop justly observes upon it, 'That the Spiritual Wickednesses of those Times gave the greater Hopes to the *Papists*, who were never more numerous and busy. And Letters from *Rome* received *February 1, 1649-50*, advised, that they had there an Agent from *England*, and that the *English Priests* there were very confident, that within few Years, their Religion would be established in *England*. Most certainly the *Priests* and *Jesuites* well knew, that a Confusion in Church and State would be their Seed-Time and Harvest, for which Reason they helped to destroy Archbishop *Laud*, and the King himself.

N. p. 37. *The Coronation of King Charles by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give Life to their Cause, was performed on New Year's Day 1650-1, with as much Magnificence as their Circumstances would admit.*

'Twas performed with as much Ceremony (I believe) as former Coronations in *Scotland* had been. The Particulars as follow.

(*) Complete History, Vol. 3. p. 194. The *Papists* (says Dr. Bennet, Introduction to the Abridgment of the *London Cases*, p. 10.) generally sheltered themselves under the Vizor of *Independency*: a College of *Jesuites* was settled at *Combe* in 52. and 155 were reconciled to *Rome* that Year. *Cromwell* said, that he had some Proof that *Jesuites* had been found amongst the Discontented Parties: and Dr. *Baily* the *Papist* courted him as the Hopes of *Rome*. One of his Physicians (Dr. *Bates*, *Elench. Mot.* Part 2. p. 347.) as he was treating with the *Papists* for a Toleration, but brake off because they came not up to his Price, and because he feared it would be offensive.

The

(y) The Coronation of CHARLES the Second, King of SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, FRANCE, and IRELAND done at SCOON, January 1, 1651.

‘ First, the King’s Majesty in a Prince’s Robe
‘ was conducted from his Bed-Chamber, by the
‘ Constable on his Right Hand, and the Marshal
‘ on his Left, to the Chamber of Presence ; and
‘ there was placed in a Chair, under a Cloth of
‘ State by the Lord of ANGUS, *Chamberlain*
‘ appointed by the King for that Day ; and there,
‘ after a little Repose, the Noblemen with the
‘ Commissioners of *Barons*, and Burroughs entered
‘ the Hall, and presented themselves before his
‘ Majesty.

‘ Thereafter, the Lord Chancellor spoke to
‘ the King to this Purpose : “ Sir, your good
“ Subjects desire you may be crowned as the
“ righteous and lawful Heir of the Crown of this
“ Kingdom ; that you would maintain Religion
“ as it is *presently* professed and established : con-
“ form to the National Covenant, and League and
“ Covenant, and according to your Declaration at
“ *Dumferling* in Aug. last : also that you would be
“ graciously pleased to receive them under your
“ Highness’s Protection, to govern them by the
“ Laws of the Kingdom, and to defend them in
“ their Rights and Liberties by your Royal Power,
“ offering themselves in most humble Manner to
“ your Majesty with their Vows, *to bestow Land,*
“ *Life, and what else is in their Power for the*
“ *Maintenance of Religion, for the Safety of your*

(y) The Form and Order of the Coronation of CHARLES II. King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland. As it was acted and done at Scoon the first Day of January, 1651.

By ROBERT DOWGLAS Minister at *Edinburgb*.
LONDON, printed according to the Author’s own Copy, to prevent any Counterfeit, 1660, *penes me*.

The first Edition, printed at *Aberdene*, by James Brown, 1651, *penes Amicissimum Virum, Tho. Baker, S. T. B.*

Reprinted in the *Phenix* Edit. of Scarce Tracts, Vol. I. p. 232, 233, 234, 235, &c. See Appendix, No. 41. *Heath’s Chronicle*, p. 281, &c.

“ ligious, for the Safety of your Majesty’s sacred Per-
“ son, and Maintenance of your Crown; which they
“ intreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty
“ God that for many Years you may enjoy the same.”

“ The King made this Answer, “ I do esteem
“ the Affections of my good People more than
“ the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and shall be
“ ready by God’s Assistance to bestow my Life
“ in their Defence; wishing to live no longer
“ than I may see Religion and this Kingdom
“ flourish in all Happiness.”

• Thereafter, the Commissioners of Burroughs,
• and Barons, and the Noblemen, accompanied his
• Majesty to the Kirk of *Scoon* in Order and
• Rank, according to their Quality two and two,
• the Spurs being carried by the Earl of *Eglington* ;
• next the Sword by the Earl of *Rothies*, then the
• Sceptre by the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindesay* ;
• and the Crown by the Marquis of *Argyle*, imme-
• diately before the King. Then came the King
• with the *Great Constable* on his right Hand, and
• the *Great Marshal* on his Left : His Train be-
• ing carried by the Lord *Ereskine*, the Lord
• *Mountgomery*, the Lord *Newbottle*, and the Lord
• *Macblene*, four Earls eldest Sons : under a Ca-
• nopy of Crimson Velvet, supported by six Earls
• Sons, to wit the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord
• *Carnegie*, the Lord *Ramsay*, the Lord *Johnstoun*,
• the Lord *Brechin*, Lord *Yester* ; and the Six
• Carriers supported by six Noblemen's Sons.
• Thus the King's Majesty entered the Kirk. The
• Kirk being fitted and prepared with a Table,
• whereon the Honours were laid, and a Chair set
• in a fitting Place for his Majesty's hearing of
• Sermon, over against the Minister, and another
• Chair on the other Side where he received the
• Crown, before which there was a Bench decent-
• ly covered ; as also Seats about, for Noble-
• men, Barons and Burgessees. And there being
• H also

* also a Stage in a fit Place erected of 24 Foot
 * Square, about four Foot high from the Ground,
 * covered with Carpets, with two Stairs one from
 * the West, another to the East, upon which great
 * Stage. there was another Stage erected some two
 * Foot high, ascending by two Steps, on which
 * the Throne or Chair of State was set.

* The Kirk thus fittingly prepared, the King's
 * Majesty entereth the same, accompanied as a-
 * foresaid, and first setteth himself in his Chair
 * for hearing Sermon.

* All being quietly composed unto Attention,
 * Mr. *Robert Douglas* Moderator of the General
 * Assembly, after in calling upon God's Prayer,
 * preached (z) a Sermon on 2 *Kings*, xi. 12, 17.

* Sermon being ended, Prayer was made for
 * a Blessing upon the Doctrine delivered.

* The

(z) This Sermon is a remarkable Piece of Cant, as appears from the two following Passages. 'It is earnestly wished, that our King's Heart may be tender and truly humbled before the Lord for the Sins of his Father's House, and of the Land, and for the many Evils that are upon the Family, and upon that Kingdome. (This was likewise their Cant in their Declaration. See *Appendix*, No. 15) , The King should reform his Family after the Example of Godly Kings: *Aja* when he entered into Covenant spared not his Mother's Idolatry: The House of our King hath been much defiled by Idolatry.

Bishop *Bramhall* observes, (Answer to the Epistle of Mr. *de la Miltiere's* Works, p. 44.) 'That the Scots had an ancient Obligation to Fidelity towards his Majesty and the Royal Family than the *English*, is a Truth not to be doubted or disputed of. I think, (says he) I may safely add, than any Nation in *Europe*, or the known World, to their Prince, *his Majesty being the hundred and tenth Monarch of that Line that hath swayed the Sceptre of that Kingdome successively*. The more the pity, that a few treacherous *Sebas*, and a pack of *Bawling Seditious Orators*, under the Vizard and Shadow of pure Religion, to the extreme Scandal of all honest Professors, should be able to overturn such an ancient Fabrick, and radicated Succession of Kingly Government. And again, (p. 45.) 'The obstinate Ringleaders, and Standard Bearers of the *Presbyterian Covenant*, of both Robes, and the Setters up of this Mischapen Idol. It is from these, I say, that no Help or Hope could in Reason be expected: They, who sold the Father, and such a Father, were not likely to prove Loyal to the Son: They, who hanged up one of the most ancient Gentlemen in *Europe*, the gallant Marquis of *Montrose*, being then *lawful Viceroy*, like a Dog, in such a base and barbarous Manner, together with his Majesty's Commission, to the publick Dishonour of their King, in the chief City of that Kingdome, in a Time of Treaty; they, who purged the Army over and over, as loath to leave one Dram of Honesty or Loyalty in it, who would not admit their Fellow Subjects of much more Merit and Courage than themselves to assist them; they

‘ The King being to renew the Covenants,
 ‘ first the National Covenant, then (a) the solemn
 ‘ League and Covenant were distinctly read.

‘ After the Reading these Covenants, then
 ‘ the Minister prayed for Grace to perform
 ‘ the Contents of the Covenants, and for
 ‘ faithful Steadfastness in the Oath of God :
 ‘ and then (the Ministers and Commissioners of
 ‘ the General Assembly desired to be present,
 ‘ standing before the Pulpit) he ministred the
 ‘ Oath unto the King, who kneeling, and lifting
 ‘ up his right Hand did swear, &c.——

‘ After the King had solemnly sworn the Na-
 ‘ tional Covenant, the League, and the King’s
 ‘ Oath, subjoyned unto both, being drawn up in-
 ‘ to a fair Parchment, the King did subscribe
 ‘ the same in Presence of all.

‘ Thereafter the King ascendeth the Stage, and
 ‘ sitteth down in the Chair of State.

‘ they, who would not permit his Majesty to continue among the Soldiery,
 ‘ lest he should grow too popular ; they, who after they had proclaimed to the
 ‘ World his Right and Title to the Crown, yet sought to have him excluded
 ‘ from the Benefit of it, and from the Execution of his Kingly Office, until
 ‘ he should abjure his Religion, cast Dirt upon his Parents, alienate his loyal
 ‘ Subjects, and ratify the Usurpation of the Rebels: These, these I say,
 ‘ were the most unlikely Persons to be his Restorers.

‘Tis observ’d by Mr. *James Howell* (*Philanglus* p. 112.) ‘ That when
 ‘ Monsieur *Bellieure* the *French* Ambassador, was convey’d by a Troop of
 ‘ *Scotch* Horse to such a Stand, in Lieu of *Largess* to the said Troopers, he
 ‘ drew out a Half Crown Piece, and asked, how many Pence that was ?
 ‘ They answered 30 Pence, he replied, for so much did *Judas* betray his
 ‘ Master, and hurl’d them the Half Crown.’ A just Reflection upon those
 ‘ Traitors who had betrayed their King for a Reward, to the *English* Rebels.

(a) ‘ The Covenant (says the Author of the History of the *English* and
 ‘ *Scotch* Presbytery, p. 313.) is the Den of *Cyclops* paved with Blood, hung
 ‘ with Spoils: ‘Tis the Cave of *Radamanth* where is heard the Noise of Whips,
 ‘ the clattering of Chains, the Menaces of *Furies*, and the pitiful Shrieks of
 ‘ those whom the Vulture tare apieces ; and who are dead alive. There
 ‘ you shall behold thousands massacred, stretched upon the Ground, the Flower
 ‘ of the Church and State cut off, the Grandure of the Kingdom reduced
 ‘ into a Heap of Ruins, upon which sit some *petit* Gentlemen enriched by
 ‘ the general Wreck, and fattened with the Blood and Bowels of their miserable
 ‘ Country ; there you shall behold the *Grande*es of the Kingdom a Foot,
 ‘ begging the Favour of their Inferiors on Horseback, and beholding their
 ‘ Offices and Revenues distributed amongst common Persons and their
 ‘ Enemies.

‘ Then the Lords, *Great Constable* and *Marshal*,
 ‘ went to the four Corners of the Stage with the
 ‘ Lyon going before them; who spoke to the
 ‘ People these Words: Sirs, “ I do present un-
 ‘ to you the King, *Charles*, the rightful and
 ‘ undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of
 ‘ this Realm; this Day is by the Parliament of
 ‘ this Kingdom appointed for his *Coronation*.
 ‘ And are you not willing to have him for your
 ‘ King, and become Subjects to his Command-
 ‘ ments?

‘ In which Action the King’s Majesty stood up
 ‘ shewing himself to the People in each Corner;
 ‘ and the People expressed their Willingness by
 ‘ chearful Acclamations in these Words. *God*
 ‘ *save the King, Charles the Second.*

‘ Thereafter the King’s Majesty supported by
 ‘ the *Constable* and *Marshal*, cometh down from
 ‘ the Stage, and sitteth down in the Chair, where
 ‘ he heard the Sermon.

‘ The Minister, accompanied with the Ministers
 ‘ beforementioned, cometh from the Pulpit to-
 ‘ wards the King, and requireth, if he was willing
 ‘ to take the Oath appointed to be taken at the
 ‘ Coronation.

‘ The King answered he was most willing.

‘ The Minister tendered the Oath unto the
 ‘ King, who kneeling and holding up his right
 ‘ Hand swore in these Words: *By the Eternal*
 ‘ *and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for*
 ‘ *ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained*
 ‘ *in this Oath.*

‘ This done, the King’s Majesty sitteth down
 ‘ in his Chair and reposeth himself a little.

‘ Then the King ariseth from his Chair, and is
 ‘ disrobed by the Lord *Great Chamberlain* of the
 ‘ Princely Robe, wherewith he entered the Kirk,
 ‘ and is invested by the said *Chamberlain* in his
 ‘ Royal Robes.

‘ There-

‘ Thereafter, the King being brought to the Chair on the North Side of the Kirk, supported as formerly, the Sword was brought by Sir William Cockburn of Langtown, Gentleman Usher, from the Table, and delivered to the Lyon King of Arms, who giveth it to the Lord Great Constable, who putteth the same into the King’s Hand, saying, *Sir, receive this Kingly Sword for the Defence of the Faith of Christ, and Protection of his Kirk, and of the true Religion, as it is presently professed within this Kingdome, and according to the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant, and for executing Equity and Justice, and for Punishment of all Iniquity and Injustice.*

‘ This done, the Great Constable receiveth the Sword from the King, and girdeth the same about his Side.

‘ Thereafter the King sitteth down in the Chair, and then the Spurs were put on him by the Earl Marshal.

‘ Thereafter Archibald Marquis of Argyle, having taken the Crown in his Hand, the Minister prayed to this Purpose.

‘ *That the King would purge the Crown from the Sins and Transgressions of them that did reign before him; that it might be a pure Crown; that God would settle the Crown upon the King’s Head: And since Men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on and preserve it.* And then the said Marquis put the Crown on the King’s Head.

‘ Which done, Lyon King of Arms, the Great Constable standing by him, causeth an Herald to call the whole Noblemen, one by one according to their Ranks; who coming before the King kneeling, and with their Hand touching the Crown on the King’s Head, swore these Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your Leige Men, and*

‘ *Truth and Faith shall bear unto you, against all
 ‘ manner of Folks whatsoever in your Service, accord-
 ‘ ing to the National Covenant, and Solemn League
 ‘ and Covenant.*

‘ Then did the Earls and Viscounts put on
 ‘ their *Crowns*, and the *Lyon* likewise put on his.

‘ Then did the *Lord Chamberlayn* loose the
 ‘ *Sword* wherewith the King was girded, and
 ‘ delivered it drawn into the King’s Hands; and
 ‘ the King put it into the Hands of the *Great
 ‘ Constable*, to carry it naked before him.

‘ Then *John Earl of Crawford* and *Lindesay*
 ‘ took the *Sceptre* and put it into the King’s
 ‘ right Hand, saying, *Sir, receive this Sceptre the
 ‘ Sign of Royal Power of the Kingdome, that you
 ‘ govern yourself right, and the People committed by
 ‘ God to your Charge, punishing the Wicked, and
 ‘ protecting the Just.*

‘ Then did the King ascend the Stage attended
 ‘ by the Officers of the Crown and Nobility, and
 ‘ was installed in the Royal Throne by *Archibald
 ‘ Marquis of Argyle*, saying, *Stand and hold fast
 ‘ from henceforth the Place whereof you are the
 ‘ lawful and righteous Heir, by a long and lineal
 ‘ Succession of your Fathers, which is now de-
 ‘ livered unto you by the Authority of Almighty God.*

‘ When the King was set down upon the Throne,
 ‘ the Minister spoke to him a Word of Exhorta-
 ‘ tion.—which ended,

‘ The *Lord Chancellor* went to the four Corners
 ‘ of the Stage, the *Lyon* going before him, and
 ‘ proclaimed his Majesty’s free Pardon to all
 ‘ Breakers of Penal Statutes, and made Offer
 ‘ thereof. Whereupon the People cried, *God
 ‘ save the King.*

‘ Then the King supported by the *Great Constable*,
 ‘ *Marshal*, and accompanied with the *Chancellor*,
 ‘ arose from the Throne, and went out of a Door
 ‘ prepared for that Purpose, to a Stage, and
 ‘ shewed

‘ shewed himself to the People without, who
 ‘ clapped their Hands, and cried out with a loud
 ‘ Voice a long Time, *God save the King.*

‘ Then the King, returning and sitting down
 ‘ upon the Throne, delivered the *Sceptre* to the
 ‘ Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindesay*, to be carried
 ‘ before him: Thereafter *the Lyon King of Arms*
 ‘ rehearsed the Royal Line of the Kings from
 ‘ *Fergus* the First.

‘ Then the *Lyon* called the Lords one by one,
 ‘ who kneeling and holding their Hands betwixt
 ‘ the King’s Hands, did swear these Words. By
 ‘ *the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and*
 ‘ *reigneth for ever, I become your Leige Man, and*
 ‘ *Truth and Faith shall bear unto you, and live and*
 ‘ *die with you against all manner of Folks whatso-*
 ‘ *ever, in your Service, according to the National*
 ‘ *Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant.*

‘ And every one of ’em *kiss’d the King’s left Cheek.*

‘ When these Solemnities were ended, the Mi-
 ‘ nister standing before the King on his Throne,
 ‘ pronounced this Blessing.

‘ *The Lord bless thee and save thee, the Lord bear*
 ‘ *thee in the Day of Trouble; the Name of the God of*
 ‘ *Jacob defend thee: the Lord send thee Help from the*
 ‘ *Sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion, Amen.*

‘ After the Blessing pronounced, the Minister
 ‘ went to the Pulpit, and had the following Ex-
 ‘ hortation, the King sitting still upon the Throne.
 ‘ Ye have this Day a King crowned, and entered
 ‘ into Covenant with God and his People; look
 ‘ both King and People that ye keep his Covenant,
 ‘ and beware of the Breach of it: That you may
 ‘ be the more careful to keep it, I will lay a few
 ‘ things before you.

‘ I remember, that when the (b) *Solemn League*

(b) So much were the *Scots* attached to the *Covenant*, (as we learn from *Whitelock*, Memorial p. 28.) That the Covenanters answer to the Mar-
 quis (of *Hamilton*) ‘ That they would sooner renounce their Baptism than
 ‘ the *Covenant*, and would not endure to hear the Proposition a second time.

“ and Covenant was entered by both Nations,
 “ the Commissioners from *England* being present,
 “ in the *East-Kirk* of *Edinburgh*, a Passage was
 “ cited out of *Neb. vi. 13.* which I shall now
 “ again cite. *Nebemiah* required an Oath of the
 “ Nobles and People to restore the mortgaged
 “ Lands, which they promised to do: After the
 “ Oath was tendered in the 13 Verse, he did
 “ shake his Lap, and said, *So God shake out every*
 “ *Man from his House, and from his Labour, that*
 “ *performeth not his Promise; even thus be he*
 “ *shaken and emptied, and all the Congregation said*
 “ *Amen.* Since the Time, many of those who
 “ were in Covenant, are shaken out of it, yea
 “ they have shaken off the Covenant and laid it
 “ aside, it is true they are prospering this Day,
 “ and think that they prosper by laying aside
 “ the Covenant. But they will be deceived, that
 “ Word spoken then, shall not fall to the Ground;
 “ God shall shake them out of their Possession,
 “ and empty them for their perfidious Breach of
 “ the Covenant (c).

“ The

(c) ‘ But now (says Mr. *James Howell*, *Philanglus*, p. 148.) that we have
 ‘ fallen upon the *Covenant*, which may be said to be an Engine forged in
 ‘ Hell for battering of the Conscience, I will tell you of an odd Passage
 ‘ that happened about that Time. There was one Master *Heron* a Printer,
 ‘ who being sent for by Lady *Tilbury*, she told him, That now there is a
 ‘ National Covenant come forth, which every one must take, She had a
 ‘ Sermon in a fair Manuscript, of that great Light of the Church, Master
 ‘ *Brightman*, which treats of Universal Covenants, and how far they are
 ‘ agreeable to Scripture, and consonant to the Word of God, and it had
 ‘ been preached before the House of Commons 30 Years before, and there-
 ‘ fore it would be now seasonable to print and publish it. The Printer giving
 ‘ her Ladyship many Thanks, received the Sermon, (which she avouched up-
 ‘ on her Honour to be a true Copy) and undertook the Business, so he went
 ‘ to him who was appointed by the Synod to licence for the Press Pieces of
 ‘ this Nature, to get an *Imprimatur*. But the Synodical Man having kept
 ‘ the Sermon above three Days by him, the Printer went for his Sermon,
 ‘ and found it formally licensed for the Press, but most pitifully falsified,
 ‘ interlined, and adulterated in many Places. For whereas the Opinion of
 ‘ *Brightman* throughout the whole Sermon was, that a National and a Gene-
 ‘ ral Covenant was agreeable to the Word of God, *provided the King did give*
 ‘ *his Royal Assent thereunto, without which it was both detestable and dam-*
 ‘ *nable.* The Synodical Man had expunged the word *King* every where,

and

“ The same I say to *King and Nobles*, and all
 “ that are in Covenant, If you break that Cove-
 “ nant being so solemnly sworn, all those who
 “ had touched your Crown, and sworn to sup-
 “ port it, shall not be able to hold it on : But
 “ God will shake it off and turn you from the
 “ Throne. And ye *Noblemen* who are assistant
 “ to the putting on of the Crown, and setting the
 “ King upon the Throne, if ye shall either assist
 “ or advise the King to break the Covenant,
 “ and overturn the Work of God, he shall shake
 “ you out of your Possessions, and empty you of
 “ all your Glory.”

“ Another Passage I offer to your Considera-
 “ tion, *Jer. xxxiv. 8.* after that *Zedekiah* had pro-
 “ mised to proclaim Liberty to all the Lord’s Peo-
 “ ple, who were Servants, and entered in a Cove-
 “ nant, he and his Princes, to let them go free ;
 “ and according to the Oath had let them go ;
 “ afterwards they caused the Servants to return,
 “ and brought them in Subjection, *Ver. 11.*
 “ What followeth upon this Breach, *Ver. 15, 16.*
 “ *Ye were now turned, and had done right in my*
 “ *Sight in proclaiming Liberty, but ye turned, and*
 “ *made them Servants again. And therefore Ver. 18,*
 “ *19, 20, 21. I will give the Men who have*
 “ *transgressed my Covenant, who have not performed*
 “ *the Words of the Covenant, which they made be-*
 “ *fore me, when they cut the Calf in twain, and*
 “ *passed between the Parts thereof, I will even give*
 “ *them into the Hand of their Enemies, into the*
 “ *Hand of them that seek their Life, even Zedekiah*
 “ *and his Princes. If the Breach of a Covenant*

“ and soisted in the Room of it, sometimes the word *Parliament*, sometimes
 “ the *Trustees of the Commonwealth*. The Printer having perused the Inter-
 “ lineations, told him, That were he to get 1000 *l.* by the printing of that
 “ Sermon, he would not be so arrant a Knave as to wrong the dead so
 “ much, by making him speak what he never meant, nay quite contrary to
 “ his Meaning. I saw the said Sermon, and the Manner how it was so
 “ basely sophistified,

“ made

“ made for the Liberty of Servants was so pu-
 “ nished ; what shall be the Punishment for a
 “ Breach of a Covenant for Religion, and Li-
 “ berty of the People of God ? There is nothing
 “ more terrible to Kings and Princes, than to
 “ be given into the Hands of Enemies that seek
 “ their Life. If ye would escape this Judgment,
 “ let Kings and Princes keep their Covenant made
 “ with God. Your Enemies who seek your Life
 “ are in the Land ; if you break the Covenant,
 “ it may be feared God will give you over unto
 “ them as a Prey : But if ye yet keep the Co-
 “ venant, it may be expected that God will keep
 “ you out of their Hands.

“ Let not the Place ye heard opened be for-
 “ gotten, for in it ye have an Example of Divine
 “ Justice against *Joash*, and the Princes, for break-
 “ ing that Covenant, 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 23. The
 “ Princes who inticed that Breach are destroyed ;
 “ and in the 24th Verse it is said, *The Army of*
 “ *the Syrians came with a small Company of Men,*
 “ *and the Lord delivered a very Great Host into*
 “ *their Hands ; because they had forsaken the Lord*
 “ *God of their Fathers : So that they executed Judg-*
 “ *ment against Joash.* And Ver. 25. *His own Ser-*
 “ *vants conspired against him, and slew him on his*
 “ *Bed, &c.* The Conspiracy of Servants or Subjects
 “ against their King is a wicked Course, but God
 “ in his righteous Judgments suffereth Servants
 “ to conspire and rebel against their Princes, be-
 “ cause they rebel against the Covenant made
 “ with God. *I may freely say, that a chief Cause*
 “ *of the Judgment upon the King's-House, hath been*
 “ *the Grand Father's Breach of Covenant with*
 “ *God, and the Father's following his Steps in opposing*
 “ *the Work of God, and his Kirk within these King-*
 “ *doms : they broke Covenant with God, and Men*
 “ *have broken Covenant with them ; ye most cruelly*
 “ and

“ *and perfidiously have invaded the Royal Family,*
 “ *and trodden upon all Princely Dignity.*

“ Be wise by their Example: you are now
 “ sitting upon the Throne of the Kingdome, and
 “ your Nobles about you; there is one above
 “ you even *Jesus the King of Sion*; and I, as his
 “ Servant, dare not but be free with you. I
 “ charge you, Sir, in his Name, that you keep this
 “ (d) Covenant in all Points, if you break this Co-
 “ venant, and come against this Cause, I assure
 “ you, the Controversy is not ended between God
 “ and your Family, but will be carried on to farther
 “ weakening, if not Overthrow of it; but if you
 “ shall keep this Covenant, and befriend the Kingdom
 “ of Christ, it may be from this Day God shall begin
 “ to do you Good; although your Estate be very
 “ weak, God is able to raise you, and make you
 “ to reign, maugre the Opposition of all your
 “ Enemies: and howsoever it shall please the
 “ Lord to dispose, you shall have Peace towards
 “ God, through Christ the Mediator.

“ As for you who are Nobles and Peers of
 “ the Land, your Share is great in this Day of
 “ Coronation; ye have come and touched the
 “ Crown, and sworn to support it; ye have
 “ handled the Sword and Sceptre, and have set
 “ down the King upon his Throne.

“ I. I charge you keep your Covenant with
 “ God, and see that ye never be moved your
 “ selves to come against it in any Head, or

(d) This canting Teacher by his frequent Repetition of the word *Covenant*, seems as zealous for it as one of the Lord Say's Tenants (Dugdale's Short View p. 569.) a Lay Preacher at Brouton near Banbury, who cry'd out in his Prayer, 'We know, O Lord, that *Abraham* made a Covenant, and *Moses* and *David* made a Covenant, and our *Saviour* made a Covenant, but this Parliament Covenant 'tis the greatest of all Covenants.' And 'tis observed by Sir Edward Walker, (Journal of Affairs in Scotland 1650, Historical Discourses, p. 160.) 'that at the King's entering into Saint Andrew's, Mr. Rutherford, Head of one of the Colleges, made him an Oration; and amongst other his Expressions, told him, that if he persisted not in the Covenant, *Actum est de Rege, et Re Regia*,

“ Article thereof: and that ye give no Counsel to
 “ the King to come against that Doctrine, Worship,
 “ Government and Discipline of the *Kirk* establish-
 “ ed in this Land, as you would eschew the Judg-
 “ ment of *Covenant-Breakers*. If the King and ye,
 “ who are engaged to support the Crown, con-
 “ spire together against the Kingdome of Christ,
 “ both ye that do support, and he that is sup-
 “ ported, will fall together. I press this the
 “ more, because it is a rare Thing to see a King
 “ and great Men for Christ: In the long Cata-
 “ logue of Kings which ye have heard recited
 “ this Day, there will be found few that have
 “ been for Christ.

“ 2. I charge you also because of your many
 “ Oaths to the King, that ye keep them invio-
 “ lably. Be faithful unto him according to your
 “ Covenant, the Oaths of God are upon you,
 “ if directly or indirectly you do any thing a-
 “ gainst his standing, God, by whom ye have
 “ sworn, will be avenged upon you for the Breach
 “ of this Oath.

“ And now I will close up all in one Word
 “ more to you: *Sir, you are the only covenanted*
 “ *King with God and his People in the World:*
 “ Many have obstructed your Entry in it: now
 “ seeing the Lord hath brought you in over all
 “ these Obstructions, only observe to do what
 “ is contained therein, and it shall prove a happy
 “ Time for you and your House. And because
 “ you are entred in Times of great Difficulty,
 “ wherein small Strength seems to remain with
 “ you in the Eyes of the World, for recovering
 “ your just Power and Greatness; therefore take
 “ the Counsel which *David* when he was dying
 “ gave to his Son *Solomon*, 1 Kings ii. 2, 3. *Be*
 “ *strong and shew thy self a Man, keep the Charge*
 “ *of the Lord thy God, to walk in his Ways, and*
 “ *keep his Commandments, that thou mayst prosper*

“ in

“ in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou
 “ turnest thyself.

‘ After this Exhortation, the Minister closed
 ‘ the whole Action with Prayer, and the xx Psalm
 ‘ being sung, he dismissed the People with a
 ‘ Blessing.

‘ Then did the King’s Majesty descend from
 ‘ the Stage with the Crown upon his Head, and
 ‘ receiving again the Sceptre in his Hand, re-
 ‘ turned with the whole Train in solemn Man-
 ‘ ner to his Palace, the Sword being carried be-
 ‘ fore him.

N. p. 39. *The Scots were so jealous that all this
 (viz. the King’s Compliance in taking the Cove-
 nant, &c.) was from (e) Necessity, that they would
 suffer none of his old Friends to come into his Pre-
 sence, and Councils, nor so much as serve in the
 Army.*

This is true as to the Chiefs of the Covenanters,
 but the Generality of the People favoured the
 King, as has been already observed, which like-
 wise appears from a Letter from Lieutenant Ge-

(e) Sir Edward Walker says, (Historical Discourses, &c. p. 170.) ‘ That
 ‘ to many it may seem strange that his Majesty was induced to sign it,
 ‘ (viz. the wicked Declaration that they imposed upon him) but I think my-
 ‘ self bound in Duty, and for his Majesty’s Vindication to offer unto them
 ‘ the following Considerations. First, that Necessity had brought him into
 ‘ such Hands, as not out of meer Loyalty, but for their own Interest had seemingly
 ‘ wedded him. 2dly, most of those in Power about him, as well *English* as
 ‘ others, passionately persuaded him to it, laying down the Dangers by his
 ‘ Refusal, as the deserting of the Army, and probably his own Restraint,
 ‘ and an Union with *Cromwell*. Thirdly, the Ministers made it a matter of
 ‘ Conscience, and Breach of Covenant and Treaty. Fourthly, It is
 ‘ possible great Advantages of Power and Interest were laid before him to
 ‘ facilitate his Compliance, notwithstanding all which, he many Days per-
 ‘ sisted in his Refusal, untill he had got some Alterations made in Reference
 ‘ to his Father. So that considering the Time that it was done in, the Im-
 ‘ portunity that was upon him, and the ill Consequences represented in case
 ‘ of his Refusal, with the pretended Advantages on the contrary, I believe
 ‘ it will be found, that few Princes in the like Exigent, (though of much
 ‘ more Years and Experience) would have so long resisted so hard and despe-
 ‘ rate Assaults. What Room then for Mr. Neal’s Reflection (p. 38.) *That*
 ‘ *our Historians, who complain of the Prevarications of Cromwell, would do*
 ‘ *well to find a Parallel to this in all History?*

neral *Lambert*, (who was then in *Scotland*) transcribed into the (f) *Appendix*.

Indeed in *October* 1651, (after their ill Success at *Worcester*) Mr. *Whitelock* observes, (Memorials, p. 511.) ‘ That divers *Scots* Ministers were permitted to meet at *Edinburgh*, to keep a Day of ‘ Humiliation (as they pretended) for their too ‘ much Compliance with the King. And in the ‘ same Month (Memorials, p. 514.) that Lord ‘ *Argyle* had called a Parliament, and that Mr. ‘ *Andrew* (g) *Cant* a Minister, said in his Pulpit, “ That God was bound to own that Parliament; “ that all other Parliaments were called by Man, “ but this was brought about by his own Hand.

N. Ibid. *He heard many Prayers and Sermons of a great Length, I remember (says Bishop Burnet) in one Fast Day, there were six Sermons preached without intermission.*

Barbarous Usage this to a King, who was not so great a hearer of Sermons, as those *Precisians*, of whom Dr. *South* makes mention, (Serm. Vol. 3. p. 186.) in the following Words: “ Ay but “ says another, I am a great Hearer and Lover “ of Sermons, (especially of Lectures) and it is this “ which is the very Delight of my *righteous Soul*, “ and the main Business of Life; and tho’ indeed “ according to the good old *Puritan* Custome, I “ walk and talk out the Prayers before the Church “ Door, or without the Choire, yet I am sure “ to be always in at Sermon: nay, I have so entirely devoted my whole Time to the hearing “ of Sermons, that I must confess, I have hardly “ any left to practise them. And will not all “ this set me right for Heaven? Yes, (says he) “ no doubt, if a Man were to be pulled up to

(f) *Appendix*, No. 42.

(g) From the two *Cants*, this *Andrew Cant*, and his Son Mr. *Alexander Cant*, all seditious Praying and Preaching in *Scotland* was called *Canting*, *Mercurius Publicus* Num. 9. 1661. p. 132. 133.

“ Heaven

“ Heaven by the Ears; or the Gospel would but
 “ reverse its Rule, and declare, *that not the Doers*
 “ *of the Word, but the Hearers only shall be justi-*
 “ *fied.*

Mr. Neal informs us, p. 40. *That the Presby-*
terian Plot was discovered by Major Adams, to the
Council of State, he being apprehended upon Suspicion,
and that Mr. Jenkins's Petition (who was secured
upon this Occasion) being expressed in very strong
Terms, was ordered to be printed.

But he does not inform us of the remarkable
 Positions in that Petition, which are as follow.

(b) 1. That the Parliament of the Common-
 wealth of *England* without the King were the
 supreme Authority of this Nation.

2. That God's Providences (that is his Permif-
 sion of Events and Success) are antecedent Decla-
 rations of his Good-will and Approbation.

3. That the Providences of God as evidently
 appeared in removing the King, and then investing
 their Honours with the Government of the Na-
 tion, as ever they appeared in the taking away,
 or bestowing of any Government in any History
 of any Age of the World.

4. ‘ That a Refusal to be subject to this Au-
 ‘ thority, under the Pretence of upholding the
 ‘ Title of any one upon Earth, is a Refusal
 ‘ to acquiesce in the wise and righteous Pleasure
 ‘ of God, such an opposing the Government set
 ‘ up by the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and
 ‘ Earth, as none can have Peace either in acting
 ‘ or suffering for.

5. ‘ That it is our Duty to yield to this Au-
 ‘ thority all active and chearful Obedience, in the
 ‘ Lord, even *for Conscience sake.*

(b) *Evangelium Armatum: A Specimen or short Collection of several*
Doctrines and Positions destructive to Government, both Civil and Ecclesi-
astical, p. 2. London, 1663. 4to. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, XIV. v. 11.

Mr. Neal's Remark upon the Story (taken by Mr. Echard, from Dr. Nalson's *true Copy of the Journal of the High-Court of Justice*, p. 28.) of some *Cavaliers* taking the Letter of Reprieve for Mr. Love, out of the *Northern Packet*, and tearing it with Indignation, as not thinking him worthy to live, who had been such a Fire-brand at the Treaty at Uxbridge, is this. That if the Story be true, Mr. Love fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable Rage of the *Cavaliers*.

But more just is a MS. Note, that I have seen entred upon the Margin of Dr. Nalson's Introduction, where that Story is related, by a good Hand. "It might be observed (says he) as a Circumstance contributing to make his Death appear the more Judicial, that when Archbishop Laud was beheaded, this Mr. Love, in a most inhuman Triumph, flourished his Handkerchief dipt in the Blood of that great and venerable Prelate." Which will fully justify Lord Clarendon's Character of Mr. Love, from Mr. Neal's Exceptions, (p. 48.) there was a Petition on his Behalf, from diverse Ministers in and about London, presented to the *Rump*, upon the Day appointed for his Execution in the following Words, (i) 'Earnestly, and in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, who when we were Sinners died for us; if not totally to spare the Life of our dear Brother, that yet you will say of him, as Solomon of Abiathar, That at this Time he should not be put to Death. Nay, he himself behaved in the most abject Manner, as appears from his Petitions to the *Rump*. (k) Your dying Petitioner (says he) humbly prays, that you would be pleased to absolve him from the Sentence of Death, which will be to him as a Life from the Dead, and if none of these

(i) *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 498.

(k) *Love's Petition*, July 11. 1651. p. 3. penes me.

' Things should move you to vouchsafe an ab-
 ' solute Pardon, yet let him implore thus much
 ' at your Hands at his last, though very un-
 ' comfortable Request, that you would be pleased
 ' to change the Sentence of Death into Banish-
 ' ment into some strange Land, where he may
 ' sit alone, lamenting his sad and deplorable
 ' Condition. (l) And if your Petitioner have
 ' provoked you so far as to render him unca-
 ' pable of an absolute Pardon, yet he humbly
 ' beseeches you to change the Sentence of Death
 ' into perpetual Banishment, and in so doing
 ' your Mercy will triumph over Justice, &c.
 ' And again, (m) he humbly acknowledgeth, he
 ' hath so violated the Laws of the Common-
 ' wealth, as that he hath thereby rendred himself
 ' guilty of the Sentence of Death, justly passed
 ' upon him by the High Court of Justice.
 ' (n) Your dying Petitioner with humble Im-
 ' portunity prostrates himself at your Feet,
 ' puts his Mouth in the Dust, oh! that there
 ' may be hope, craving your tender Mercy,
 ' begging his Life at your Hands, promising
 ' never to employ that Life against you, he
 ' shall receive from you.

N. p. 51. *Bishop Burnet says, There was an
 Order amongst the English, and a Face of Gra-
 vity and Piety that amazed all People, most of
 them were Independents and Baptists, but all gifted
 Men, and preached as they were moved.*—

Mr. Whitelock observes concerning these Re-
 ligious Men, (o) ' That there was a Day of
 ' Humiliation kept (Sept. 1649.) by the Of-
 ' ficers of the Army, for the *Atheism* and *Profane-
 ' ness*, which was crept into the Army. And (p)

(l) Petition July 15. p. 3. 4.

(m) Petition August 14. 1651. *Love's Case* p. 5. *penes me.*

(n) *Id. Ib.*

(o) *Memorials*, p. 427.

(p) *Memorials*, p. 456.

' a Letter came from the Officers at the Head
 ' Quarters, to the Colonels and Governors of
 ' the respective Regiments in *England and Wales*
 ' (May 1650.) *Exhorting them to Prayer and to*
 ' *Unity; and to join in keeping a Day of Humi-*
 ' *liation set apart to seek God for his Assistance to*
 ' *them in all Services whereunto they shall be called;*
 ' *and to reform Drunkenness, Swearing, Prophana-*
 ' *tion of the Lord's Day, Contempt of the Ordinances*
 ' *of Christ, and all Sins in their several Charges,*
 ' *and to sanctify the Camp.*

They kept up indeed a Face of Discipline, and in some cases executed it with Rigour enough.

(q) ' A Soldier of Colonel *Pride's* Regiment was
 ' sentenced to be tied Neck and Heels, and to
 ' be set where the whole Regiment should march
 ' by him, and be cashier'd for stealing a Hen,
 ' and putting it under his Coat in his march.

(q) Memorials, p. 458. This is far from coming up to the Severity of the Duke of Saxony, of whom we have the following Account (*Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 300. p. 6013. *penes me.*) From *Hamburg* Feb. 26. 1655. S. V.

' This last Week several Waggoners coming from *Breslaw*, to *Silesia*,
 ' upon their way in the Duke of *Saxony's* Country, perceived a Stag with
 ' a Man upon his Back, running with all his Might; coming near the
 ' Waggoners he suddenly fell down; the Waggoners drawing nigh him, the
 ' poor Man sitting upon his Back made pitiful Complaint, how that the Day
 ' before, he was, by the Duke of *Saxony* for killing a Deer, condemned
 ' to be bound with Chains upon that Stag, his Feet bound fast under the Stag's
 ' Belly, with an iron Chain souldered, and his Hands so chained to the
 ' Horns. The miserable Man begged earnestly that they would shoot him
 ' to put him out of his Pain, but they durst not, fearing the Duke. Whilst
 ' they were talking with him, the Stag got up again, and run away with
 ' all his Might. The Waggoners computed, that he had run in 16 Hours
 ' 26 *Dutch* Miles at the least, which makes near 100 of our *English* Miles
 ' in a direct Line, the Miseries that poor Creature did, and must undergoe,
 ' especially if the Stag killed him not in the Running, cannot be expressed,
 ' hardly imagined.

Nor like that Piece of Discipline exercised by the *Dutch* at *Plymouth*,
 (*Hackluit's Voyage to Cadix. Navigations and Voyages, &c.* printed 1598.
 Vol. 1. p. 607. *penes Rev. Amic.*) About the same Time (that two *Eng-*
lishmen were executed there, one for Mutiny, the other for running from his
 Colours the 8. or 9. of May 1656) ' In the *Dutch* Regiments another for
 ' murdering one of his Companions, about a Quarrel between themselves,
 ' rising as it was supposed upon their Drink, was by order of *Martial-Law*
 ' presently tyed to the Partie so murdered, and forthwith both of them
 ' so cast into the Sea.

(r) And

‘ (r) And a Captain Lieutenant, by Sentence of a
 ‘ Court Martial, was cashier’d at the Head of
 ‘ his Regiment for Drunkenness, and a Soldier
 ‘ for (s) Whoredom, was ordered to be ducked
 ‘ three times, and to be whipped and turn’d out
 ‘ of his Troop.

N. p. 51. *The Earl of Derby was the only Nobleman in England, who raised fifteen hundred Men for the young King, but before he could joyn the Royal Army, he was defeated by Colonel Lilburn near Wigan, in Lancashire, and his Forces entirely dispersed.*

(t) Mr. Heath says, ‘ That his Levys did not
 ‘ amount to above 1200 Men — with these he
 ‘ was marching with a Design to fall upon Crom-
 ‘ well’s own Regiment, when in the nick comes
 ‘ Colonel *Lilburn*, with ten Troops of Horse,
 ‘ having with him two Regiments of *Cheshire*
 ‘ Foot, and other Additions of Horse. The
 ‘ Earl was now in the midst of both of these
 ‘ Parties, and therefore resolved to fight with
 ‘ *Lilburn*, finding his Men courageous and desir-
 ‘ ous to engage, tho’ most Horse and in Lanes;
 ‘ and accordingly charged them so furiously, that
 ‘ he totally routed their first Troops, and made
 ‘ an Impression into their Body so far, that they
 ‘ began to run; when other fresh Reserves coming
 ‘ in, they were forced to face about, being annoyed
 ‘ with the Muskets; yet they did renew the Charge
 ‘ again, and had they had but another Reserve,
 ‘ they had in all Probability have won the Day;
 ‘ for it was upon a second Turn, when another
 ‘ Supply resisted the Torrent of their Valour;
 ‘ which left undeniable Proofs of itself in the
 ‘ Death of most of their Commanders, of their
 ‘ Wounds in, and after the Battle.

(r) *Whitelock’s Memorials*, p. 465.

(s) *Whitelock’s Memorials*, p. 519.

(t) *Chronicle*, p. 296.

N. p. 51. *The King being unable to keep the Field, fortified the City of Worcester, and encamped almost under the Walls, Sept. 3. Cromwell attacked Powick Bridge, within two Miles of the City, which drew out the King's Forces, and occasioned a general Battle, in which his Majesty's Army was entirely (u) destroyed. Four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken Prisoners, with the King's Standard, and one hundred and fifty Colours.*

'Tis no wonder that the King's Army was defeated by the Rebels, so much superior in Number. And though it is allowed on all Hands that the King behaved with the Conduct and (*) Bravery of the most consummate, and experienced

(u) The Army was not wholly destroyed by the Battle, for David Lesley reached *Torkshire*, with above 1500 Horse in a Body. Mr. *Whitelock* (*Memo.* p. 507.) gives us a notable Piece of Cant upon this Victory, in a Letter from one *Robert Stapleton*. 'This Day hath been a glorious Day, this Day twelve Month was glorious at *Dunbar*, this Day hath been glorious before *Worcester*. The Word was then *the Lord of Hosts*, and so it was now; and indeed, the *Lord of Hosts* was wonderfully with us. The same Signal we had then as now, which was to have no White about us, and indeed the Lord hath clothed us with white Garments, though to the Enemy they have been bloody.

And in what remarkable canting Language the *Fanaticks* communicated their Exultations to one another after the King's Defeat at *Worcester*, appears from a Letter hypocritically pretended to be written from the Church of Christ at *Wrexham*, and printed in the *Diurnal*, November 10. 1653. (See *Boscobel*, or the History of the King's Preservation. 1 Part. p. 78. 79.) In which are these horrid Expressions, "Christ has revealed his own Arm, and broke the Arm of the Mighty one, once and again, and now lately at *Worcester*. So that we conclude (in *Ezekiel's* Phrase) "There will be no Roller to bind the King's Arm to hold a Sword again, &c. subscribed *Daniel Lloyd, Mor. Lloyd, John Browne, Edward Taylor, Ann Maddokes, Dav. Maurice.*

Mr. *Whitelock* observes (*Memorials*, p. 508.) 'That there was an order for a Day of Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdome for the Success at *Worcester*, and an Act to be brought in for an Annual Observation of the third of September.

(*) Dr. *Charleton* (in his Dedication to the King, prefixed to his Book intitled *Ciboria Gigantum*: or *Stone-Heng* restored to the *Danes*,) has the following Words, 'Your Majesty's Curiosity to survey the Subject of this Discourse, the so much admired Antiquity of *Stone-Heng*, hath some time been so great and urgent, as to find a Room in your Royal Breast, amidst your weightiest Cares; and to carry you many Miles out of your Way towards Safety, even at such a time, when any Heart, but your fearless and invincible one, would have been wholly filled with Apprehensions of Danger. For as I have had the Honour to hear from that Oracle of Truth and Wisdom, your Majesty's own Mouth, you was pleased to visit that Monument, and

perienced General. Yet there was some Reason to suspect, that he was betray'd. And Lord *Clarendon* observes, (z) ' That tho' the King could
 ' not get a Body of Horse to fight, he could
 ' have too many to fly with him, and had not
 ' been many Hours from *Worcester*, when he found
 ' about him above four thousand of his Horse.
 ' There was *David Lesley*, with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the suddain:
 ' So that good Order and Regularity might
 ' yet have made a Retreat into *Scotland* itself.
 ' *David Lesley* reached *Yorkshire* with above 1500
 ' Horse in a Body, but the Jealousies increased
 ' every Day, and those of his own Country were
 ' unsatisfied with his whole Conduct and Behaviour; that they did, that is many of them,
 ' believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*;
 ' and the Rest who did not think so, believed him not to understand his Profession, in
 ' which he had been bred from his Cradle. When
 ' he was in Flight, Sir *William Armorer* asked
 ' him, which Way he thought best? Which
 ' when he had named, the other said, he would
 ' then go the other. For he swore, *he had*
 ' *betray'd the Army all the while, and so left him.*
 ' They who fled out of *Worcester*, and were not
 ' killed, but made Prisoners, and all the Foot,
 ' and others who were taken in the Town, except
 ' some few Officers and Persons of Quality, were
 ' driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and

' for many Hours together entertain your self with the delightful View thereof, when after the Defeat of your Royal Army at *Worcester*, Almighty God, in infinite Mercy to your three Kingdoms, miraculously delivered you out of the bloody Jaws of those Monsters of Sin and Cruelty.

Appendix, No. 43, 44. Mr. *Heatb* says (Chronicle, p. 298.) That one *Guise* who betray'd the Designs of the King in that Garrison, was hanged, but his Wife rewarded (by the *Rump*) with 200 *l.* per Annum. and 200 *l.* down.

(z) History of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 319, 320. Lord *Clarendon* gives some Reasons in Proof that *David Lesley* did not betray the King, p. 320.

‘ there treated with great Rigour, and many perished for want of Food ; and being inclosed in a little Room till they were sold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of Diseases.

N. p. 52. *The King got a Passage at Brightelmston in Suffex, and landed at Diepe in Normandy* October 21.

‘ (a) On the 15th of October, he took shipping at Brightelmston in Suffex, and landed securely in France the next Morning.”

N. Ibid. *He travelled by Land to Paris, where his Mother maintained him out of her small Pension from the Court of France.*

The King had an annual Allowance from the Court of France, as appears from Lord Clarendon, who informs us (b) ‘ that when the Cardinal (Mazarin) was satisfied, that his Majesty had a full Resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland, that the Princess Royal did really provide for her Journey to the Spaw, he did let the King know, “ that against the Time that his Majesty appointed

(a) Bosjobel &c. 3d Edit. 1st Part p. 72.

(b) History of the Rebellion Vol. 3. p. 408. ‘ In August 1649. The King had a Present (Whitelock’s Mem. 417.) of 20000 Crowns from Brussels from the Archduke Leopold.’

And Mr. Heath (Chronicle p. 237.) says, that the Duchess of Savoy, his Aunt, assigned him 50000 Crowns per ann.

The Queen of England’s Pension was sometimes so ill paid, that there was no Room for an Allowance to the King her Son. Cardinal de Retz observes (Memoirs Vol. I. p. 261.) that he went to visit the Queen of England, whom he found in her Daughter’s Chamber who hath since been Duchess of Orleans ; and at his coming she said, you see I am come to keep Henrietta Company, the poor Child could not rise to Day for Want of a Fire. The Truth is, that the Cardinal for six Months together had not ordered her any Money towards her Pension, that no Trades-people would trust her for any thing, and that there was not in her Lodgings in the Louvre one single Billet. — Posterity (says he) will hardly believe that a Princess of England, Granddaughter to Henry the Great, hath wanted a Faggot in the Month of January to get out of her Bed in the Louvre, and in the Eyes of a French Court ; and in another place, Vol. 2. p. 119. the Cardinal observes, that the King of England when he arrived at Paris, had not changed his Shirt since he left England. That my Lord Jermyns gave him one of his at his Arrival. The Queen his Mother had not Money enough to give him wherewithal to buy any the next Day. And the Cardinal borrowed 1500 Pistoles for the King’s Use. (Memoirs Vol. 2, p. 121.)

“ his Remove his Arrears should either be entirely
 “ paid, or so much of his Debts secured to his
 “ Creditors, as should well satisfy them : and the
 “ rest should be paid to his Receiver for the
 “ Charge of his Journey ;” and likewise assured
 his Majesty, “ that for the future, the monthly
 “ Assignation should be punctually paid, to
 “ whomsoever his Majesty would appoint to re-
 “ ceive it.” ‘ This Promise was better complied
 ‘ with, than any other that had been made ; till
 ‘ some Years after, the King thought fit to decline
 ‘ the receiving thereof.’ And in another place he
 tells us, (b) ‘ That the Court of *France* settled an
 ‘ Assignation of six Thousand Livres by the
 ‘ Month upon the King, payable out of such a
 ‘ Gabel, which being to begin six Months af-
 ‘ ter the King came thither.’ And that the Queen
 was so far from maintaining him, ‘ that he paid
 ‘ one half of the Expence of the Table, where
 ‘ both their Majesties eat, with the Duke of
 ‘ York, and the Princess *Henrietta* : (which two
 ‘ were at the Queen’s Charge till the King came
 ‘ thither,) but from that Time the Duke of York
 ‘ was upon the King’s Account.’ And Mr. *Carte*
 observes, ‘ (c) That his Allowance from the Court
 ‘ of *France* did not exceed 6000 *l.* Sterling a Year,
 ‘ which scarce sufficing for his Diet, nothing was
 ‘ left to be distributed among his Servants.’

And in what Circumstances they were appears
 sufficiently from the following remarkable Inci-

(b) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 408.

(c) *Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 159. In what favour
 the King was in *France* in the year 1653, appears from an intercepted Let-
 ter from *Paris*. (*Thurloe’s Papers* Vol. 7. fol. 19. *Sanderfon’s Continuation of*
Rymer’s Fœdera Vol. 20. p. 703.) ‘ Our Court is blyth and jolly, and are
 ‘ in great Hopes of sudden Alterations ; here are eight Regiments at one clap
 ‘ have forsaken the *Spaniard*, and are now marching to the Duke of York,
 ‘ well armed, and have it under the King of *France’s* hand with the Broad
 ‘ Seal, to have free liberty to serve their own King in the Equipage they
 ‘ come to him, whenever their own King shall have Occasion for them. So
 ‘ that the King has 7000 of his own Subjects in this Service, that are ready
 ‘ *Capapee* to follow him at an Hour’s Warning.

dent. ‘ (d) The Marquis of *Ormonde* was left in
 ‘ no small Distress in *Paris*, (1652) but treated on
 ‘ account of his Quality and Virtues with great
 ‘ Respect by the *French* Nobility. One of these
 ‘ having invited him to pass some Days at his
 ‘ House in *St. Germain en Laye*, there happened
 ‘ on that Occasion an Adventure, the Relation
 ‘ whereof may perhaps gratify the Reader’s Curio-
 ‘ sity. The Marquis of *Ormonde*, in compliance
 ‘ with an inconvenient *English* Custom, at his
 ‘ coming away left with the *Maitre d’ Hotel* ten
 ‘ Pistoles to be distributed among the Servants.
 ‘ It was all the Money he had, nor did he know
 ‘ how to get Credit for more, when he reached
 ‘ *Paris*. As he was upon the Road ruminating
 ‘ upon this melancholy Circumstance, and con-
 ‘ triving how to raise a small Supply for present
 ‘ Use, he was surprized to be advertised by his
 ‘ Servant, that the Nobleman, at whose House he
 ‘ had been, was behind him driving furiously, as
 ‘ if he was desirous to overtake Him. The Mar-
 ‘ quis had scarce left *St. Germain*s when the Distri-
 ‘ bution of the Money he had given caused a
 ‘ great Disturbance among the Servants, who
 ‘ exalting their own Services and Attendance,
 ‘ complained of the *Maitre de Hotel*’s Partiality.
 ‘ The Nobleman hearing an unusual Noise in his
 ‘ Family, and upon Enquiry into the Matter,
 ‘ finding what it was, took the *Ten Pistoles* him-
 ‘ self, and causing Horses to be put to his Cha-
 ‘ riot, made all the Haste that was possible af-
 ‘ ter the Marquis of *Ormonde*. The Marquis upon
 ‘ Notice of his Approach, got off his Horse, as
 ‘ the other quitted his Chariot, and advanced to

(d) *Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p. 159. from a Re-
 lation of Dr. *Drelincourt*, late Dean of *Ardagh*. The Marquis was forced
 to put himself in Pension at one *Pistole* a Week. *Cart. Id. Ib.* and to pawn
 his *Garter*, and the *Parliament Jewel* to defray the Expences of the Duke
 of *Gloucester’s* Journey to *Cologne*. *Carte. Ibid.* p. 168.

‘ embrace

embrace him with great Affection and Respect,
 but was strangely surprized to find a Coldness
 in the Nobleman, which forbad all Embraces,
 till he had received Satisfaction in a Point
 which had given him great Offence. He asked
 the Marquis " if he had Reason to complain of
 any Disrespect, or other Defect which he had met
 with in the too mean, but very friendly Enter-
 tainment which his House afforded." And be-
 ing answered by the Marquis, " That his Treat-
 ment had been full of Civility; that he had
 never passed so many Days more agreeably in
 his Life, and could not but wonder, why the
 other should suspect the contrary." The No-
 bleman then told him. " That the leaving *Ten*
Pistoles to be distributed among the Servants,
 was treating his House as an Inn, and was the
 greatest Affront that could be offered to a Man
 of Quality; that he paid his own Servants well,
 and had hired them to wait on his Friends as well
 as himself; that he considered him as a Stranger
 that might be unacquainted with the Customs
 of *France*, and err through some Practice
 deemed less dishonourable in his own Country,
 otherwise his Resentment should have prevented
 any Expostulation: But as the Case stood, after
 having explained the Nature of the Affair, he
 must either redress the Mistake by receiving
 back the *Ten Pistoles*, or give him the usual
 Satisfaction of Men of Honour, for an avowed
 Affront." The Marquis acknowledged his
 Error, took back his Money, and returned to
Paris with less Anxiety about his Subsistence.

N. p. 53. Upon the King's Arrival in France,
he presently threw off the Mask of a Presbyterian,
and never went once to the Protestant Church of Cha-
renton, though they invited him in the most respectful
Manner; but Lord Clarendon dissuaded him, because
the Hugonots had not been hearty in his Interest, and
because

because it might look disrespectful towards the Old Church of England.

And Lord Clarendon's Reasons for so doing were very just. (e) ' The Chancellor of the ' *Exchequer* (says he) dissuaded his Majesty from ' going thither; told him, " that whatever Coun-
" tenance or Favour the *Crown* or *Church* of *En-
" gland* had heretofore shewed to those Congre-
" gations, it was in a Time when they carried
" themselves with Modesty and Duty towards
" both; and when they professed great Duty to
" the King, and much Reverence to that Church;
" lamenting themselves, that it was not in their
" Power by the Opposition of the State, to
" make their Reformation so perfect as it was
" in *England*, and by this Kind of Behaviour
" they had indeed received the Protection and
" Countenance from *England*, as if they were of
" the same Religion, though it may be the Ori-
" ginal of that Countenance and Protection pro-
" ceeded from another less warrantable Founda-
" tion, which he was sure would never find Cre-
" dit from his Majesty: But whatever it was,
" that People now had undeserved it from the
" King; for as soon as the Troubles begun, the
" *Hugonots* of *France* had generally expressed great
" Malice to the late King, and very many of
" their *Preachers* and *Ministers* had publickly and
" industriously justified the Rebellion, and
" prayed for the good Success of it; and their

(e) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 345. Monsieur L'Angle in his Letter printed 1660. 4to. (Bishop Kennet's Compleat Hist. Vol. 3. p. 203.) excuses the King in the following manner. ' It is well known that the ' King of *England* had his Exercises of his Religion, which is ours, in his ' Palace, and there had the Word of God preached, and the Sacrament ad-
' ministrated after the manner of *Charenton*. I should certainly have been
' glad he had been there, and it is to be wished that those that were then
' about him had brought him hither. So great an Example had brought
' Joy and Consolation to our Churches, and Confusion to our Enemies, who
' thereby had been deprived of their most specious Pretext, to abuse the Re-
' ligion of this Prince.

“ *Synod* itself had in such a Manner inveighed
 “ against the *Church* of *England*, that they upon
 “ the Matter professed themselves to be of
 “ another Religion, and inveighed against *Epis-*
 “ *copacy*, as if it were inconsistent with the Pro-
 “ testant Religion: That one of their Great Pro-
 “ fessors in the University of *Saumur*, who was
 “ looked upon as a Man of the most moderate
 “ Spirit amongst their Ministers, had published
 “ an Apology for the general Inclination of that
 “ Party to the Proceedings of the Parliament
 “ of *England*, lest it might give some Jealousy
 “ to their own King of their Inclination to Re-
 “ bellion, and of their Opinion, that it was law-
 “ ful for Subjects to take up Arms against their
 “ Prince, which he said, could not be done in
 “ *France* without manifest Rebellion, and incur-
 “ ring the Displeasure of God for the manifest
 “ Breach of his Commandments; because the
 “ King of *France* is an absolute King, indepen-
 “ dent upon any other Authority. But that the
 “ Constitution of the Kingdom of *England* was
 “ of another Nature; because the Kingdom there
 “ is subordinate to the Parliament, which hath
 “ Authority to raise Arms for the Reformation
 “ of Religion, or for the executing the public
 “ Justice of the Kingdom against all those who
 “ violate the Laws of the Nation, so that the
 “ War might be just there, which in no wise
 “ could be warrantable in *France*.”

‘ The Chancellor told the King, “ that after
 “ such an Indignity offered to him and his Crown,
 “ and since they had now made such a Distinction
 “ between the *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Go-
 “ vernment, that they thought the Professors
 “ were not of the same Religion, his going to
 “ *Charenton* would not be without this Effect,
 “ that it would be concluded every where, that
 “ his Majesty thought the one or the other Pro-
 “ fession

" fession to be indifferent, which would be one
 " of the most deadly Wounds to the Church of
 " England, that it yet had suffered. These
 " Reasons prevailed so far with the King's own
 " natural Aversion from what had been pro-
 " posed, that he declared positively he would ne-
 " ver go to *Charenton*; which Determination
 " eased him from any farther Application of that
 " People. The Reproach of this Resolution was
 " absolutely charged upon the *Chancellor* of the
 " *Exchequer*, as the implacable Enemy of all
 " *Presbyterians*, as the only Man who diverted the
 " King from having a good Opinion of them;
 " whereas in Truth, the daily Information he re-
 " ceived from the King himself of their barba-
 " rous Behaviour in *Scotland* towards him, and of
 " their insupportable Pride and Pedantry in their
 " Manners, did confirm him in the Judgment
 " he had always made of their *Profession*; that he
 " was the more grievous to those of that Pro-
 " fession, because they could not, as they used to
 " do to all those who opposed and crossed them
 " in that Manner, accuse him of being *Papishly*
 " affected, and governed by the *Papists*, to
 " whom they knew he was most odious.

Nor could the Behaviour of the Church of
Charenton be less offensive to the King in the
 Year 1656, when they so much caressed *Lockhart*,
 the Resident of that Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*.

(f) From *Paris* May 20 *Stilo Novo* 1656.

" Colonel *Lockhart*, who was sent hither from
 " his *Highbness* the Protector, to reside in this
 " Court, hath had all Respect given him, and
 " a very favourable Audience of the King, Queen,
 " and Cardinal. The Protestant Church at *Cha-*
 " *renton* hearing that the said Public Minister was
 " arrived at this Court, have, to shew the great

(f) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 310. p. 6975 6976. penes me.

‘ Honour

‘ Honour and Respect they pay to his Highness
 ‘ the Lord Protector as the Patron of the Reformed
 ‘ Churches in every Place, obtained Permission to
 ‘ deface the Name of the King, which was in the In-
 ‘ scription of the Seat designed in their Church for
 ‘ the Ambassadors of England: So that it is no
 ‘ more now, *Pour les Ambassadeurs de Roy de la*
 ‘ *Grand Bretagne, For the Ambassadors of the*
 ‘ *King of Great Britain; But, Pour les Ambassa-*
 ‘ *deurs de la Grand Bretagne. For the Ambassa-*
 ‘ *dours of Great Britain,* which the said Church
 ‘ hath done also to testify the Desire, they have
 ‘ with no less Joy than Respect, to receive the
 ‘ Ministers of his said Highness.’

N. Ib. *The Deputies of the several Counties in
 Scotland contented to be governed by Authority of
 Parliament, without King and House of Lords.*

This is but too true, as appears from the (g)
 Appendix.

N. p. 56. *In the Close of the Year (1651) they
 chose a New Council of State for the next Year.*

The Reader will meet with the Oath they took
 in the (b) Appendix.

N. Ibid. *On the 6th of September (1651) Lieu-
 tenant General (i) Ireton died at Limerick in Ire-
 land: He was a Person of great Integrity, and ne-
 ver diverted from what he thought just and right
 by any Arguments or Persuasions.*

‘ (k) When he was of Trinity College in Oxford,
 ‘ his Character in that House was, that he was
 ‘ a turbulent and saucy Fellow towards the Seniors;
 ‘ that he was a Person natured to Mischief;
 ‘ his Parts and Abilities were such, his *Dissembla-*
 ‘ *tion so profound,* and his mischievous Designs

(g) Appendix No 45.

(b) Appendix No 46.

(i) See two Letters of his, with a third from Ludlow &c. Appendix No.
 47. 48. 49.

(k) *Atben. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 148. Dr. Perrenchief (Life of King Charles I.
 p. 76.) says, ‘ that he was Bold, Subtle, and Perfidious,

‘ had so clean a Conveyance, that his Father-in-law, *Cromwell*, made frequent Use of him, when he was put to a Push to compleat his wicked Designs, and having always found him very capacious of overthrowing Monarchy, and a thorough-paced (l) Dissembler under the Mask of Religion (being absolutely the best *Prayer-Maker*, and *Preacher* in the Army,) he with Colonel *John Lambert* did put him upon writing a Remonstrance on the Army’s Behalf for Justice to be done upon the King.

N. Ibid. *He died in the Midst of Life, of a burning Fever after ten Days Sickness.*

‘ (m) Ireton (says the Noble Historian) died at Limerick in the Plague; which was gotten into the Army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great Factions and Divisions among the Officers, after his sudden Death, that great Advantages might have been gotten by it.’

N. Ibid. *His Body being brought over into England was laid in State in Somerset House, and buried in Westminster Abbey, with a Pomp and Magnificence suited to the Dignity of his Station.*

Mr. *Whitlock* informs us (n), ‘ that upon Notice of the Ship’s coming into the Road of Bristol with the Corps of the late Lord Deputy Ireton, that the Mayor sent out a Boat with a Tilt covered with Black, in which they brought the Corps unto the City, where a Hearse of Velvet

(l) See an Account of his Hypocrisy, in a Tract entitled, *Sundry Reasons inducing Major Robert Huntington to lay down his Commission, humbly presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament.* London 1648. p. 10. (Publ. Libr. Cambridge 19. 9. 6.) where he informs us, ‘ that Ireton bid him tell the King, “ that they would purge, and purge, and purge, and never leave purging the Houses, till they had made them of such a Temper, as should do his Majesty’s Business: And rather than they (viz. Himself, and Cromwell) would fall short of what was promised, they would joyn with French, Spaniard, Cavalier, or any that would joyn with them.

(m) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 362. *Heatb’s Chronicle*, p. 305. *Lives of the Regicides by G. Bates.* 1661. p. 50.

(n) *Whitlock’s Memorials*, p. 513.

‘ was provided to put over the Coffin. That the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council in their Formalities, and the Governor and Officers with a Multitude of the Inhabitants, attended the Body to the Castle; and the great Guns fired from the Castle and the Fort.’

Such Honour was paid to one of the vilest Regicides, and Mr. *Wood* adds (o), ‘ that the ninth of December the Parliament ordered a Bill to be brought in for the settling 2000 *l. per ann.* upon the Wife and Children of *Ireton*, out of the Lands belonging to *George Duke of Bucks*, and on the 17th of the said Month, his Carcass being landed at *Bristol*, was pompously conveyed towards *London*, and lying in State for a Time in *Somerset House*, in the *Strand*, all hung with black, that there was hung over the common Gate an *Atchievement* commonly called a *Hatchment*, with this Motto under his Arms depicted thereon. (p) *Dulce est pro Patria mori*, which was *Englisbed* by an honest *Cavalier* thus: ‘ *It is good for his Country that he is dead.* On the sixth day of February following, his Body was interred with great State in the Chapel of King *Henry VII* at *Westminster*, at which time *John Owen*, Dean of *Christ Church* in *Oxon*, preached (q) Blasphemy) on *Dan. xii.*
‘ 13. and

(o) *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 149. *Whitelock* p. 516. *Bates's Lives of the Regicides.* p. 50. Who says she had 2000 *l.* in Money, and 2000 *l.* per Annum out of the Land of *Goran* belonging to the Marquis of *Ormond*.

(p) See *Heatb's Chronicle* p. 305. This was not unlike the voluntary Mistake of a Lady of Honour mentioned by Mr. *Hewel* (*Pbilanglus* p. 82.) which he says was *Propbetick*; who upon the King's passing the Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*. ‘ She sending News at that time to the Country, did write that the King had passed a Bill for a *Tyrannical Parliament*.

(q) *John Owen's Funeral Sermon for Ireton.* London printed 1652, p. 9. (penes Rev. Amic. Thomas Baker S. T. B.) ‘ what *Daniel* (says he) had in Speculation, was this Man's part to follow in Action, he was an eminent Instrument in the Hand of God in the most tremendous providential Alteration, as such a Spot of Earth hath at any time received, since *Daniel* foresaw in general them all.—To compleat the Parallel, as *Daniel's* Visions were still terminated in the Kingdom of Christ; so all his
‘ Actions

* 13. and had about that Time Elegies made
 * upon his Death, and a stately Tomb erected
 * over his Grave, with the Effigies of him, and
 * his Wife thereon.'

N. p. 60. *The Parliament having a Desire to
 strengthen their Hands by uniting with the Common-
 wealth of Holland, sent over (r) Oliver Saint John,
 and Sir (s) Walter Strickland with Proposals to this
 Purpose. But the Dutch treated them with Neglect
 as their younger Sister.*

(t) The

* Actions had the same Aim and Intendment; this was what gave Life
 * and Sweetness to all the most dismal and black Engagements, that at
 * any time he was called out unto: All made way to the coming of the
 * promised Glory; it was all the Vengeance of the Lord and his Temple,
 * a Davidicall Preparation of his Paths in Blood, that he might for ever
 * reign in Righteousness and Peace." Id. Ib.

* The dismissed Saints have not one Thought that wanders off from God
 * to Eternity: They lose him no more, but always lie down in his Bosom,
 * without the least possibility of Disturbance. Even the very Remembrance
 * of Sin is Sweet unto them, when they see God infinitely exalted, and ad-
 * mired in the Pardon thereof. Ibid. p. 20. Ireton whom Mr. Neal calls a
 * Man of Integrity, and with equal Justice, he might have called him a
 * Man of Honour, upon the Surrender of Limerick, he ordered Stretch the
 * Mayor who had delivered the Keys of the Place, and Colonel Fennel who
 * had contributed to the betraying the Town by admitting of his Soldiers, to
 * be hanged up. Carte's Life of Ormonde, Vol. 2. p. 155. Ireton (says Sir
 * Philip Warwick Memoirs p. 354.) ' who as he was a Man of Blood (for
 * he had deeply tinged himself in the King's) expired with that word in
 * his Mouth, (for in his Raving as I was told by one that was then there,
 * he cried out) *I will have more Blood, Blood, Blood.* And Mr. Heath
 * (Chronicle p. 366.) says, he was a Man of great Parts and Abilities, but
 * natured to Mischief, and the Evil of those Times, he was born to make
 * worse and most prodigiously infamous.

(r) Oliver St. John, (commonly called Cromwell's Dark Lantern, from the
 Cloudiness of his Countenance, and Attachment to that Usurper) was Solli-
 citor General to King Charles the First, and Judas-like betrayed his Master,
 and contributed as much to his Ruin as any one, as appears from Lord Claren-
 don, Mr. Echard, and other Historians.

(s) Walter Strickland. Take the following Account from Clement Walker Esq;
 History of Independency part 3, p. 43. ' In a Letter dated 6 June 1650 Stilo Ve-
 * teri from the Hague (supposed to be Walter Strickland, the Parliament Agent
 * there) as I find it in Walter Fross's Brief Relations of some Affairs and Trans-
 * actions &c. from Tuesday June 11, to June 18, 1650. wherein the Epistoler
 * has these Words. *One piece of the Cure, (viz. of the Dangers that threa-*
 * *ten your new State) must be Pbleotomy, but then you must begin before*
 * *Decumbency, and then it will be facile to prevent Danger, &c.* They are
 * here most of all afraid of your *High Court of Justice*, which they doubt
 * may much discourage their Party, they wish you would not renew the Pow-
 * er thereof, but let it expire: Then, they think, that after Michaelmas
 * they may expect Assistance with you. And indeed, that Court is almost
 * of as much Use to you as an Army: and will prevent the rising of as ma-
 * ny

(i) The *States of Holland* treated these two *Embassadors* (if I may so call them) with much more Regard and Civility than was due to them, as appears from two of their own Letters copied from the Originals into the Appendix (No. 50, 51). Remarkable was their Assurance, as we learn from their Answer to the *Sates General* concerning the Queen of *Bobemia's* Pension, in the following words.

(u) High and Mighty Lords.

' The Letter written unto your Lordships by
' the Queen of *Bobemia*, and your Order made
' thereupon,

' ny Enemies, as the other will destroy, only you must be sure to execute
' Justice there with all Severity. A few of the first Stirrers taken away by
' the Power thereof, without respect to Cousin or Countrey, will keep all the
' rest quiet. But whosoever that Court condemns, let them be as already dead,
' &c. But let them be most free in cutting the *Vena Cephalica* (that is the *Pres-*
' *byterian Party*) for the *Basilica* (or *Royal Party*) will be latent. The
' *Median* (or *Levellers*) would be spared, as much as may be, that the Body
' be not too much emaciated. Besides, the Blood is the most corrupt in the
' *Cephalicks*, (or *Presbyterians*) and is the very *Causa continens* of your Diseases.
' You need not fear freely to take of this Vein, &c.

(t) The *English* (generally the best natured People in the World) have not always treated foreign *Embassadors* with equal Civility. The *Portugal* Ambassador at *Gravesend* in his Voyage homeward (August 1654. in *Cromwell's* Usurpation, *Whitelock's* Mem. p. 593.) ' was arrested by some Merchants of *London*, to whom he owed great Sums of Money, which they had lent him here, and they stopped his Journey.' And if we may give Credit to *John Baptist de La Fontaine* (Memoirs printed 1700, 8vo. p. 197.) *Monfieur Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador in King *Charles* the II's Reign was struck by Sir *F. C—s*, afterwards a Lord, whose pardon was with difficulty obtained at the Intercession of *Lewis* the 14th. But it is not (says he p. 196.) only to Foreign *Embassadors*, that they have sometimes been wanting in that Respect, that is acknowledged to be due to their Character by all civilized Nations. But there are also not wanting Examples, when they have done the same to their own King. For not long after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, a certain *Brewer* was so insolent, as to attach his Coach for Money due to him.

(u) Mr. *Sanderfon's* Continuation of *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. 20, p. 609. A. D. 1651. From *Tourloe's* Papers, Vol. 2. p. 233. The Non-payment of the Queen of *Bobemia's* Pension was probably owing to the great Regard she had to her Nephew King *Charles* the Second: and her strict Conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. Of which Bishop *Morley*, who was her Chaplain without Fee or Reward, gives the following Account. ' The Queen of *Bobemia* (says he, Bishop *Kennet's* Register, &c. (p. 449.) willingly accepted of my Offer, and I went to her, and was graciously received and used by her, all the time I was with her, which was two Years and a half: During which time, I read the Service of the Church daily to her, and her Family, and catechised such of her Servants of both Sexes as
K would

thereupon, were delivered unto us by two of
 the Deputies of your Assembly the $\frac{20}{30}$ th Day of
 this instant *June*; and having read the same,
 we find that the Scope of the said Letter is to
 engage your Lordships to mediate the Pay-
 ment of the Arrears of a Pension, which she
 pretends was granted to her for her Maintenance
 by King *James* her Father, and confirmed to
 her by King *Charles* her Brother, and since con-
 tinued to her by the Parliament, and reduced
 to 10000 *l. per Annum*, and the same may be
 continued to be paid to her for her Maintenance,
 until she be able to enjoy the Revenue of her
 Joynture in the *Palatinate*, and also, that your
 Lordships upon reading the said Letter have
 thought fit by an Order (wherein you style (*)
Charles the late King of *England*, *Charles* the
 first) to appoint your Commissioners to en-
 deavour and mediate the said Business with us,
 according and in conformity to her Request;
 and having considered the said Letter, we doe
 observe, that she doth not expresse therein, from

would come unto me. I preached sometimes to her Majesty at the *English*
 Church at the *Hague*, and sometimes at the *French* Church, to her Ma-
 jesty and the Princess Royal."

Bishop *Kennet* (from *Sandford's* Genealogical Hist. Folio 565.) observes,
 that she lived (after the Restoration) at *Leicester* House, where contempla-
 ting the great Mercy of God in bringing her Nephew to his rightful Throne,
 (which she declared was the only Desire of her Heart) and there departed
 this mortal Life, Thursday Febr. 13th 1661.

(*) The Insolence of these two Rebels may be accounted for by the Treat-
 ment given them by Prince *Edward*, the Queen of *Bobemia's* Son, who (ac-
 cording to Mr. *Heath's* account, Chronicle p. 286.) first gave these Ambas-
 sadors an Affront, as they chanced to meet him in their Coach, taking the
 Air near the *Hague*, with his Sister the Princess *Henrietta* in his Hand,
 where in Indignation he gave them the name of *Dogs*, and *Traitors*. The
 next Day several Uproars were made about their House, as if there was a
 Resolution to storm it. Nor was it safe for them, or any of their Gentle-
 men to stir abroad: and several Advices were given them of designed At-
 tempts upon their Persons. Of these Affronts and Injuries they complained
 to the *States*, who after a long and tedious Delay summoned Prince *Edward*
 to appear to answer, but he pleaded, he was a Prince of the Empire, and
 subject to no other Jurisdiction: and for the other appointed them a *Corps*
du Guard to secure their House, and by a Proclamation prohibited all man-
 ner of Injuries or Violence to be done unto them; but notwithstanding the
 said Indignities were yet continued frequently.

whom

whom she expects the Payment of the said Ar-
 rears, and the 10000 *l. per annum* for the fu-
 ture; infomuch, that unless your Lordships had
 by your Recommendation and Mediation in
 that Behalf, applied and expounded the Mean-
 ing of that Letter, we could not from any
 Thing therein have thought the Commonwealth
 of *England* to be intended thereby, or Ourselves
 obliged to take any Notice thereof. And al-
 though it now comes unto us accompanied with
 your *Lordships* Desires, to whom the Parliament
 of the Commonwealth of *England*, as your good
 Friends and Allies, hath been always ready to
 expresse all Offices of Love and Friendship; yet
 considering this Case, and the Carriage of it by
 the Person whom it doth concern, we cannot
 but think it enough for us to say, that when the
 Queen of *Bohemia* shall think fit to make any
 Address to the Parliament of the Commonwealth
 of *England*, for any Thing she has in Demand
 from them, it will be then time enough for
 her to expect an Answer thereunto. But because
 she labours to possess your Lordships, and the
 Good People of this Country her Creditors, up-
 on whom it seems she has lived for some Years
 last past, that she hath a great Debt owing unto
 her from the Parliament of *England*, and also a
 constant Maintenance due unto her for the fu-
 ture, for Want whereof she cannot satisfy her
 Creditors, nor pay her just Debts, endeavours
 thereby to draw the Clamour thereof upon the
 Parliament, and to draw the People into fur-
 ther Engagement for her future Subsistence; we
 thought it convenient further to declare, that
 although we know not that either King *James*
 her Father, or *Charles* late King of *England* her
 brother, did make any such Grants unto her as
 are mentioned in her Letter, yet if they did,
 we are sure, that they were never ratified or con-
 firmed

' firmed by Act of Parliament ; so neither do
 ' they in Law and Equity bind the Parliament of
 ' the Commonwealth of *England* to the Payment
 ' of what was granted therein, even upon the Case
 ' which the said *Queen* herself in the said Letter
 ' hath set forth. For *Charles* the last King of
 ' *England*, under whom she claims, *being attainted*
 ' *of High Treason, whereby all his Lands and other*
 ' *Estate whatsoever is forfeited and come to the*
 ' *Commonwealth of England*, discharged of the
 ' said Grant and of all the Arrearages pretended
 ' to be due unto the Same ; and if upon her own
 ' Case there be Nothing due to her of Right,
 ' she hath no Reason to expect any Thing from
 ' the *Parliament's* Grace or Favour, not only be-
 ' cause the Relation that moved the said two
 ' Kings (she being Daughter to the one and Sister
 ' to the other) to allow her Maintenance is ceased,
 ' but also the *Queen* by herself and all her Rela-
 ' tions hath opposed to her Power the Common-
 ' wealth of *England*, and upon all Occasions ex-
 ' pressed the greatest Enmity thereunto ; and
 ' therefore your *Lordships* will be satisfied that we
 ' cannot send the said Letters of the *Queen* of
 ' (y) *Bohemia* to the Parliament, nor your Re-
 ' commendation thereof : and that not only upon
 ' the Reason aforesaid, but also because in your
 ' Order beforementioned *Charles* the late King of
 ' *England* is styled *Charles* the First, which im-
 ' plies that there is a *Second Charles King of En-*
 ' *gland*, against which Expression, in the Name
 ' of the Commonwealth of *England*, we do pro-
 ' test, no Person whatsoever having any Right
 ' or Title to be King of *England*.

The $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of
 June 1651.

' Your Lordship's
 ' Most Affectionate Servants.

(y) *Whitelock* observes (Memorials p. 400.) that it was voted the 8th of
 ' May 1649, not to continue the Allowance of 12000 £ per Ann. to the
 ' *Queen of Bohemia*; and that the Committee of the Revenue make a List
 ' for the House of all Pensions, and suspend the Payment of them.

Such

Such Favourites of the *Puritans* (*Neal's Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 165.) were the *Palatinate* Family.

Mr. *Neale*, speaking of the Parliament chosen by *Cromwell*, observes, p. 68. from *Whitelock*, *That it was much wondered that these Gentlemen, many of whom were Persons of great Honour and Estate, should accept the supreme Authority of the Nation upon such Summons, and from such Hands; most of them were Men of Piety and great Politicians, and were therefore in Contempt called the Little Parliament.*

(z) ' There were amongst them (says Lord *Clarendon*) diverse of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates and such a Proportion of Credit and Reputation, as could consist with the Guilt they had contracted. But much the major Part of them consisted of Inferior Persons, of no Quality or Name, *Artificers of the meanest Trades*, known only by their Gifts of *praying and preaching*, which was now practised by all Degrees of Men but *Scholars*, throughout the Kingdome.' (a) They met in the Council Chamber upon the 4th of *July*. — Where — *Cromwell* and his Officers ' were ready to receive them, and made them a long Discourse of " the Fear of God, and the Honour due to his Name, full of Texts of Scripture; and remembred the wonderful Mercies of God to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his Cause, and bringing Affairs into that present glorious Condition, wherein they now were. He put them in Mind of the

(z) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. 3. p. 376. ' They were Persons for the most Part (says Mr. *Heatb*, *Chronicle* p. 340.) of such mean Extractions, that so far were they from being taken Notice of by the Shires, each of whom but two or three represented, that they were scarce known by the very Towns they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Excise, the Committees for Sequestration, and the War in the respective Counties made them infamously known. — See their Names &c.

(a) *History of the Rebellion* p. 377.

“ noble Actions of the Army, in the famous
 “ Victory of *Worcester*, of the Application
 “ they had made to the Parliament, for a good
 “ Settlement of all the Affairs of the Common-
 “ wealth, the Neglect whereof made it absolutely
 “ necessary to dissolve it.” ‘ He assured them by
 ‘ many Arguments, some whereof were taken out
 ‘ of Scripture, “ That they had a lawful Call
 “ to take upon them the supreme Authority of
 “ the Nation,” ‘ and concludes with an earnest
 ‘ Desire, “ that great Tenderneſs might be uſed
 “ towards all conſcientious Perſons, of what Judg-
 “ ment ſoever they might appear to be.”

(b) ‘ Theſe Men thus brought together conti-
 ‘ nued in this Capacity near ſix Months, to
 ‘ the Amazement and even Mirth of the Peo-
 ‘ ple. In which Time they never entred upon
 ‘ any grave or ſerious Debate, that might tend
 ‘ to any Settlement; but generally expreſſed
 ‘ great Sharpneſs and Animofity againſt the
 ‘ Clergy and all *Learning*, out of which they
 ‘ thought the Clergy had grown, and ſtill would
 ‘ grow.’

Sir *Philip Warwick* adds, (c) ‘ That they called
 ‘ a New Houſe of Commons of *Saints*, and they
 ‘ prove ſo *ſeraphical* and notional, that they are
 ‘ much more troubleſome than any former;

(b) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. 3. p. 378. Remarkable is the follow-
 ing piece of Cant from *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*. (*Perſect Diurnal*. Numb. 180,
 p. 2717. *penes me*.) ‘ Here is much Joy upon the Spirits of many People,
 ‘ on the News we hear of carrying on of preſent Affairs, by his Excellen-
 ‘ cy and Council of State mentioned, they having been known to have been
 ‘ all along ſuch eminent, holy and faithful Men, and of ſuch publick Spirit,
 ‘ that God ſhould put it in the *General's Heart* with the reſt of the Council,
 ‘ to make choice of the holieſt, and beſt affected Men to rule us out of all
 ‘ Counties, as we hear is intended; ſuch as in the Judgment of Men are the
 ‘ moſt holy and conſcientious, and live without the leaſt Blemiſh in the
 ‘ Eyes of the Godly, is ſuch a Mercy as goes beyond what we could have
 ‘ believed, that our Eyes ſhould have ever ſeen, and truly we may ſee herein
 ‘ the wonderful and ſecret working of God, that as the Parliament did
 ‘ model the Army, before there was any good Iſſue of the War, ſo the Ar-
 ‘ my muſt new model a Parliament, before there be any good Iſſue of the
 ‘ Peace; to God alone be all Glory.

(c) *Memoirs* p. 368. See likewiſe *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 353.

‘ which

‘ which being discerned, Old Presbyter *Rouse*,
 ‘ (then Provost of *Eaton*) being their Speaker,
 ‘ *Cromwell* so influenced him, that he with a packt
 ‘ Party of the House, surprizing them, declared
 ‘ their sitting was no longer necessary ; and so ab-
 ‘ ruptly left the Chair, (the Servant dissolving the
 ‘ Master) and took the Mace with him, and
 ‘ marched to *Whitehall* to *Cromwell*.

N. p. 69. They chose Mr. Rouse, an aged and venerable Man in the late Parliament for Truro in Cornwall, for their Speaker.

Lord *Clarendon* observes of him, (d) ‘ that he
 ‘ was of a very mean Understanding, and tho-
 ‘ roughly engaged in the Guilt of the Times.

He tells us *N. p. 70. That the solemnizing of Matrimony had hitherto been wholly engrossed by the Clergy, but this Convention considered it as a Civil Contract, and put it into the Hands of the Justices of the Peace.*

And this *Convention* for so doing, I take it for granted, is deemed by *Mr. Neal*, wiser than all former regular Parliaments. *Mr. Stephen Marshall*, who had a chief Hand in compiling the *Directory* some years before, (e) ‘ did notwithstand-
 ‘ ing marry his own Daughter by the Form pre-
 ‘ scribed in the *Common-Prayer-Book* ; and having
 ‘ so done, paid down five Pounds immediately to
 ‘ the Churchwardens of the Parish, as the Fine or
 ‘ Forfeiture for using any other Form of Marriage
 ‘ than that in the *Directory*. The like (as *Dr. Heylin* was informed) was done by *Mr. Knight* of
 ‘ *Fawseley*, and probably by many other, of the
 ‘ same Strain also.’

(d) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 137.

(e) *Heylin's Examen Historicum*, p. 264. ‘ You altered the Form of Marriage, (says *Mr. Petyt*, *Visions of the Reformation*, p. 123.) and afterwards it was solemnized by a Sort of *Bassas*, in the very Livery of the *Scarlet Wbore*,’ and *Mr. Heatb* observes (*Chronicle* p. 351.) ‘ that all civil People were forced to be twice joined, though but once married.

Mr. Neal in his Account of the new Model of Government in the Protectorship of Cromwell, observes,

N. p. 72. That he was to have a Council, consisting of no more than 21 Persons, and no less than thirteen.

To which I find the following Addition in an intercepted Letter, directed to a Merchant at Paris, (f) ' that those of the Council should so continue during Life, or *ad Culpam*, and that the Lord Governor should of himself, once in two Years (if he thinks fit) have Power to depose any two of the Council.'

N. p. 73. The Protector was to have Power to confer Titles of Honour.

And so had the Speaker of the Rump, as appears from the (g) Appendix.

N. p. 75. After the Instalment of Cromwell as Protector, and his taking the Oath,— He was proclaimed in the City of London, and throughout all the British Dominions.

(b) ' We have but little News (says one who styles himself Kilei, in an intercepted Letter) the Town being full of the Discourse of his Highness the Protector, who I fear has lost much

(f) *Fœdera &c.* continued by Mr. Sanderfon, Vol. 20. p. 729. from Thurloe's Papers.

(g) Appendix. No 52. See likewise, 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60.

It is remarkable, that these *Miscreants*, who assumed to themselves the Right of conferring Honours, would not allow of the Honours conferred by the King. The Author of the fourth Part of the History of Independence (p. 45.) observes, ' that an Order was made to the Committee of Inspection (A precious Crew) to take special Care, that such Persons who have assumed the Titles of Honour, Dignities, and Precedency heretofore conferred on them by the late King, since the same were taken away by Act of this present Parliament, do pay the several Sums of Money by them forfeited, and that the said Committee do examine whether they have brought in their *Patents*; and to offer an Act to take away all Honours conferred by the late King's Son. Was there ever such a Piece of unseemly Inconsistency? That the Fountain of Honour should be debarred of its Spring, by a Company of Peasants, whose Acts were no better than an Assembly of Rogues at Beggars Bush.

(b) *Fœdera &c.* Vol. 20. p. 734. From Thurloe's Papers, Vol. 9. p. 136.

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of the (i) Affections of the People since he took
 the Government upon himself. For it was ob-
 served, that at the proclaiming of him at *Tem-
 ple-Bar, Cheapside, the New Exchange, and Old,*
 except the Soldiers, (and not all of them) there
 were not any that so much as shouted, but on
 the contrary *publickly laughed*, and derided him
 without being taken Notice of. I cannot omit
 the acquainting you with the Humour of an
 ordinary Fellow at *Temple-Bar*, who coming ac-
 cidentally there, and seeing a Troop of Horse
 standing, and a *Herald* proclaiming, he enquired
 what was the Matter; a *Trooper* replied, and
 told him, they were proclaiming the Lord *Pro-
 tector*. He asked him who it was? He said it was
 the *Lord Protector Cromwell*. Says the Fellow,
he protects none but such Rogues as thou art;
 whereupon the Trooper struck him; but he
 seized on him, pulled him off his Horse and
 beat him soundly, and went away without any
 Hurt, which caused all the People to shout and
 laugh, though it were before the Face of the
Council of State. (k) Remarkable likewise was
 the Courage of that Gentleman, who set up
Cromwell's Picture upon a Pillar of the *Ex-
 change*, in full *Change-Time*, May 1653, with a
 reflecting Copy of Verses, without any Notice
 taken, till the *Exchange-time* was over; when
 the servile Lord Mayor took it down, carried
 it to *Whitehall*, and gave it to the Lord General.
 Nor was his *Usurpation* more acceptable to some
 of the leading Men in his own Army, as appears
 from the humble Petition of *Thomas Sanders, John
 Okey, and Matthew Alured*, published by Mr.

(i) So have I seen with armed Heel,
 A Wight besride a Commonweal;
 While still the more he Kick'd and Spurr'd,
 The less the Sullen Jade has stirr'd.
Hudibras Canto. I.

(k) Appendix No. 61.

Sanderſon in his Continuation of (l) Rymer's *Fœdera*.

N. p. 79. *It was happy for the wiſe and moderate Presbyterians, that the Protector diſarmed their Diſcipline of its coercive Power, for he ſtill left them all that was ſufficient for the Purpoſes of Religion.*

Mr. Neal's Obſervation is very juſt ; for there was not a Set of greater (m) Tyrants upon Earth, when

(l) *Fœdera, Conventiones, &c.* Vol. 20. p. 36. &c.

(m) I infer (ſays Mr. James Howel, *Philanglus* p. 153,) ' that he had proved the uglieſt Tyrant that ever was upon God's Earth, if you relate to Soul, Body, or Goods. In Lieu of twenty ſix Biſhops, we ſhould have had nine Thouſand and odd *Popes*, who would have delivered us over to Satan ever and anon, and puzzled us with their *parochial, congregational, and national* Claſſes.

And they are characterized by another Writer of thoſe times (*Martin's Eccho* p. 19. *penes me*) in the following Manner. ' Inſtead of one High-Commiſſion in the whole Kingdome, you ſhall have one in every Pariſh under the Name of a *Parochial Seſſions*: Beſides the *General High Commiſſion* called the Common Council of Presbyters. Now have not you to ſhun the Smoke ſkipt into the Fire? Is the Matter any thing amended? Sure you have got a worthy Reformation? But it may be, that you have a better Eſteem of theſe new Courts than of the old High Commiſſion. Let me ask you, do you think that they'll be better than their Pattern?

' Be ye mounted (ſays he p. 8.) upon your great Coach Horſes which trundle you to and fro from London to *Wyſtmiſter*: Mount all your New Canons, and advance like mighty Men of Valour, the Horſemen and Chariots of England, even your whole *Black Regiments* into the Field, under the Conduct of your *Generaliſſimo Will. Twiſſe* the *Prolocutor*, and fire all your *New caſt Ordinances* at once in the Face of your Enemies. What (ſays he p. 7.) would you have the Parliament always attend you, that as ſoon as you at your Pleaſures have plucked up the Biſhops the old *Stakes*, that they be ready with hedging Beetles to knock down the new ſtiff Presbyters into their Holes. Such has been their good Service to the Church and State, that for my Part it ſhould not be much trouble to me to ſee them all well knock'd down, I mean, to ſee Dr. Burges and a competent Number of his Brethren ſet down upon their *Presbyterian Thrones* judging the Tribes of this our *Iſrael*. Oh then our Churchmen would ſhine moſt gloriously in their ſatin Doublets and Cloaks lined through with Pluſh, their Wives and Children flouriſh like young Princes, their Spits filled with Pigs, Geefe and Capons, their Cauldrons with Beef, their Barns with Corn, their Paſtures with Sheep, their Priſons with *Hereticks*. Widows, Orphans and lame Soldiers ſtanding with their Pitchers, begging Pottage at their Doors, and the *Independents, Browniſts and Anabaptiſts* driven into augur Holes, as it was in Primitive Times.

*The Difference is, the one Fights with
The Tongue, the other with his Teeth;
And that they Bait but Bears in this,
In th'other Souls and Conſciences;
Where Saints themſelves are brought to Stake,
For Gſpel-Light and Conſcience ſake;*

Expoſed

when in Power ; and it is to be feared, that if ever they should have the like Power (which God avert) they would make the same ill Use of it.

N. p. 82. *This Year (1653) died old Dr. Gouge, educated in Eton College in Cambridge. A small Mistake ; Eton College for King's College : They being of the same Foundation.*

N. p. 84. He informs us, *That Oliver, when Protector, assumed all the State and Ceremony of a Crowned Head.*

And so did his *Highness Massianello* the Fisherman, and Mock-King of *Naples*, for the little Time that he reigned there, and that with the same Right and Justice. And how much *Oliver Cromwell the Usurper kept up State* appears from the Manner, in which he received the *Dutch Embassadors*, from their following Letter to the *States General*.

(n) ' High and Mighty Lords,
' With our last of the 13th of this Month,
' we did advise your Lordships of our Arrival in

*Exposed to Scribes and Presbyters
Instead of massive Dogs and Curs,
Then whom th' have less Humanity
For these at Souls of Men will Fly.
Hudibras Part I. Cant. III.*

(n) *Fœdera &c.* Vol. 20. p. 794. Such was the State of this wicked Usurper : and to make him as like a King as they could, there was an Order 1654 (*Whitelock's Mem.* p. 610.) ' That *Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, Somerset House, Greenwich, Hampton-Court, Windsor, and the Manor of York*, be kept unfold for the *Protector's* Use.' The ninth Article of his Instrument of Government was, ' that in the Intervals of Parliament, the *Protector* and the *Council* may make some Laws which shall be binding to the Subject.' Upon which *Sir Philip Warwick* observes, (*Memoirs* p. 370.) ' That in these men's Judgments, this Article plainly shews, that the Authority anciently used by our Kings in making Proclamations, and requiring Obedience to the Regal Authority in Matters not contrary to the known and standing Laws, was a necessary and constituent Part of the Government ; but this must be denied to the King their Governor, and yet a Power left in the *Protector*, in whom the Sovereignty was not lodged, to make even Laws in the Intervals of Parliament.

‘ this City, and our (o) *solemn Reception*, where-
 ‘ with the *Lord Protector* was pleased to receive
 ‘ us, and withal we advised your *Lordships*, that
 ‘ we had sent a *Memorandum* to his *Higness* the
 ‘ same Day, to desire Audience the next Day fol-
 ‘ lowing, which was granted unto us, so that on
 ‘ the thirteenth we were fetched in his *Higness’s*
 ‘ Coach, accompanied with the Lords, *Strickland*
 ‘ and *Jones*, with the Maister of the Ceremonies,
 ‘ and brought into the great Banqueting Room
 ‘ at *Whiteball*, where his *Higness* had never given
 ‘ Audience before, who stood upon a Pedestal
 ‘ raised three Steps from the Floor, being attend-
 ‘ ed by the Lord President *Laurens*, Viscount
 ‘ *Lisle*, *Skippon*, *Mackworth*, *Pickering*, *Montagu*,
 ‘ and Mr. Secretary *Tburlo*, together with the
 ‘ Lord *Claypole* his Master of the Horse; after
 ‘ three Reverences made at the Entrance, in the
 ‘ Middle, and before the Steps, which his *Hign-*
 ‘ *ness* answered every Time with reciprocal Reve-
 ‘ rences, we came upon the Steps, and delivered
 ‘ to him, with a Compliment of Induction, our
 ‘ Letters of Credence, who did receive them with-
 ‘ out opening them, the Reasons whereof we
 ‘ suppose to be our delivering the Copies and
 ‘ Translations thereof in the Morning to Mr.
 ‘ *Tburlo*; so that we presently began our Discourse
 ‘ with a Compliment of Thanks for his good In-
 ‘ clinations shewn in the Treaty of our common
 ‘ Peace of Congratulation in this new Dignity,
 ‘ of Presentation of all reciprocal and neigh-
 ‘ bourly Offices of the Behalf of their High and
 ‘ Mighty Lordships, and to the Business of
 ‘ Peace, for which we once more returned him

(o) Sir Philip Warwick (Memoirs p. 32.) makes the following Observa-
 tion upon *Cromwell’s* Usurpation. ‘ And now (says he) Interest of State,
 ‘ which would be reckoned Degeneracy in a private Mind, makes it Wisdom
 ‘ in Princes to worship any Idol that is set up. And *Spain*, and *France*,
 ‘ and *Portugal*, and *Sweden* as well as *Holland* and *Denmark*, (and indeed
 ‘ who not) even the very *Hans-Towns* also come in, and congratulate.

‘ Thanks,

Thanks, and presented to his *Highbness* Twenty
 of our Gentlemen, who went in before us, be-
 ing followed by Twenty more to have the Ho-
 nour to kiss his Hand: But instead thereof his
Highbness advanced near the Steps, and bowed to
 all the Gentlemen one by one, and put out his
 Hand to them at a Distance, by Way of Con-
 gratulation, wherewith we were conducted back
 again after the same Manner; on the *Sunday*
 we made ready a *Memorandum*, which was de-
 livered on the *Munday* following, desiring we
 might have Commissioners appointed for the
 further adjusting and signing of the Articles,
 which were delivered in on the fourth of this
 Month; upon which we received a Letter in
 Answer in the Afternoon, from Mr. *Thurlo*,
 that his *Highbness* had named Commissioners,
 who should acquaint us verily with the Intention
 of his *Highbness*; but because we heard no fur-
 ther of the Commissioners appointed to treat
 with us, we sent our Secretary on *Wednesday*
 last to Mr. *Thurlo* about it, who told us, that
 we should hear of them very speedily, but hear-
 ing no News of them, we addressed ourselves to
 Mr. *Thurlo*, desiring Expedition; who gave us
 for Answer, that they would be suddenly with
 us, whom we are now hourly expecting, whereof
 we shall advise your Lordships in our next by
 an Express.

High and Mighty Lords,
Beverning.
Nieuport.
Fongstall.

Westm. $\frac{10}{20}$ March 1654.

N. p. 86. *The Protector had the Skill always to
 discover the most secret Designs of the Royalists by
 one of their own Number, whom he spared no Costs
 to gain over to his Interest.*

Or in other words, *The Protector as a Traytor to his King*, had the Art by large Bribes and great Promises to draw over others to his *Treasonable Lure*. And this Skill (if it does not deserve a much worse Name) it is apparent he had long before he was *Protector*, from the following remarkable Instance.

Mr. *Carte* from the Manuscript Memoirs of Mr. *Maurice* Chaplain to Roger Earl of *Orrery* observes, (p) ' that Lord *Orrery* in the Time of his Greatness with *Cromwell*, just after he had so seasonably relieved him at *Clonmel*, riding out of *Houghball* one Day with him and *Ireton*, they fell into Discourse about the King's Death. *Cromwell* therefore said more than once, that if the King had followed his own Judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty Servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a Mind to have closed with him, but upon something that happened, fell off from that Design. *Orrery* finding them in good Humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his Majesty, and why they did not; *Cromwell* very freely told him, he would satisfy him in both his Queries. The Reason (says he) why we would have closed with the King is this. We found that the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* began to be more powerful than we; and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the Lurch. For this Reason we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon reasonable Conditions: But whilst our Thoughts were taken up with this Subject, there came a Letter to us from one

(p) *Carte's* Life of *James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p. 12. 13.

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of our (q) Spies who was of the King's Bedchamber, acquainting us that our final Doom was decreed that very Day, that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a Letter sent from the King to the Queen, wherein he informed her of his Resolution; that this Letter was sown up in the Skirts of a Saddle, and the Bearer of it would come with the Saddle upon his Head, about ten a Clock that Night to the Blue Boar in Holbourn, where he was to take Horse for Dover. The Messenger knew nothing of the Letter in the Saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor (said Cromwell) when we received this Letter, and immediately upon the Receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty Fellow with us, and to go in Trooper's Habits to that Inn. We did so, and leaving our Man at the Gate of the Inn (which had a Wicket only open to let Persons in and out) to watch, and give us Notice when any Man came in with a Saddle, we went into a drinking Stall. We there continued drinking Cans of Beer till about ten of the Clock, when our Centinel at the Gate gave us Notice that the Man with the Saddle was come. We rose up presently, and just as the Man was leading out his Horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn Swords, and told him that we were to search all that went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest Man, we would only search his Saddle, and so dismiss him. The Saddle was ungirt, we carried it into the Stall, were we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the Skirts, we there found the Letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our Hands,

(q) Probably William Murray of his Bedchamber (afterwards Earl of Dysart) of whose Treachery Mr. Carte gives a large Account: History of the Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 361.

' we delivered the Man (whom we had left with
 ' our Centinel) his *Saddle*, told him he was an ho-
 ' nest Fellow, and bid him go about his Business;
 ' which he did, pursuing his Journey without more
 ' adoe, and ignorant of the Harm he had suffered.
 ' We found in the Letter, that his Majesty ac-
 ' quainted the Queen, that now he was courted
 ' by both *Factions*, the *Scots Presbyterians*, and the
 ' Army, and that which bad fairest for him should
 ' have him; but yet he thought he should close
 ' with the *Scots* sooner than the *Other*: Upon this
 ' we returned to *Windsor*, and finding we were
 ' not likely to have good Terms with the King,
 ' we from that Time vowed his Destruction.

N. p. 86. Sir Richard Willis was Chancellor
 Hyde's chief Confident, to whom he writ often, and
 in whom all the Party confided, as in an able and
 wise Statesman; but the Protector gained him with
 two hundred Pounds a Year, by which he had all
 the King's Party in a Net, and let them dance in it
 at Pleasure.

(r) Mr. Neal in Proof should have mentioned
 that remarkable Scene of Villany, plotted by
 those three wicked Traytors, *Cromwell*, *Willis*,
 and *Thurloe*, against the Life of the King, and
 his two Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and
Gloucester, and seasonably discovered by Mr.
 (afterwards Sir Samuel) Moreland.

N. Ibid. He had another Correspondent in the
 King's little Family, one Manning a Roman Ca-
 tholick, who gave Secretary Thurloe Intelligence of
 all his Majesty's Councils and Proceedings.

(s) ' Sir Edward Hyde suspecting and after-
 ' wards discovering the Falseness of some of
 ' Manning's

(r) *Ecbard's History of England*, Vol. 2. p. 806. 810. 811. See *Heath's*
Chronicle, p. 274. 448.

(s) *Ecbard's Hist. of England* Vol. 2. p. 775. Lord Glarendon's Hist.
 Vol. 3. p. 438. &c. *Cromwell* employed Villains of all Ranks and Degrees
 to carry on his wicked Designs against the Royal Family. And one *Hannam*

Manning's Narratives, which seemed to flow
 from a fruitful Brain, Means were found to in-
 tercept several Letters from him, and to seize
 upon all his Papers; by all which it appeared,
 that he had held a constant Correspondence with
 Secretary *Thurloe*, received considerable Sums
 of Money from him, and sent Variety of In-
 telligence to him of what was done, said, pro-
 jected, or debated by the King's Council at
Cologne, with what Insurrections designed in
England, what Towns to be seized, who were
 to be concerned, and innumerable other Mat-
 ters, in all which, there was not one Word of
 Truth, except the King's being at *Zealand*, but
 were wholly the Effects of his own Invention;
 and moreover, they found several Letters pre-
 pared, and made up with Dates proper for many
 Posts to come, and Information and Intelligence
 of the same Nature with the former. The
 King immediately took Care to publish the
 Transactions of this Man, by which his Friends
 discovered with what Shadow they had been
 affrighted, and his Enemies saw, what current
 Ware they had received for their Money.

As to this poor Wretch, his chief Excuse was,
 that he thought he might get Money by sending
 Lies to the Rebels, without Prejudice to the King;
 but notwithstanding this, he was at the Instance
 of the Court of *Cologne* ordered to be shot to
 Death, in one of the Castles of the Duke of
Newburgh.

N. p. 89. Mr. Fox, Mr. Gerhard, and Mr.
 Vowell, were apprehended and tried before an High
 Court of Justice for conspiring to murder the Lord
 Protector as he was going to Hampton-Court; Fox

(as we are informed by Mr. *Hearb*, *Chronicle* p. 381.) The most notorious
 Thief in *England*, to expiate his sad Villainy at *Coleen* (in robbing the King
 Ibid. p. 376.) having promised *Cromwell* some Papers taken at that time,
 was retaken in another Robbery in *London*, and had his Due by being
 hanged.

L

confessed,

confessed, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two putting themselves on their Trial were convicted and executed July the 10th: Gerhard a young hot headed Ensign in the late King's Army being beheaded, and Vowell a Schoolmaster at Islington hanged at Charing Cross; Gerhard confessed he knew of the Plot, but Vowell was silent.

That Mr. Neal is mistaken in his Account appears (I think) from Lord Clarendon, and Mr. Echard. (t) ' Upon the tenth of July about
' two Months after they had been in Prison, a
' Gallows was erected at *Charing Cross*; whither
' Mr. (u) *Vowell* was brought; who was a Person
' utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person
' entrusted by him, but very worthy to have
' his Name and Memory preserved in the List of
' those, who shewed most Magnanimity and
' Courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown.
' He expressed a marvellous Contempt of Death;
" which (he said) he suffered without having committed any Fault: ' he professed his Duty to
' the King, and his Reverence for the Church,
' and earnestly and pathetically advised the People to return to their Fidelity to both, which
' he told them they would at last be compelled
' to do after all their Sufferings.' He addressed himself most to the Soldiers, told them, " how
" unworthily they prostituted themselves to
" serve the Ambition of an *unworthy Tyrant*;" and conjured them, " to forsake him, and to
" serve the King, which he was sure they would

(t) History of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 384. *Echard's History of England*. Vol. 2. p. 761. A high Court of Justice according to the Model of the late Commonwealth was appointed for the Trial of these Gentlemen. *Echard* *ibid*. p. 760. ' And the End of all Controversies (says Mr. *Walker* ' *Hist. of Independency* Part 3. p. 17.) before this *Butcher Row* of Judges, was cutting of Throats, and Confiscation of Estates.

(u) Mr. *Heath* (*Chronicle* p. 360.) says ' That Mr. *Vowel* was executed ' at *Charing Cross*, where with a *Roman Spirit*, tempered with *Christian Patience*, he suffered his *Martyrdom*, off from a Stool fetcht from the Guard, ' the adjacent Neighbours refusing to lend any thing to his Death, the Executioner not having his Ladder in readiness.

“ at last do.” And so having ‘ devoutly recommended the King and the Kingdom, and himself to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much *Christian Resolution*, as can be expected from the most composed Conscience.

‘ The *Protector* was prevailed with to shew more Respect to Mr. *Gerard*, in causing him to be beheaded; who was brought the Afternoon the same Day to a Scaffold upon *Tower Hill*. But they were so ill pleased with the Behaviour of him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but pressed him to discover all the Secrets of the Plot or Conspiracy.’ He told them, (x) “ that if he had a hundred Lives, he would lose them all to do the King any Service, and was willing to die upon that Suspicion; but that *he was very innocent of what was charged against him*; that *he had not entred into, or consented unto any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any Countenance to any Discourse to that Purpose*;” ‘ and offered again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King; upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted Courage, he laid down his Head upon the Block.’

N. p. 94. *The Protector sent for the Members into the Painted Chamber Jan. 22. and after an intricate Speech &c. dissolved them.*

Jan. 31. The Protector dissolved the Parliament. [*Whitelock's Mem.* p. 610.]

(x) *Perfect Politician.* p. 207. ‘ Generous *Gerrard* no way *appal'd* in Countenance or Behaviour, like a true *Englishman* outbraved Death on the very Block. Mr. *Gerbard* owned that he had waited on the King at *Paris*, and when he asked his Majesty whether he would command him any Service in *England*? His Majesty bid him to commend him to his Friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, and not engage themselves in any Plots, which must prove ruinous to them, and could do the King no good.’ [*Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.* Vol. 3. p. 383.]

N. p. 95. Colonel Penruddock, Captain Hugh Grove and others entred the City of Salisbury with 200 Horse well armed, in the Time of the Assizes, and seized the Judges Rolls, and Nicholls with the Sheriff of the Country, whom they resolved to hang.

(y) When the Judges (Rolls and Nicholls) half dead with Fear, were brought out in their Robes, and produced their Commissions together with the Sheriff, Wagstaff resolved to cause them all three to be hanged.—— But Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their Lives, that this Commander durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the Judges, upon another Occasion to remember to whom they owed their Lives. And so grateful was Rolls the Chief Justice (z), that he would not judge those Men from the Bench, who had much obliged him in the Streets, but expressly refused to be employed in the Service, raising some Scruples in Point of Law. Whether the Men could be legally condemned. Upon which Cromwell shortly after turned him out of his Office, having found others who would execute his Commands.

In his Account of the Triers, he seems to think, that the several (z) Objections made against them were groundless. And that notwithstanding N. p. 108. Mr. Sadler, who was presented to a Living in Dorsetshire, and rejected by them, published his Examination, in a Pamphlet, which he calls Inquisitio Anglicana; wherein he endeavours to expose the Commissioners in a very ludicrous Manner: Yet Mr. John Nye followed him with an Answer entitled Sadler Examined.—— Shewing the gross Mistakes and most notorious Falshoods in his Deal-

(y) Richard's Hist. of England. Vol. 2. p. 773.

(z) What was their glorious Reformation in the End? (says Mr. Petyt, Visions of the Reformation, p. 80.) Truly more infamous than Jeroboam's rebellious Idolatry, he made the lowest of the People Priests to his high Places; but here, the lowest of the People (viz. Triers &c.) made Priests and Kings too to the most high God, as they pretended.

ings with the Commissioners for Approbation of public Preachers. — To which Mr. Sadler never replied.

And what does Mr. Neal infer from hence? Because Mr. Sadler did not reply, that he was confuted. This will not do, because it may conclude as strongly in some Respects against Mr. Neal himself. This Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Sadler was well recommended by the Lord and Lady Paget, George Manley a Justice of Peace, John Viner Minister of Westminster, Edward Martin, and Anthony Tingle. Nay he procured distinct Recommendations from Mr. Lentball the Speaker, and Dr. Thomas Temple and others; yet all this would not do. They objected to the Hands by which his Certificate was signed; and after a long and expensive Attendance, he was told by Nye, *that the Commissioners did not approve*. And as their Questions were much out of the Way, and discover what great Clerks they were, I shall take the Liberty of setting down some of them in his first Examination by five Commissioners July 3. 1654.

(a) Nye. Question. What is (b) Regeneration?

Sadler. Answer. It is our Incorporation into Christ by Faith.

Nye. What Body into Body?

Sad. No, Christ's Body is *Mystical*.

Com. Qu. What is Regeneration? } Both of them

Com. Qu. What is Generation? } speaking at
Said another. } once.

Sad. A. Regeneration is our new Birth in Christ.

Com. Explain your Meaning, that is but the Word in the plain Sense of it.

(a) *Inquisitio Anglicana*. Or the Disguise discovered 4to. p. 8. 9. penes Mr. Wood, (*Athena Oxon*, Vol. 2, p. 503.) speaking of Nye, says, 'he was appointed one of the Triers, or rather Spanish Inquisitors.'

(b) Judge rightly if Regeneration,
Be of the Newest Cut and Fashion.
Hudibras Part I, Canto III.

Sad. A. Regeneration is distinguished from Sanctification, saith *Wilfen*.

Nye. Qu. What *Wilson* his Dictionary? } speaking
} ironically.

Sad. If you take Regeneration and Sanctification both as one, then Regeneration is a Work of God's (c) Spirit to bring the Will of Man unto the Will of God,

Com. That is something indeed.

Sad. A. The Definition is a learned Author's.

Com. You may alledge *Popish Books*.

Nye. Qu. What is the Will only regenerated, not the Understanding?

Sad. A. The whole Man both outward and inward.

Nye. Q. Is Regeneration a Substance or an Accident?

Sad. A. I do not well understand your Meaning.

Nye. It is plain——Answer——

Sad. A. Here I made a Pause, as being much troubled in Mind at so captious (if not ridiculous) a Question, and being silent —— Mr. Nye said again—— In what Predicament?

Sad. A. In the Predicament of Quality.

Com. Q. But are you regenerated?

Sad. A. Yes.

Nye. Q. Make that out,

Sad. I conceive you mean the Work of Grace in me.

Com. Q. Well, and when was that?

(c) 'The same heady Forwardness (says the Author of the *Friendly Debate* Append. to third Part. p. 41.) possesses some Men now that did in *Gregory Nazianzen's* days, when as he tells us (*Orat.* 9. p. 150.) all were wild to teach, and talk about the *Spirit of God*, without the Spirit. Has not Learning (says *Dr. South Ser.* Vol. 1. p. 172.) unqualified Men for Approbation to the Ministry? Have not Parts and Abilities been reputed Enemies to Grace, and Qualities, no ways ministerial. While *Friends, Faction, well meaning, and little Understanding*, have been Accomplishments beyond Study and the *Universities*, and to falsify a Story of Conversion, beyond pertinent Answers, and clear Resolutions to the hardest and most concerning Questions.

Sad.

Sad. A. About thirty Years ago. [How old were you then, said Mr. Nye?] I was in my secret Devotion. [He means private, says Mr. Nye, both interrupting and deriding me.] I was kneeling and praying, *that God would give a certain Evidence of his Spirit, and shew some good Token upon me for Good.* Whereupon I heard, as it were, a Voice saying, *I have a Blessing for thee, I will not fail thee nor forsake thee.*

Nye. Q. *What is a Voice, was it audible?*

Sad. A. No not in a vocal Way, it was a Motion.

Nye. Q. Was it not a Delusion as *Eve's* Voice to *Adam*?

Sad. A. No, I know it was no Delusion, but a good Motion: I know it was, because a good Motion is always in express Words of Scripture, or consonant to it: A Delusion may have some Part of Truth, but not all: As the Devil's was when he tempted our Saviour with a Piece of Scripture.

Com. Q. *And you are sure you have the Grace of God in you?*

Sad. Yes I am sure I have a *Life of Grace* in me, as I have a *Life of Nature.*

Com. Make that out.

Sad. A. As I have Breath, Heat, Sense and Action in my Body, so have I in my Soul.

Com. *What is the Breath of the Soul?*

Sad. A. My longing and thirsting after God.

Com. Q. *What is the Heat?*

Sad. A. A Zeal for God's Glory, and my Affection to him.

[Then spake two or more of them, but what I minded not, being intent upon the *Allegory.*]

Com. Q. *What is the Sense of the Soul?*

Sad. A. An Apprehension of my Indisposedness, and a Sense of Sin.

Com. Q. *What is the Action of the Soul?*

Sad. A. The good Works I do, as Works of Piety and Charity.

Nye. This is all one, a Thing studied.——

Nye. Q. (d) What is Faith?

Sad. A. It is a knowing, a believing, and a depending upon *Christ* faith one, or as faith another, it is the believing, not only God's Word to be true, but a firm Persuasion, that the Truth and Promises of that Word belongs to me.

Here, (they not hearing or regarding what I said, nor suffering me to speak a Word more) I was frowned upon and commanded to withdraw,

So I went out and heard no more of it.

Mr. Sadler runs the Parallel in several Instances between the *Romish* and these *English Inquisitors*, in the following Words.

(e) 1. They have both alike a Grand Commission to authorize their doings.

2. Their Proceedings are alike severe, to those they disaffect, being very partial, close (f), dilatory and prejudicial.

3. Their Questions (be they idle, solid, or captious) must be answered to alike *extempore*, and upon the sudden.

4. They have alike by their Informers Intelligence from all Parts.

(d) Merry enough is the *traditional* Account given of one of their *Lay Commissioners* who, when three Persons were under Examination for the same Piece of Preferment, asked the first, *what is Faith?* He answered it is a *Theological Virtue*. Which not pleasing, he asked the second the same Question, who answered, It was an Assent of the Mind to what was revealed by God Almighty. Which pleased him no better than the former Answer, when he put the same Question to the third, he answered; why Faith is *Faith*. And in truth, saith the *Third*, so it is, and if I have any Influence, thou shalt have the Preferment.

(e) *Id. ib. p. 2. 3. 4.*

(f) 'My Delay, says he p. 6. was very troublesome, though not, it may be, so chargeable as that of *Mr. Teyler's* was, who came from *Tork* to *London*, and being called, examined, and approved at three Weeks End, was yet stayed seven Weeks after; and at the last having spent above 20*l.* was enforced to return without their Instrument; because (as *Mr. Nye* told him, and he me,) his Certificate was not subscribed by Hands they knew.

5. They are alike Examiners, Witneſſes and Judges in their own Caſe.

6. And laſtly, I cannot name the many Ways they have in the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, to queſtion and to ruin the Perſon whom they do malign. Neither can I trace out the many Turnings that Mr. Nye hath to delay, or to delude or deny any Miniſter (though never ſo worthy) preſented to a Living (though never ſo juſtly) of the (chargeable and new found) Inſtrument of their Approbation.

If they diſlike the Miniſter, (and probably like the Living) then I do not ſay that they can approve him. Oh no by no Means they cannot, becauſe (forſooth) he is diſaffected, i. e. not of their Opinion. Or elſe,

Secondly, that his Anſwers are not to their Mind, and therefore he is inſufficient. Or elſe,

Thirdly, that there is a Caution againſt him, though he knows not by whom or for what. Or elſe,

Fourthly, that he carries his Hand by his Side, and his Elbow up, and therefore he is proud. Or elſe,

Fifthly, that his Certificate is not ſatisfactory ; i. e. they do not know the Subſcribers, or not believe them to be godly. Or elſe,

Sixthly, that he ſhall not have that Living (though ſome other he may) let him do what he will. Or elſe,

Seventhly, that his Voice and Tones likes them not ; and therefore he hath not the Gift of Utterance. Or elſe,

Eighthly, that he ſpeaks too quaintly, and therefore is a mere *Humaniſt*, and one *that bath not the Spirit*. Or elſe,

Ninthly, that if he will reſign his Living quietly, he ſhall have a round Sum ſo to do,

I do

I do not say of any of these Things, no I doubt not but Mr. *Samwaies*, and Mr. *Hart*, and the rest will appear in their own Cases, but this I can do and will say, that——

——Then they first question the Form of his Certificate, and reject it: If this will not do, then,

Secondly, They scruple the Persons subscribing, and reject those. If this will not do, then,

Thirdly, he is (after three Weeks it may be, if not much longer Attendance) called for and examined; and that a first and a second Time by five, and then by nine Commissioners: They use all the Ways they can to baffle him, two or three speaking at once to confound his Memory, or invalid his Answers. And if these will not do, then—— after a long and strict Examination, they bid him withdraw, and call for him no more.—— And this is my particular Case, which is here fully recollected, and now presented to publick View, by Way both of *Appeal* and *Apology*. An Apology for my self, and an Appeal to the (g) *Lord Protector*, and the *High Court of Parliament*.

N. p. 114.

(g) See the Petitions to *Botb*, prefixed. Mr. *Heatb* (Chronicle p. 39) speaks of the *Triers* in the following Manner. 'The Year (1653) ends with another Ordinance for the Tryal and Approbation of Ministers. 'Wherein *Philip Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Manton* and others were named Commissioners. The Question these Men put to the Examinants was not Abilities or Learning, but *Grace in their Hearts*; and that with so bold and saucy Inquisition, that some Men's Spirits trembled at their Interrogatories, they phrasing it so, as if, (as was said of the Council of Trent) 'they had the Holy-Ghost in a Cloke-Bag, or were rather *Simon Magus* his own Disciples: and certainly there were never such *Simoniacks* in the World; not a Living of Value, but what a Friend or the best Purchaser was admitted into, to which humane learning (even where a former Right was) was a good and sufficient Bar; no less to the Ruine than the Scandal of the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Religion and Professors thereof: Several ignorant bold *Laicks* being inducted into the best Spiritualities, as best consisted with *Oliver's* Interest; which depended upon the *Seſtaries* and their hideous Divisions in Religion.' *Butler* describes them in the following Words.

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N. p. 114. *The Oxford Historian* says, that Dr. Pordage was a Mystic Enthusiast, and used to talk of the fiery Deity of Christ dwelling in the Soul, and mixing itself with our Flesh.

The *Oxford Historian* mentions him but in (b) one Place (that I can find) and there he says no such Thing.

N. Ib. *He dealt much in Astrology.*

The *Historian's* Words (Vol. 2. p. 578.) ' I have heard Mr. Ashmole commend him for his Knowledge in, or at least his great Affection to Astronomy.'

N. Ib. *The Wiltshire Commissioners summoned Mr. Walter Bushnell ——— Vicar of Box near Malmesbury before them, to answer a Charge of Drunkenness, Profanation of the Sabbath, Gaming, and Disaffection to the Government; and after a full hearing, and Proof upon Oath, they ejected him.*

His 'Disaffection to the Usurper was doubtless the main Reason for his Ejection. For the *Oxford Historian* observes. (i) ' That he continued at Box in good Esteem the greatest Part of the interrupted Times, but was at length ejected from his Living, in the Reign of Oliver.

*Synods are Whelps of th' Inquisition
A Mungrel Breed of like Pernicion.
And growing up, became the Sires,
Of Scribes, Commissioners, and Triers.
Whose Business is by cunning Slighe
To cast a Figure for Men's Light
To find in Lines of Beard and Face,
The Physiognomy of Grace;
And by the Sound and Twang of Nose
If all be Sound within disclose;
Free from a Crack or Flaw of Sinning,
As Men try Pipkins by the Ringing;
By black Caps underlaid with white
Give certain guess at inward Light;
Which Serjeants at the Gospel wear
To make the Spiritual calling Clear.*

Hudibras Part I. Canto III.

(b) *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 578—579.

(i) *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 391.

N. p. 119. Besides the six itinerant Preachers of University Education in each County in Wales, (for propagating the Gospel there) the Commissioners send out thirty two Ministers, of whom twenty four were University Men, and some of the rest good Scholars, and to supply what was further wanting, they approved of several gifted Laymen.

But Mr. Neal conceals, what the Petitioners of South Wales affirm, (k) ' that these Teachers wanted to be instructed themselves in the first Principles of the Oracles of God: That they were such as brought Preaching effectually into Contempt and Derision, and that they would have been glad of 10*l.* per Annum. And the Presentment from the Grand Jury for the County of Montgomery sets forth, that those employed with them were Illiterate, Poor Tradesmen. — That several Parishes in Denbighshire and the County of Brecon lay neglected for several Years together, and that the Grand Jury of the County of Montgomery set forth (in the Presentment above mentioned) that the whole 47 Parish Churches of their County were left vacant upon the Lord's day, without any known Preacher to officiate in Them, save the few Illiterate Poor Tradesmen, just now spoken of.

N. p. 121. It is hard to express with Decency, the Reproaches cast upon the Commissioners by our angry Historians: Who charged them with all manner of Corruption, as if they had got great Estates out of the revenues of the Church, without producing a single Example.

They have indeed charged it upon them; nor do I think Mr. Neal, after all his Pains, has sufficiently cleared them.

' Mr. Wood says, (l) they had the Disposal of

(k) Walker's Sufferings &c. Part 1. p. 169.

(l) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 3. p. 475. Dr. Walker's Sufferings of Ep. Clergy Part 2. p. 157.

above forty thousand Pounds per Annum in Tythes, and Glebes, Improvements, Rents reserved, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices and Promotions from the Year 1648 inclusive to the latter End of 1653, at which Time it was unaccounted for. (m) Dr. Walker has calculated their Receipts in South Wales, and Monmouth for three Years, at above nine thousand Pounds per Annum. And these Sums (he observes) by no means come up to the real Value of those Revenues of the Clergy, which those Plunderers had gotten into their Possession. For the Commissioners and Sequestrators (as has been before intimated (says he) and will be more fully shewn) set out the Livings to their Godly Friends (and sometimes no doubt to their Ungodly Selves, though in the names of other Persons) at half Values. And therefore this Summ must be doubled to make the whole Charge of this Part of the Plunder: and accordingly, at the End of the Return of the Sheriff of Brecon, there is (but in a Hand different from that of the Return itself) this Note. *The total Sum of all the Churches Revenues during the Vacancies amounts to 22971 l. 10s. 4d.*

Now this Return was made in 1658, when the Propagation had been eight Years on Foot: and the highest Summ that the Sequestrators, and Agents for this County do in their Accompts charge themselves for any one Year, being 1543 l. &c. that Summ for eight Years falls near one half short of what this Note in the Return affirms the Incomes of the vacant Livings to amount to.

There is yet more express Testimony of this matter. For the Petition for South Wales, presented to the Parliament against the Propagators, sets forth (and it is confirmed by several Writers of these Times) *that the Profits of the Tythes of*

(m) Walker Ibid.

* *Church Livings, and all other Benefices and Impropriations sequestered within the six Countys of South Wales, and the County of Monmouth, were annually worth 20000l, or thereabouts.*

N. p. 121. *And whereas it was said, that be (Mr. V. Powell) had enriched himself by purchasing thousands a Year of Crown Lands, he protests, he never purchased above seventy Pounds a Year, which he lost at the Restoration.*

I should be glad to know which of our *Historians* charges him with Purchases so large. As Mr. Neal quotes no Authority, I presume the Charge in some Measure is his own.

Mr. *Wood* indeed observes, * that besides his * hundred Pounds per Annum, as a *Missionary*, (n) * he had vast Emoluments of many sequestered * Livings in *North Wales*, and the Wages of diverse of the *Itinerants* and *School-masters*; who * were the *Journey-Men* and *Stipendiaries*, he being * accounted the *Metropolitan* of them.—And the * Author of *Strena* tells you, he became great * and wealthy, purchased some of the *Kings Fee-Farm-Rents*, and *Lordships* for the most Part in * another Man's Name, and to perpetuate his * Memory built for himself a very fair and sumptuous House in *Kerry* in *Montgomeryshire*.*

In his Account of the Visitors appointed for the two Universities, p. 124. He has left out two *Lay Commissioners* for the University of Oxford, viz. Sir *Charles Wolseley* Bart. and *Humphry Mackworth* Esq; and amongst the *Cambridge Commissioners* has put *Robert Viner* for *Robert Vinter*, (*Scobel* p. 366.)

N. p. 126. *No Attempts were unessay'd by the Queen Mother and the Queen of France, to gain over the Duke of Gloucester to the Romish Religion.—But this young Prince was too well established in his Religion to be perverted at present.—*

(n) *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 475.

I leave Mr. *Neal* to judge, whether by his manner of Expression, the Reader may not be induced to think that at last he was perverted. As to his Religion (says Mr. *Echard* Vol. 3. p. 32.) ‘ He was an inviolable Observer of his dying Father’s Instructions, and an invincible Asserter of the Protestant Faith, against all the Errors of Popery.’ When he was attacked by the Abbot of *Pontoise* to change his Religion, ‘ (o) He replied to the Abbot’s Arguments with more Ingenuity than could be expected, and then told Mr. *Montague* (who endeavoured to lead him into the Snare)’ ‘ That he could not but wonder, that he durst make this Attempt upon him, knowing the Queen’s Promise to the King his Brother, that no Change in his Religion should be endeavoured, that for his own Part, he was resolved not to incur his Majesty’s Displeasure, by neglecting the Command he had given him, not to listen to any Arguments intended to pervert him from his Religion; that as to the Proposal of making him a *Cardinal*, and the Promise of placing him on the Throne of *England*, he rejected them with Contempt and Indignation; and that it was a mean and disingenuous Action, to assault him in the Absence of his Tutor, who would easily refute his Arguments.”

N. p. 132. Mr. *Vines* was a Bold, Honest Man without Pride or Flattery.

Mr. *Vines*, I believe, was one of the best of them. Yet how far this Character is true the Reader may be left to judge from the following Account, given of him by the Author of a Tract intitled, *the 29th of May* p. 76. (from *Mercurius Insanus Insanissimus*.) ‘ The second Day of April being Easter-Day, Master *Vines* of Saint *Clements* did pray in the Morning, that God would bless the King,

(o) *Carte’s* Life of *James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*. Vol. 2. p. 164.

* and restore him to his Throne, Regal Rights,
 * Estate and Dignity, the Right honourable the
 * Marquis of *Hersford* being at Church. But in
 * the Afternoon, the Lord Marquis being absent,
 * the Lord *Fairfax* came to that Church, and then,
 * and there, Mr. *Vines* prayed *Stylo Parlamentario*,
 * God turn the Heart of the King, and give him
 * Grace to repent of his grievous Sins, especially
 * all the Blood he had shed in these Civil, Uncivil
 * Wars, with many other Words and Expressions
 * of the same Cut, Garb, and Fashion; whereby
 * it was noted, that Mr. *Vines* was much more al-
 * tered betwixt the Forenoon and Afternoon, than
 * the Difference betwixt an *English* Marquis, and
 * an *Irish* Baron.

N. p. 133. The Protector, having dissolved his
 second Parliament without confirming their Acts,
 was obliged still to rely upon the military Arm. This
 together with the Insurrections of several Parts of the
 County induced him, for his greater Security, to can-
 ton the Nation into (p) eleven Districts, and place
 over them Major Generals, whose Commission was to
 inspect the Behaviour of the inferior Commissioners
 within their Districts; to commit to Prison all sus-
 pected Persons, to take care to collect all public
 Taxes, and to sequester such as did not pay their
 Decimations, &c.

Lord Clarendon observes, (q) * that Cromwell
 * discerned by Degrees, that these new Magistrates
 * grew too much in Love with their Power, and
 * besides that they carried themselves like so many
 * (r) *Bassas* with their Bands of *Janizaries* towards
 * the People, and were extremely odious to (s) all
 * Parties

(p) See their Names and Districts *Edward's* Hist. Vol. 2. p. 777. *Pejor*
Politician, or *Life of Cromwell* p. 228.

(q) History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 458. 459.

(r) The Author of the fourth Part of the History of *Independency* p. 27.
 calls them *Royalties*, or *Petty Kings*, or *State Masters*.

(s) * The Major Generals, says *Ludlow*, (*Memoirs* Vol. 2. p. 539.) * car-

‘ Parties they did really affect such an Authority
 ‘ as might undermine his own Greatness, yet for
 ‘ the present he thought not fit to controul them,
 ‘ and seemed less to apprehend them.’

N. p. 139. *Archbishop Usher was desired to use his Interest with his Highness in Behalf of the Episcopal Clergy, upon which (says the Writer of the Archbishop's Life) the Protector promised either to recall his Declaration, or prevent its being put in Execution, provided the Clergy were inoffensive in their Language and Sermons, and stood clear in meddling with Matters of State. But his Council were of Opinion, that it was not safe for him to recall his Declaration.— But that he should suspend the Execution of it, as far as their Behaviour should deserve.*

But he forbears to mention, whether this Life was wrote by Dr. Barnard, or Dr. Parr, I presume it was the latter, who adds (t) ‘ that when
 ‘ the Lord Primate went to him a second Time,
 ‘ to get his Promise ratified and put into Writing,
 ‘ he found him under the Chirurgeon's Hands,
 ‘ who was dressing a great Boyl that was on his
 ‘ Breast. Cromwell prayed the Lord Primate to

‘ ried Things with unheard of Insolence, in their several Precincts, deci-
 ‘ mating to Extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the Proceedings at
 ‘ Law, upon Petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threat-
 ‘ ning such as would not yield a ready Submission to their Orders, with Trans-
 ‘ portation to *Jamaica*, or some other Place in the *West Indies*: and suffer-
 ‘ ing none to escape their Persecution; but those that would betray their own
 ‘ Party, by discovering the Persons that had acted with them, or for them,
 ‘ And here I cannot omit to mention a Farmer in *Barkshire*, who, being de-
 ‘ fired to pay his *Tenth*, desired to know of the Commissioners, in case he
 ‘ did so, what Security he should have for the other *Nine Parts*? And An-
 ‘ swer being made, that he should have *Cromwell's* Order, and their's for the
 ‘ Enjoyment of the rest: he replied, that he had already an Act of Parlia-
 ‘ ment for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good Security
 ‘ as they could give. But said he, if *Goodman* such a one, and another
 ‘ whom he named of his Neighbours, will give me their Bond for it, I know
 ‘ what to say to such a Proposal: For if they break their Agreement I know
 ‘ how to right my self, but these *Swordmen* are too strong for me.

See a full Account of their Power, in an Order from the Major General of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, and *Stafford*. *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 294. p. 5928, &c.

(t) Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher. p. 75. 76.

' sit down a little, and that when he was dressed,
 ' he would speak with him. Whilst this was
 ' doing, *Cromwell* said to the *Lord Primate*, if
 ' this *Core* (poynting to the *Boyl*) were once out, I
 ' should quickly be well. The good Bishop re-
 ' plied, I am afraid the *Core* lyes deeper: *There is*
 ' *a Core at the Heart that must be taken out*, or
 ' else it will not be well. Ah, replied he, (seem-
 ' ing unconcerned) so there is indeed, and sighed.
 ' But when the *Lord Primate* began to speak to
 ' him, about the Business he came about, he an-
 ' swered him to this Effect.

" That he had since better considered it, hav-
 " ing advised with his Council about it, and that
 " they thought it not safe for him to grant Li-
 " berty of Conscience to those Sort of Men, who
 " are restless and implacable Enemies to him and
 " his Government; and so he took his Leave of
 " him, though with good Words and outward
 " Civility." The *Lord Primate*, seeing it was
 ' in vain to urge it any farther, said little more to
 ' him, but returned to his Lodgings very much
 ' troubled and concerned, that his Endeavours
 ' had met with no better Success: When he was
 ' in his Chamber, he said to some of his Relations,
 ' and myself, that came to see him. " This
 " *false Man* has broken his Word with me, and
 " refuses to perform what he promised. Well,
 " he will have little Cause to glory in his Wicked-
 " ness, for he will not continue long; the King
 " will return, though I shall not live to see it,
 " you may: The Business both in Church and
 " State is in Confusion; the *Papists* are advancing
 " their Projects, and making such Advantages,
 " as will hardly be prevented."

N. p. 142. *Mr. Echard* says, the Jews offered
 the Protector two hundred thousand Pounds, provided
 they might have *St. Paul's Cathedral* for a Settle-
 ment, and he adds the following malicious Reflection,
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that the Money made his Highness look upon it as the Cause of God; that both the Clergy and Laity so declaimed against them, that the religious Juggle would not take place.

This is in some Measure allowed by one of the Writers of his Life, who was far from being his Enemy. (u) ' It seems (says he) he procured their Toleration here (as saith Mr. Prynne in his Narrative p. 56.) which Morfel he had swallowed by thus gratifying them, had not the Design been opposed by Arguments as sharp as Steel.'

N. Ib. *This the Archdeacon himself could not believe, as being quite out of Character; for he knew, that the Protector did not enrich his Family, nor value Money but for the public Service.*

I am persuaded that the Archdeacon, who was a Man of the strictest Probity, did believe it. Nor was it out of Character with Cromwell; for the aforementioned Writer of his Life informs us, (x) ' that when four *Embassadours Extraordinary* were sent over from *Holland*, to sollicit Peace; these, using pecuniary Persuasions, so far prevailed with the Protector as made him ballance the public Concernments with his private Interest; and so granted their Desires. And Mr. Heath says, (y) that Cromwell was resolved to have Money one Way or other, and therefore besides the late Rapine of *Decimation*, and the *Piedmont Sacrilege*, now he would venture upon a greater Impiety, to the Derogation of the Saviour of the World, that Nothing might be wanting to fill up the Measure of his Wickedness, he had dealt underhand with some Agents from the Nation of the *Jews*, who had proposed a Toleration of their own Judges, their burying

(u) Perfect Politician. p. 231.

(x) Ibid. p. 205.

(y) *Chronicle* p. 379.

‘ Places, the Revocation of all Laws and Statutes
 ‘ against them, and had strengthened the Reason
 ‘ of this with a round Summ of Money.’

N. p. 147. *The Protector had a high Esteem for
 this Prelate, (Archbishop Usher) allowed him a Pen-
 sion, and promised him a Lease of his Archbishop-
 rick in Ireland for 21 Years; but his Death pre-
 vented the Execution of the Design.*

(z) ‘ Whether now, or at any other Time
 ‘ (says Dr. Parr) *Oliver Cromwell* bestowed any
 ‘ Gratuity or Pension upon him I know not, nor
 ‘ do at all believe; notwithstanding a late *Englisch*
 ‘ Writer of his Life (before the late Edition of
 ‘ his *Body of Divinity*) I know not upon what
 ‘ Grounds, has made bold to say so; only this
 ‘ much I remember my *Lord Primate* said, that
 ‘ *Oliver* had promised to make him a Lease of
 ‘ some Part of the Lands belonging to the Arch-
 ‘ bishoprick of *Armagh* for 21 Years, which my
 ‘ *Lord Primate* thought it no Harm to accept,
 ‘ considering it was but his own, and which he
 ‘ had been deprived of above half that Time,
 ‘ especially in Consideration of his *Daughter* and
 ‘ many *Grand-children*, for whom he had yet been
 ‘ able to do Nothing. And if the Church did
 ‘ happen to be restored before that Time, it could
 ‘ lose Nothing by this Grant; and if not, he
 ‘ thought his Children might as well deserve to
 ‘ reap the Benefit of it as others; but though
 ‘ Dr. *Bernard* in his Epistle to the Reader, before
 ‘ the *Life of the Lord Primate*, observes, the
 ‘ Lease was made by *Cromwell*’s Secretary, (who
 ‘ then had the Copy in his Power) to publish as
 ‘ if this Grant had been really past; yet the
 ‘ *Usurper* was craftier than so; and as he delayed
 ‘ the passing of it as long as the *Lord Primate*
 ‘ lived, so after his Death he made a Pretence,

(x) *Parr’s Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 74.

by

‘ by imputing *Malignancy*, (which was indeed
‘ *Loyalty*) to the *Lord Primate’s* Son-in-law, and
‘ Daughter, to free himself from that Promise.’

N. Ib. He consulted him about proper Measures
for advancing the Protestant Interest abroad, and at
Home.

Dr. Parr allows, that once the *Primate* attended
Cromwell upon this Account, but observes, (a)
‘ that *Cromwell* was too great an *Enthusiast* to
‘ take the *Lord Primate’s* Advice; and so after a
‘ great Deal of canting Discourse he civilly dis-
‘ missed him.’

N. p. 147. The Protector did him the Honour of
a public Funeral, and buried him ‘at his own Ex-
pence in King Henry VII’s Chapel.

(b) ‘ Some or other (says *Dr. Parr*) put it
‘ into *Oliver Cromwell’s* Head, how much it would
‘ be for the *Lord Primate’s*, as well as his own
‘ Honour to have him solemnly buried, which
‘ he approving of, and thinking it a good Way
‘ to make himself popular, because he well knew,
‘ what Reputation the Deceased had amongst all
‘ Ranks and Degrees of Men: Whereupon he
‘ presently caused an Order to be drawn and sent
‘ to the *Lord Primate’s* Son-in-Law, and Daugh-
‘ ter, straightly forbidding them to bury his Body
‘ any where else, than at *Westminster Abbey*, for
‘ that his *Highbness* (as he then called himself) in-
‘ tended a public Funeral for him: This Com-
‘ mand his Relations durst not disobey (as the
‘ Times then were) though it was much against
‘ their Wills, perceiving well enough the *Usurper’s*
‘ Design; that (as it was intended so) it would
‘ make more for his own Honour than that of the
‘ deceased *Primate*, and withal perceiving (what
‘ accordingly happened) that he would never de-

(a) *Id. Ib.*

(b) *Parr’s Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 78.

' fray half the Expence of such a solemn Funeral,
 ' which therefore would cause the greatest Part of
 ' the Charge to fall upon them, (though they
 ' were least able to bear it) and yet he would reap
 ' all the Glory of it. I should not have said so
 ' much upon this Subject, had it not been to
 ' shew the World the intriguing Subtlety of this
 ' *Usurper*, even in this small Affair; and that for
 ' the Expence of about 200*l.* out of the *Deodands* in
 ' his *Almoner's* Hands, (which was Nothing at all
 ' to him) he was able to put those he accounted
 ' his Enemies to treble the Charge; However
 ' since it could not be avoided, the Corps was
 ' left unburied till the (c) 17th of *April* following
 ' when it was removed from *Rygate* towards
 ' *London*, being met and attended by most of the
 ' Persons of Quality then in Town, the Clergy
 ' in and about *London*, waiting upon the Herse
 ' from *Somerset House* to the *Abbey Church*, where
 ' the Crowd was so great, that there was forced
 ' to be a Guard to prevent the Rudeness of the
 ' People. The Body being brought into the
 ' Quire, Dr. *Nicholas Bernard* preached his Ser-
 ' mon. — The Sermon ended, the Corps was
 ' conveyed to the Grave in *St. Erasmus Chappel*,
 ' and there buried by the said Doctor, according
 ' to the (d) *Liturgy* of the *Church of England*. —

(c) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 304. p. 6092.

(d) Dr. Parr observes (*Life of Archbishop Usber* p. 44.) ' That in his
 ' Piece entitled *The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, that he proves
 ' from Scripture, and also from the most ancient Writings and Monuments
 ' of the Church, that they owe their Original to no less Authority than the
 ' *Apostles*, and that they are Stars in the right Hand of Christ. *Apoc.* 2.
 ' For there was never any *Christian Church* founded in the primitive Times
 ' without Bishops, which Discourse was not then, nor I supposed ever will
 ' be answered by those of a contrary Judgment. And in another Place (*Ibid.*
 ' p. 85.) You may observe what a reverend Esteem he had for the *Liturgy*,
 ' so that when some had traduced him, as if he spoke slightly of it, he
 ' took it very ill, as appears by what I find of his own Hand, in his own
 ' private *Manual Journal*. Jan. 16. 1665, not long before his Death,
 ' which I suppose he wrote on Purpose, that those who would use his Papers
 ' should take of it. *Of the Book of Common Prayer, I have always had a*
 ' *reverent Esteem, and therefore that at any Time I should say it was an Idol,*
 ' *is as senseless and most abominable Untruth.* I. A.

‘ Many

‘ Many Tears were shed at his *Obsequies*, the City
 ‘ and Country being full of the singular Piety,
 ‘ Learning and Worth of the deceased *Primate*,
 ‘ which though it fall not to every Man’s Lot to
 ‘ equal, yet it is his Duty to follow so good an
 ‘ Example as far as he is able, *Quamvis non passi-*
 ‘ *bus æquis.*’

N. p. 148. Stephen Marshall was an admired
 Preacher, and far from running into the Extremes of
 the Times.

Had Mr. Neal ever seen any of his Sermons
 upon public Occasions, he could not sure assert
 as he does. I have elsewhere (Examination of
 Mr. Neal’s 2d Volume p. 392.) given a Specimen
 sufficient to prove the Truth of what Mr. Echard
 asserts concerning him, (his Madness excepted)
 and for the Reader’s Satisfaction I shall take the
 Liberty of inserting some additional Passages in
 Proof of Mr. Neal’s Mistake with Regard to this
 Part of Mr. Marshall’s Character.

‘ It is *Emanuel’s* Cause that you oppose, it is
 ‘ *Emanuel’s* People that you fight against, it is
 ‘ *Emanuel* that is the Leader, the General of that
 ‘ Army; one that will outwit you, and outplot
 ‘ you, and outfight you.’

[(e) Marshall’s Thanksgiving Sermon. before the
 Commons, May 17. 1648. p. 7.]

(e) It is said (*Wood’s Athens*, Vol. 2. p. 512.) ‘ That Marshall did up-
 ‘ on a Time put himself more forward than was meet to say Grace (at Hol-
 ‘ denby before his Majesty) and while he was long in forming his Chaps, as
 ‘ the Manner was among the *Saints*, and making ugly Faces; his Majesty
 ‘ said Grace himself, and was fallen to his Meat, and had eaten up some
 ‘ Part of his Dinner, before Marshall had ended the Blessing.

‘ Be but a Person (says Dr. South Sermon. Vol. 1. p. 215.) in Vogue and
 ‘ Credit with the Multitude, he shall be able to set off whatsoever he says,
 ‘ to authorise any *Nonsense*, and to make popular Rambling, incoherent Stuff,
 ‘ seasoned with *Twang* and *Tautology*, pass for high Rhetorick and moving
 ‘ Preaching.

Mr. Petyt observes (*Visions of the Reformation* p. 18.) ‘ That Stephen
 ‘ Marshall’s last Words ought more to be heeded, than all his Preaching
 ‘ through the whole Course of his Life, where he cried out *King Charles*,
 ‘ *King Charles*, and testified much Horrour and Regret for the bloody Con-
 ‘ fusions he had promoted.

‘ Right Honourable, ye are to be our *Physi-*
 ‘ *cians* and *Repairers* of our Breaches ; the Horns
 ‘ of God’s Wrath begin to push at us, you are
 ‘ the Carpenters that must cut off these Horns.
 ‘ The Lord direct you that you may be as the
 ‘ Angels of God to discern what shall be done
 ‘ with them, who have been Troublers of our
 ‘ Peace, and the greatest Kindlers of God’s
 ‘ Wrath against us. Spare when you may with
 ‘ God’s good Will: But remember, that it is
 ‘ foolish Pity that destroys a City, let not the
 ‘ Men escape whom God appoints to Punishment.’

[Marshall before the Commons, December 22.
 1641. p. 50, 51.]

‘ Beloved our Days are better than they were
 ‘ seven Years ago ; because it is better to see the
 ‘ Lord executing Judgment than to see Men
 ‘ working Wickedness ; and to behold People lie
 ‘ wallowing in their Blood, rather than apostat-
 ‘ izing from God, and embracing Idolatry and
 ‘ Superstition, and banishing the *Lord Christ*
 ‘ from amongst Men.’

[Marshall before the Two Houses Jan. 1643.
 p. 18.]

‘ Carry on the Work still ; leave not a Rag
 ‘ that belongs to *Popery* ; lay not a Bit of the
 ‘ Lord’s Building with any Thing that belongs
 ‘ unto *Antichrist’s Stuff* : But away with all of it,
 ‘ Root and Branch, Head and Tail, throw it out
 ‘ of the Kingdom.’

[*Id. ib.* p. 21.]

‘ God’s Wrath is like a great Bell long a raising.’

[Marshall before the Commons, Decemb. 22.
 1641. p. 10.]

‘ As

‘ As all Things were made for God’s Praise,
‘ so the Creature Man was in an especial Manner
‘ made the *Bailiff or Gatherer in of God’s Quit-Rent*
‘ of Praise from all the rest of the Creatures to
‘ pay it to himself.’

[*Marshall’s* Thanksg. Ser. before the *Commons*,
Sept. 7. 1641. p. 26.]

‘ Keep in with God, and ye shall be safe enough,
‘ None shall arrest you, *till God’s Hand be to the*
‘ *Warrant.*’

[*Id. ib.* p. 14.]

‘ I could easily set before you a great Catalogue
‘ of Mercies. You have received many peculiar
‘ to your own Persons, to your Souls and Bodies,
‘ your Estates and Families, privative Mercies,
‘ positive Mercies; (*f*) you eat Mercies, drink
‘ Mercies, wear Mercy’s Cloths, are compassed
‘ about and covered with Mercies, as much as
‘ ever the Earth was in *Noah’s* Flood.’

[*Id. ib.* p. 38.]

‘ I have seen a Hen go clocking and scraping
‘ in the Midst of her Chickens; then comes the
‘ *Kite* and snatches away first one, then another,
‘ then a third till all are gone: The Hen bustles
‘ and flutters a little when any are snatched
‘ away, but returns instantly to her scraping and
‘ picking, as if she had lost Nothing. Even so
‘ do we, presently forgetting our great Losses.’

[*Marshall’s* Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Pym*. p. 18.]

(*f*) Something like that Passage in *Marshall’s* Sermon is the following remarkable one, Dr. *Whincopp’s* before the Commons Jan. 29. 1644. p. 14.
‘ All the Creatures of the World are God’s domestick Servants, he keeps
‘ them, he finds them, he feeds them, he Cloathes them. Oh! what a
‘ brave Housekeeper here is? How many Tables doth he spread every Day?
‘ How many Beds doth he make every Night? How many Servants does he
‘ keep continually?

N. p. 149. *The Protector sent for Sir Henry Vane, and Major General Ludlow to give Security not to act against the present Government. He asked Ludlow, what made him uneasy; or what he would have? He answered, he would have the Nation governed by its own Consent.*

It is not to be doubted but nine Parts in ten of the Nation were inveterate Enemies to *Cromwell*. And that *Ludlow*, who was a professed Republican, was far from being his Friend, is readily acknowledged. (g) *Henry Cromwell* in a Letter from *Ireland* 1655, takes Notice, 'that *Ludlow* had 'not spared any Company or Opportunity to 'vent his venomous Discontents, that in reproach- 'ful and reflecting Language, very much to the 'Amazement of all sober Men, amongst whom 'he has rather lost than gained a Reputation by 'it.' — Nay, how little he relished the Usurpations of *Oliver*, and his Son *Richard*, is apparent from an angry Letter of his to *Lentball* after the Rump was restored, printed in the (b) *Appendix*.

Mr. Neal p. 151. makes Mention of *Some Acts presented to his Highness* November 27. 1656. for Confirmation; but omits one remarkable one, mentioned by one that writes his Life. (i) 'An 'Act for Excise of Merchandise imported, *Hobby Horses, Children's Rattles, old Shirts* not excepted.

N. p. 152. *A Day of publick Thanksgiving was appointed for the Protector's Deliverance* (from *Syndercombe's Plot*) *Febr.* 20.

In the Appointment of the public Thanksgiving there is a Narrative of this Plot, for which I refer the Reader to the *Appendix*. No. 63. See Plots against the *Rump*, N. 64, 65.

(g) *Sanderfon's Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. 20. p. 791.

(b) *Appendix* No. 62.

(i) *Perfect Politician* p. 241.

N. Ibid. *His Highness gave the Speaker, and the Members of Parliament a handsome Entertainment at the Banquetting House.*

That ' his Feasts were none of the most liberal, ' appears from the ludicrous Account of this transcribed into the (k) Margin.'

N. p. 156. James Naylor—— was sent to Bristol, and whipt from the Middle of Thomas Street over the Bridge to the Middle of Broad Street.

The Severity of it appears from the following Account. (l) ' From Bristol, Saturday 17 January. ' This Day the Order of Parliament was executed ' here upon James Naylor in Manner as is described in the following Order.

' Mr. Roach,
' Cause James Naylor to ride in at Lawford's
' Gate, upon a Horse bare ridged, with his Face

(k) Those two Feasts he gave the French Embassadour, and the Parliament ' in 1656, upon their Gratulation of his Syndercombe Deliverance (were far ' from Magnificence) which *last* amounted not to above 1000*l.* and she (viz. ' his Wife) saved 200*l.* of it in the Banquet. For a Big-bellied Woman, a ' Spectator near Cromwell's Table, upon the serving whereof with Sweetmeats, ' desiring a Few dry Candies, of Apricocks, Col. Pride sitting at the same ' instantly threw into her Apron a Conserve of Wet with both his Hands, ' and stained it all over; when as if that had been the Sign, Oliver catches ' up his Napkin, and throws it at Pride, and he at him again while all at ' that Table were engaged in the Scuffle: The Noise whereof made the ' Members rise before the Sweet-Meats were set down, and believing Dinner ' done, go to this Pastime of Gambols, and be Spectators of his Highnesses ' Frolicks. Were it worth a Description, I could give the Reader a just and ' particular Account of that Abab Festival, as it was solemnized at the ' banquetting House at White-ball. [Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth commonly called Joan Cromwell and London 1664. p. 44.]

Mr. Heatb observes [Flagellum, or Life of Cromwell p. 159.] ' That he ' treated the Officers of the Army every Monday, where he dined with them, ' and shewed a hundred antick Tricks, as throwing of Cushions, and putting ' live Coals into their Pockets and Boots.

Indeed in some Instances he was *profuse*, for Ludlow observes, [Memoirs Vol. 2. p. 489.] ' That when he buried his Mother, (which was done ' at the publick Expence) amongst other needless Ceremonys, he caused many ' hundred Torches to be carried with the Hearse, though she was buried by ' Day-Light.

(l) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 345. p. 7541. *penes me.* See Heatb's Chronicle, p. 384. Sewell's History of the Quakers p. 143.

' backward

backward from thence along *Wine Street*, to the
Tolzey, thence down *High Street* over the *Bridge*,
 and out of *Rackley-Gate*; there let him alight,
 and bring him to *St. Thomas Street*, and cause
 him to be stript and made fast to the Cart Horse,
 and there in the Market first whipped, from
 thence to the Foot of the *Bridge*, there whipt,
 thence to the Middle of the *High Street*, there
 whipt, then to the *Tolzey*, there whipt, then
 to the Middle of *Broad Street*, there whipt, and
 then turn into *Taylor's Hall*, thence release him
 from the Cart Horse, and let him put on his
 Cloaths, and carry him from thence to *Newgate*
 by *Tower Lane* the Back-way.

There did ride before him bare-headed *Michael Stamper* singing most Part of the Way,
 and several other Friends, Men and (m) Women.
 The Men went bareheaded by him, and *Robert*
Rich (late Merchant at *London*) rode by him
 bare-headed, and singing till he came to *Red-*
cliff Gate, and there the Magistrates sent their
 Officers, and brought him back on Horseback
 to the *Tolzey*, all which Way he rode singing
 very loud, where the Magistrates were met.

N. p. 166. Upon Cromwell's declining the Title
 of King, the Parliament concluded upon an humble
 Petition and Advice, which was presented to the
 Protector May 25. 1657.

Upon which Occasion he made a Speech, Part
 of which is as follows.

(m) Mr. Sewell says (p. 139) ' That *Hannab Stranger*, a Woman of high
 Imaginations, wrote several very extravagant Letters to him, calling him
 the *Everlasting Son of Righteousness*, *Prince of Peace*, *the only begotten Son*
of God, *the fairest of ten Thousands*, &c. In the Letters of *Jane Woodcock*,
John Stranger and others were contained the like Extravagances, and the
 said *Hannab Stranger*, *Martha Simmons*, and *Dorcas Erbury* arrived to that
 Height of Folly, that in the Prison of *Exeter* they kneeled before *Nailor*,
 and kissed his Feet &c. See likewise the *Grand Impostor*, or the Life, Tryal,
 and Examination of *James Nailor*, &c. 1657. (penes me) where are *Han-*
nab Stranger's Letters &c.

(n) ' Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer a Word or two unto you, which shall but be a Word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this Day, that I came not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious Thoughts that ever I had in all my Life, to undertake one of the (o) greatest Tasks that ever was laid on the Back of a human Creature; and I make no question that you will, and so will all men readily agree with me, that without the Support of the Almighty, I shall necessarily sink under the Burthen of it, not only with Shame and Reproach to myself, but with that, that is more a thousand Times, and in Comparison of which I and my Family are not worthy to be mentioned, with the Loss and Prejudice of these three Nations, and that being so, I must ask your Help, and the Help of all those that fear God, that by their Prayers I may receive Assistance from the Hand of God: His Presence going along, will enable me to the Discharge of so great a Duty and Trust as this is, and Nothing else.'

N. p. 171. In his Account of *Oliver's* second Inauguration to the *Protectorship*, he omits one of the most material Things.

The Speech of the Lord *Widdrington*, Speaker of the Parliament at his *Investiture*, 26 June 1657.

(n) Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections* Vol. 16. No. 142. C. See *Perfect Politician*. p. 247.

(o) That *Cromwell* was not too easy in his *Protectorship*, appears from the following Account given by Sir *Philip Warwick*, (*Memoirs* p. 387.) ' That *Desborough* his Brother in Law, and *Fleetwood* his Son in Law were in Confederacy with *Pickering*, and *Sydenham*, and others of his *Privy Council*, (whom he thought securest to him) to change the Government into a *Commonwealth*, and thus agitated some time before his Death, he seems dispirited. And by the Acquaintance I had (says he) with an old Gentlewoman, who made his Broths, and Jellies, and other such *Cockering Meats*, I learnt that for one while he frequently used these, and for another he took large Draughts of Wine: and he seldom awaked even in the Night, but with one or other of these he must be replenished; and sure these were better Comforts to him, than the Reflection upon his Successes.

(p) May it please your Highness,
 ' You are now upon a great Theatre, in a large
 ' *Chore* of People, you have the Parliament of
 ' *England, Scotland, and Ireland* before you ; on
 ' your right Hand my Lords the Judges, and on
 ' your left Hand my Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and
 ' Sheriffs of *London*, the most noble and populous
 ' City of *England*. The Parliament, with the In-
 ' terposition of your Suffrage, makes Laws, and
 ' the Judges and Governours of *London* are the
 ' great Dispensers of the Laws to the People.

' The Occasion of this great Convention and In-
 ' tercourse is, to give an *Investiture* to your High-
 ' ness, in that eminent Place of (q) *Lord Pro-*
 ' *testor*: A name you had before, but it is now set-
 ' tled by the full and unanimous Consent of the
 ' People of these three Nations assembled in Par-
 ' liament. You have no new Name, but a new
 ' Date added to the old Name. The sixteenth of
 ' *December* is now changed to the six and twen-
 ' tieth of June.

' I am commanded by the Parliament to make
 ' Oblation to your Highness of four Things, in
 ' Order to this *Inauguration*.

' The first is a (r) *Robe of Purple*, an Em-
 ' blem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness

(p) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 370. p. 7897. *penes me. Perfect Politician,*
 or a View of the Life of *Cromwell*, p. 250, &c. *Heath Chron.* p. 394.

(q) ' Who (saith Dr. *South.* Ser. Vol. 1. p. 334.) that had seen *Agath-*
cles handling his Clay, and making Pots after his Father, and afterwards
 ' turning Robber, would have thought that from such a Condition he should
 ' afterwards become King of *Sicily*, who that had seen *Massianello* a poor Fish-
 ' erman with his Red Cap and his Angle, could have reckoned it possible to
 ' see such a *pitiful Thing* within a Week shining in his Cloth of Gold, and
 ' with a Word or Nod absolutely commanding the City of *Naples*! Or who
 ' that had seen such a Bankrupt beggarly Fellow as *Cromwell*, first entering
 ' the Parliament House, with a thread bare torn Cloke, and a greasy Hat
 ' (and perhaps neither of them paid for) could have suspected that in the Space
 ' of so few Years, he should by the Murder of one King, and Banishment
 ' of another, ascend the Throne, be invested in the Royal Robes and want
 ' nothing of the State of a King but the changing his Hat into a Crown.

(r) Sir *Philip Warwick* says (*Memoirs* p. 382.) ' That a Purple Velvet
 ' Robe lined with Ermins was put on him by the Earl of *Warwick*: A Rich
 ' Bible studded with Gold presented by *Whitlock*, Commissioner of the Great
 ' Seal; and a Sceptre and a Sword delivered him by the Speaker,

‘ and Justice: When you have put on this Vest-
 ‘ ment, I may say, (and I hope without Offence)
 ‘ that you are a *Gown-man*. This Robe is of a
 ‘ mixt Colour, to shew the Mixture of *Justice*
 ‘ and *Mercy*: Which are then most excellent,
 ‘ when they are well temper’d together. Justice
 ‘ without Mercy is Wormwood and Bitterness;
 ‘ and Mercy without Justice is of too soft a Tem-
 ‘ per for Government: For a Magistrate must
 ‘ have two Hands *plēntem*, and *ampletēntem*.

‘ The next Thing is a *Bible*, a Book that con-
 ‘ tains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have
 ‘ the Honour and Happiness to be well versed.
 ‘ This is the Book of Life consisting of two *Test-*
 ‘ *taments* the *Old* and the *New*. In the first we
 ‘ have *Christum velatum*, Christ in Types, Shadows
 ‘ and Figures; in the Latter, we have *Christum*
 ‘ *revelatum*, Christ revealed. This Book carries
 ‘ in it the Grounds of the true *Christian Protestant*
 ‘ Religion; it’s a Book of Books, and besides
 ‘ other Things, it contains in it both Precepts and
 ‘ Examples for good Government.

‘ *Alexander* so highly valued the Books of his
 ‘ Master *Aristotle*, and other great Princes other
 ‘ Books, that they have laid them every Night
 ‘ under their Pillows. These are all but Legends
 ‘ and Romances to this one Book: A Book to be
 ‘ had always in Remembrance: I find it said in a
 ‘ Part of this Book.

Deut. 17. *And it shall be when he sitteth
 upon the Throne of his Kingdome, that he shall
 write a Copy of this Law in a Book out of that which
 is before the Priests and Levites: And it shall be
 with him, and he shall read therein all the Days
 of his Life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his
 God, and to keep all the Words of his Law, and those
 Statutes to do them.*—

*That his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren,
 and that he turn not aside from the Commandments*

to the right Hand or the left, to the End he may prolong his Days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the Midst of Israel.

‘ The next Thing I am to offer to your Highness is a *Sceptre*, not unlike a *Staff* ; for you are to be a *Staff* to the Weak and Poor. It is of ancient Use in this Kind ; it is said in Scripture in reference to *Judah*, the Royal Tribe, that *the Sceptre shall not depart from Judah*. It was of little Use in other Kingdoms and Governments. *Homer*, the Prince of the *Greek Poets*, calls Kings and Princes *Sceptre-Bearers*.

‘ The last Thing is a *Sword*, not a *Military* but a *Civil Sword*, a *Sword* rather for Defence than Offence ; not to defend your self only, but others also. This *Sword* is an Emblem of Justice. The noble Lord *Talbot* in *Henry VII’s* Time wrote upon his *Sword*, *Ego sum Talboti propter occidendum Inimicos meos*. This gallant Lord was a better Soldier than a Critic. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this *Sword*, it should be this. *Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum*.

‘ I say this *Sword* is an Emblem of Justice, and is to be used as King *Solomon* used his, for the Discovery of the Truth in the Points of Justice. I may say of this *Sword* as King *David* said of *Goliath’s* *Sword*, *There is none like this*. Justice is the proper Virtue of the Imperial Throne, and by Justice the Thrones of Kings and Princes are established. Justice is a Royal Virtue, which (as one saith of it) doth imploy the other three Cardinal Virtues in her Service.

‘ 1. *Wisdom*, To discern the Nocent, and Innocent.

‘ 2. *Fortitude*, To prosecute and execute.

‘ 3. *Temperance* to carry Justice, that Passion be no Ingredient, and that it be without Confusion or Precipitation. You have given ample
‘ Testimony

• Testimony in all these Particulars, so that this
 • Sword in your Hand will be a right *Sword of*
 • *Justice*, attended with *Wisdom*, *Fortitude* and
 • *Temperance*.

• When you have all these together, what a
 • comely and glorious Sight is it, to behold a
 • *Lord Protector in a purple Robe, with a Scepter*
 • *in his Hand, a Sword of Justice girt about him,*
 • *and his Eyes fixed upon the Bible(s) ?*

• Long may you prosperously enjoy them all
 • to your own Comfort, and the Comfort of the
 • People of these three Nations.'

N. p. 172. *Trade flourished, and the Arts of Peace were cultivated throughout the whole Nation: The publick Money was managed with Frugality, and to the best Advantage; the Army and Navy were well paid and served accordingly.*

Mr. Neal I hope will not take it amiss, if I assert, that he is here mistaken in almost every Article. *Trade* (as has been already observed) was ruined almost in every Branch of it, and the

(s) The *Protector's Oath*. (Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 23. No. 46.) *Whitelock's Memoirs* p. 665. " I do in the Presence and by the Name of God Almighty promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and mainteyne the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the Purity thereof as is conteyned in the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same, and that to the utmost of my Power. I will endeavour as chief Magistrate of these three Nations the Maintenance and Preservation of the Peace and Safety, and of the just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof, and shall in all Things according to my best Knowledge and Power govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

His Highness *Oliver Cromwell*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, took the Oath above written on the 26th Day of June 1657. in *Westminster Hall*, where the same was administered unto him by the Speaker of the Parliament, in the Presence of the Parliament, his Highness Council, divers Earles and noble Persons, the Officers of State, the Judges, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, and a great Multitude of the Nobility, Officers of the Army, Gentry and People; besides several Ambassadors of Foreign Princes and States.' The Author of the fourth Part of the History of Independency p. 28. says that after his Inauguration, ' He is petitioned to accept of almost two Millions by the Year for his Support, &c.

making War with *Spain* and a Peace with (1) *France* contributed not a little towards it. And the *English* were so far from enjoying Peace, which, he says, *was cultivated throughout the Land*, that nine Parts of the Nation were subject to the *Dra-gooning* of those infamous Wretches the *Major Ge-nerals*. Above two Millions were annually raised, over and above the immense Sums arising from *Delinquency, Forfeited Estates, Crown Lands*, and the Sale of the Lands of *Bishops, Deans and Chap-ters* &c. The Army was so ill paid, that they were in Arrears to the Army in *Ireland*, (as appears from *Ludlow's* Letter already referred to, as printed in the *Appendix*) fourteen Months Pay; nor did the Army in *England* fare much better. So that these *Halcyon Days* (as Mr. Neal seems to think them) were the most miserable ones that *England* ever felt from the Conquest to the Usurpation of that horrid Regicide *Oliver Cromwell*. Nay the bad State of the Army at this very Time, when Mr. Neal says *they were well paid*, appears from *Cromwell's* Speech to his two Houses, January the 25th 1657, a few Days after their first Meeting, and not many before their Dissolution, when speak-ing to them of the *Army* he has the following Words. (u) ‘ But what is the Case of this Army, ‘ a poor unpaid Army, the Soldiers going barefoot ‘ at this Time, in this City, in this Weather, and ‘ yet a peaceable People, an honest People, seek- ‘ ing to serve you with their Lives; judging ‘ their Pains and Hazards, and all well bestowed

(1) Sir Philip Warwick observes (*Memoirs* p. 373.) ‘ That *Cromwell* ‘ void of natural Affection, and not weighing the true Interest of his Coun- ‘ try, makes his most near and secret Confederation with *France*, and *Swe- ‘ den*, which we feel to this Day.

(u) Dr. Williams's *MS. Collections*, Vol. 16. No. 143. That they did not always pay their Army to their Satisfaction, appears from a Complaint of their Soldiers, May 29, 1647. (*Whitelock's Memorials* p. 249.) ‘ When ‘ eight Weeks Pay was ordered, with a Design to disband them.’ ‘ That ‘ there were fifty six Weeks pay due to them, and that they were not well ‘ rewarded for their Services.

‘ in obeying their Officers, and serving you to
 ‘ keep the Peace of these Nations. Yea he must
 ‘ be a Man that hath a Heart as hard as the
 ‘ Weather, that hath not a due Sense of this. So
 ‘ that I say it is most plain and evident, that this
 ‘ is your outward and present Defence; and yet
 ‘ at this Day do but judge.—

‘ Give me leave to consider a little what will
 ‘ (*) become of us, if our Spirits should go
 ‘ otherwise, if our Spirits should be dissatisfied;
 ‘ what will become of Things? Here is an Ar-
 ‘ my five or six Months behind on Pay; yea an
 ‘ Army in *Scotland* near as much, an Army in
 ‘ *Ireland* much more. And if these be not con-
 ‘ sidered (I cannot doubt but that they will be
 ‘ considered) I say I judge what the Case of *Ire-*
 ‘ *land* is, should *Free Quarter* come upon the
 ‘ *Irish* People. You have a Company of *Scots* in
 ‘ the North of *Ireland*, that I hope are honest
 ‘ Men: In the Province of *Galloway*, almost all
 ‘ the *Irish* transplanted to the *West*. You have
 ‘ the Interest of *England* newly begun to be
 ‘ planted, the People there are full of Necessities
 ‘ and Complaints, they bear to the utmost, and
 ‘ should the Soldiers run upon *Free Quarter* there
 ‘ upon your *English* Planters, as they must, the
 ‘ *English* Planters must quit the Country through
 ‘ meer Beggary, and that which hath been the
 ‘ Success of so much Blood and Treasure to get
 ‘ that Country into your Hands, what will be the
 ‘ Consequence? But that the *English* must needs
 ‘ run away for pure Beggary; and the *Irish* must
 ‘ possess the Country for a Receptacle to a *Po-*
 ‘ *pish* and *Spanish* Interest. And hath *Scotland*
 ‘ been long settled? Have not they a like Sense
 ‘ of Poverty? I speak plainly in good Earnest;

(*) He had Reason to say so, for as Sir *Philip Warwick* justly observes
 (Memoirs p. 385.) ‘ That nothing *Cromwell* could do abroad procured him
 ‘ Reverence or Esteem at home: For here he could master no Body but the
 ‘ loyal and forward Party of the King.’

‘ I do think the Scots Nation have been under
 ‘ as great Suffering in Point of Livelihood and
 ‘ Subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet
 ‘ named to you.

‘ I do think truly they are a very ruined
 ‘ Nation, yet in a Way (I have spoken with
 ‘ some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful
 ‘ enough yet. It has pleased God to give that
 ‘ plentiful Encouragement to the meaner Sort.
 ‘ The meaner Sort live as well, and as likely to
 ‘ come in a thriving Condition under the Govern-
 ‘ ment, as when they were under their great
 ‘ Lords, who made them work for their Livings
 ‘ no better than the Peasants of *France*. I am
 ‘ loth to speak any Thing that may reflect upon
 ‘ that Nation. But indeed the middle Sort of this
 ‘ People grow up in such a Substance as makes
 ‘ their Lives comfortable if not better than they
 ‘ were before.’

N. p. 173. *Speaking of Admiral Blake with a great, and very just Character of him, This great Officer (says he) having been three Years out at Sea, died as he was entring Plymouth Sound. August 17.*

(y) ‘ This Morning (August 10.) came the unwel-
 ‘ come News of the Death of that gallant General
 ‘ [*Blake*] a Man of great Honour, that had wholly
 ‘ devoted himself to the Service of his Country,
 ‘ and who gave many Proofs of an extraordinary
 ‘ Courage and Conduct in Actions both by Sea
 ‘ and Land: He had been a long Time a decay-

(y) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 375. p. 7988 *penes me. Whitelock's Mem.* p. 664. Bishop *Kennet* observes of him, (*Complete Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 222.)
 ‘ That he did not so much espouse the Interest of the Long-Parliament, or
 ‘ the new Service of *Cromwell*, as he did the Honour of his Country and the
 ‘ *English* Dominion of the Seas. It was his Argument for Peace and Uni-
 ‘ ty among his Seamen, that they should not listen to any News from Land,
 ‘ nor mind the Changes of the Government; but remember that the Fleet
 ‘ was *English*, and that their Enemies were Foreigners and Strangers, and
 ‘ therefore they must fight for the Honour of the *English* Nation. See
 ‘ *Hesb's Chronicle* p. 402. with a great Character of him.

ing, and in his Return being come to the *Lizard Point*, finding himself to fail, he called several of the Commanders of the other Ships aboard his own to confer with them; afterwards drawing on towards his last, he willed them to bear up with all Speed to *Plymouth*, hoping to have reached Land before his Death, but in the very Entrance into the Sound of *Plymouth* he expired: His Body being imbowelled, and closed in a Sheet of Lead, the Bowels were interred there in the Cathedral Church; and his Corps were sent along with the Ships towards the Downs [*Whitehall* August 10.]

N. p. 174. *His Body was buried in a most magnificent Manner in King Henry VII's Chapel at the public Expence, but at the Restoration his Body was taken out of the Grave, and flung with others in a common Pit.*

(z) Sept. 12. 1661. The Body of *Robert Blake* the famous *English* Admiral, who after his victorious Fight at *Sancta Cruz*, died of a Dropsy in *Plymouth* Sound August 17. 1657, brought to the Abbey and buried in *Henry VII's* Vault, was taken up and buried in the Church-Yard.

* N. p. 175. *The Protector*——in the Month of December, issued out Writs by the Advice of his Council, to divers Lords and Gentlemen to sit as Members of the other House at the next Sessions of Parliament Jan. 20. His Intention was to have this House considered as a House of Peers, though he declined giving them that Name till a more favourable Opportunity.

(a) A Catalogue of the Names of those honourable Persons who are by Writ summoned to sit in the other House of Parliament.

The

(z) *Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle.* p. 536.

(a) *Mercurius Politicus.* Num. 394. p. 165. *penes me.* *Heatb's Chron.* p. 399. See *Whitelock's Memorials* p. 666. 'Have not (says Dr. South, Sermon.

The Lord *Richard Cromwell*, the Lord *Henry Cromwell* Lord Deputy of Ireland, *Natbaniel Fiennes* and *John Lisle* Commissioners of the Great Seal, *Henry Lawrence* Lord President of his Highness's Privy Council, the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmond* Earl of *Mulgrave*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *William* Lord Viscount *Say and Seal*, Lord *Jo. Cleypole* Master of the Horse, *Philip* Lord Viscount *Lisle*, *Charles* Lord Viscount *Howard*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Thomas* Lord *Fauconbridge*, Lord *John Disbrowe*, Lord *Edward Mountague*, Generals at Sea, *George* Lord *Evre*, the Lord *Whitelock*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *William Sydenham*, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, M. G. *Philip Skippon*, Lord *Strickland*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, Sir *William Strickland*, *Francis Rous* Esq; *John Fiennes* Esq; Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir (b) *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *William Roberts*, *John Glyn*, *Oliver St. John*, Lord Chief Justices (c), *William Pierrepont* Esq; (d) *John Jones* Esq; *John Crew* Esq; *Alexander*

Vol. 1. p. 185.) ' our Princes as well as our Priests been of the lowest of the People? Have not Coblers, Draymen, and Mechanicks governed as well as preach'd? Nay have they not by preaching come to govern? Was ever that of *Solomon* more verified, that Servants have rid, whilst Princes and Nobles have gone on Foot? Nay he observes elsewhere (Preface to his Serm. Vol. 1. p. 272.) That the Restoration reduced many from the Head of a Triumphant Rebellion, to their old Condition of *Masons*, *Smiths*, and *Carpenters*, that in this Capacity they might repair, what as Colonels and Captains they had ruined and defaced. It is Sir *Philip Warwick*'s Observation, (Memoirs p. 375.) ' That now though *Christ-tide* (*Christmas*) must not be observed, as if good Fortune waited upon particular Days, the third of September which had often (but twice) been prosperous unto *Cromwell*'s Arms (whereby we see Superstition will creep in even among the Godly) must be made use of for the meeting of his first Parliament.

(b) Sir *Gilbert Gerard* (says Mr. *Walker*, History of Independency, Part 1. p. 168.) much in Debt before the Parliament, Pay-Master to the Army, had three Pence per Pound allowed, besides Gratuities worth 6000*l.* and now Chancellor of the Dutchy, worth 1200*l.* per Annum.

(c) *William Pierrepont* (*Walker* Ibid. p. 169.) had 7000*l.* given him, and all the Earl of *Kingston*'s personal Estate worth 40000*l.*

(d) *John Jones* Esq; according to Mr. G. *Bate*, (Lives &c. of the Regicides. p. 22. See Names of such Members &c. p. 16.) was a Regicide, who suffered as such, ' came of a mean Family in *Wales*, was sent up to London,

Alexander Popbam Esq; Sir Christopher Pack, Sir Robert Tickborne, Edward Whaley Esq; (e) Sir John Barkstead Knight, and Lieutenant of the Tower; (f) Sir Thomas Pride, Sir George Fleetwood, Richard Ingoldsbey Esq; (g) Sir John Hewson, James Berry Esq; William Goffe Esq; Thomas Cooper Esq; Edmond Thomas Esq; George Monck Commander in Chief of his Highness's Forces in Scotland, David Earl of Cassils, Sir William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, William Steele Lord Chancellour of Ireland. The Lord Broghill, Sir Matthew Tomlinson. In Number sixty.

London, to be an Apprentice, but was placed as a serving Man to a Gentleman, and afterwards was preferred to Sir Thomas Middleton Lord Mayor of London, with whom he lived many Years in the said Capacity.

*(e) Colonel Barkhead (says Mr. Walker, History of Independency Part 2, p. 155.) the pitiful Thimble and Bodkin Goldsmith, bought as much Bishops Lands as cost 10000*l.* at two or three Years purchase, and has long since raised the Money.*

(f) Pride was a Drayman. This Fellow (says Mr. Walker History of Independency Part 2. p. 252.) sitteth frequently at the Sessions house in the Old Bailey, where the Weight of his Slings turneth the Scale of Justice which way he pleaseth: and he calls (in the same Place) the Commons in Parliament, Colonel Pride's Dray-Horses. He was often called by Cromwell (George Bate's History of the Regicides &c. Life of Pride p. 70.) from his being a Drayman, Sir Thomas Slingsby.

(g) Hewson was originally a Cobler, upon whom Sir Roger le Strange makes the following Remark. (Fables Part 1. p. 372. 2d Edit. See likewise Fable 37th 2d Part) This minds me (says he) of a Question a Cobbling Colonel of famous Memory, (and he was a Statesman too of the Long Parliament Edition) put to a Lady of Quality in Ireland; she had been so terribly plundered, that the poor Woman went almost Barefoot, and as she was warming her Feet once in the Chimney Corner, the Colonel took Notice that her Shoes wanted Capping. Lord Madam (says he) why do ye wear no better Shoes? Why truly Sir, (says she) all the Cobblers are turned Colonels, and I can get no Body to mend them. In the Tryal of William Hulet for cutting off the King's Head, (Tryals of the Regicides Quarto printed 1660. p. 228.) Mr. Richard Gittens made Oath, that about a Day or two before the King came to the Scaffold, Colonel Hewson did give Notice to a Lieutenant, that we should come to him about 38 of us: and he put us all to our Oaths, that we should say nothing of what they did: he swore us to the Book, after he had sworn us, he asked us if we would undertake to do such an Act, if we would, we should have an hundred Pounds down, and Preferment in the Army as long as that stood, and the Parliament. Afterwards, we refused every Person, we thought Captain Hulet had refused; after all refused, he did undertake it seems to do the deed.

Nay this infamous Cobbling Colonel (Sir Roger L'Estrange's Key to Hudibras p. 285.) The Day that the King was beheaded, went with a Party of Horse from Charing Cross, to the Royal Exchange, proclaiming all the way, "that whosoever should say, that Charles Stuart died wrongfully, should suffer present Death.

N. p. 180. On the 3d of July 1657, the Protector resigned his Chancellorship at Oxford, and upon the 18th Day of the same Month, his eldest Son Richard was chosen his Successor, and installed at Whiteball on the Twenty Ninth. See the Manner of his Installment in the (b) Note.

Whiteball July 29, [Merc. Polit. Num. 373. p. 7955.]

(b) ' This Day the most noble Lord, the Lord Richard Cromwell was installed Chancellor of the most famous University of Oxon, the manner thus.
' About four a Clock in the Afternoon, Dr. John Owen Vicechancellor of the University with the Heads of Houses in their Scarlets, the Proctors and a great number of Masters of Arts, representing the Body of the University, came hither to the Lodgings of my Lord Richard in their Formalities, the Beadles of the University preceding the Vicechancellor.

' Being entred into the Room appointed to receive them, the Vicechancellor sat down at the upper End, where a Table was prepared, and a little beneath the Table, two Chairs for the Proctors; the Doctors and the rest of the University sat in Rank upon Chairs provided on each Side of the Room.

' Thus the Convocation being set, after a little Space, the Vicechancellor stood up, and in Latin declared, that the Occasion of this Convocation was to admit the most Illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard Cromwell, to be their Chancellor.

' After this, stood up the Senior Proctor, and propounded that the said Lord might first be admitted Master of Arts of the said University: To which their whole Convocation gave their *placet*, or consent.

' Which being done, the University Beadles withdrew into another Room, and from thence introduced the most noble Chancellor elect, who came attended by the Reverend Dr. Wilkins, and seated himself in a Chair at the upper End of the Room, a little remote from the Vicechancellor. His Lordship's Robe was Scarlet, after the Manner of the Proctors Habit.

' Then stood up the Senior Proctor and made a Speech in Latin to his Lordship suitable to the present Occasion.

' Which being ended, the publick Instrument with the publick Seal of the University, whereby his Lordship was declared and confirmed Chancellor was read. After which the said Instrument together with the publick Seal of the University, the Book of Statutes and the Beadles Staves, the Ensigns of Authority, were all laid upon the Table, and presented to his Lordship.

' Hereupon the Vicechancellor made an elegant Speech in Latin, declaring the Sense of the University concerning the Election of so illustrious a Lord, the Place being vacant upon the voluntary Resignation of his most Serene Highness the Lord Protector: after which, the Oath of Chancellor was administered to his Lordship.

' The whole being ended on the Part of the University, his Lordship stood up, and in a short Speech declared his good Acceptance of the Honour done him by the University of Oxon, giving them many noble Assurances of his high Respects towards Men of Learning, with Promises of performing whatever lieth in his Power as becomes their Chancellor, for the Security, Honour and Advantage of that most renowned University.

' The Ceremony being ended, Banquets were prepared in several Rooms for the Entertainment of that learned Body.

N. p. 181. *His Highness signed a Commission 24 August 1657, appointing his younger Son Henry to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a Power of conferring Knighthood.*

In Mr. Sanderfon's Continuation of Rymer's *Fœdera*, there is a Letter (from *Thurloe's Papers*) from *H. Cromwell, Dublin 8 March 1653*. The Title (i) *A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*. Though it is probable he was but Deputy from the following remarkable Account from *Ireland, April 31, 1656*, upon the Birth of a Son of his.

From *Dublin April 31.*

(k) ' The 19th Instant my Lord *Henry* became
' joyful Father of a Son ; which as it has been
' Matter of great Joy to us, so I presume it will
' of welcome News to you. The earnest Prayers
' of good People, gave his Lordship's Lady so
' easy a Delivery, that the most Part of her La-
' dyship's Travel was spent in dispatching Let-
' ters for *England* : The Joy thereof contained it-
' self not long within the Walls of their private
' Family, but was strait blazed by several Bone-
' fires throughout the City ; the honest Townsmen
' seeming emulous who should contribute the
' greatest Solemnity for so great a Mercy.

' The 24th following, the Joys were more per-
' fect, there being more Congratulations for the
' Infant's Admission into the Church by Baptism,
' than his Entrance into the World by Birth :
' His Lordship having openly in *Christ Church*
' offered up his Child that Day to the Lord in
' that Ordinance, and given it his *Highness's*
' Name, which so heightned the Joy of the
' Congregation, that I never saw in one Meeting

(i) *Fœdera* Vol. 20. p. 791.

(k) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 308. p. 6950. penes me. *Heath* (*Chronicle* p. 373.) says ' that in 1655. *Henry Cromwell* was preparing for his Journey
' to *Ireland* to be inaugurated Lord Lieutenant in Place of *Fleetwood*, where
' he arrived the middle of *July*.

‘ more Eyes, and I believe Hearts lifted up to the
 ‘ Lord in Prayer; never heard more passionate
 ‘ Praises for a Blessing than on that Day; which
 ‘ gives no small Support to my Faith, that a
 ‘ Child of such Prayers and Praises shall not
 ‘ miscarry, which the Lord hath hitherto abundantly answered.

‘ The Officers of State both Civil and Military,
 ‘ Nobility, Gentry and Ministry, were present to
 ‘ adorn the Solemnity of that Day, having larger
 ‘ Hearts than Room; many were forced to pay
 ‘ their Respects without the Doors of the Church.
 ‘ The Sermon and Sacrament being ended, my
 ‘ Lord attended with the magnificent Retinue returned to the Castle, where was an Entertainment provided, which well suited with the Joy it represented, which had its Exit with a handsome Banquet. Many who were impartial Observers report, that they never saw so numerous a Company attended with so much Civility.

‘ The Day being thus spent, as if that Time had been too short to express the Greatness of their Joy, the good People began their nocturnal Mirth, making such Piles in all the Streets, that when fired, the whole City seemed as one Bonfire: The following Day the Mayor and his Brethren presented the Infant with three fair Pieces of Plate, and are now preparing further to congratulate his Lordship at a public Banquet, as a further Testimony of their yet greater Respect.’

The same Writer afterwards, gives the following Account.

(1) ‘ From *Dublin November 25, 1657.*

‘ This Week has afforded here some Transactions, whereof I send you this brief Account.
 ‘ The Affairs of this Country have been at a Stand

(1) *Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 392. p. 144. *pene me.*

‘ for several Months past, till on Saturday last
 ‘ Colonel *Walters* arrived within few Days from
 ‘ *London*, bringing a Commission for his Excellen-
 ‘ cy the Lord *Henry Cromwell* to be Deputy, with
 ‘ another Commission, and Instructions from his
 ‘ Highness and his Privy Council for ordering
 ‘ Affairs in reference to the Council for this Do-
 ‘ minion of *Ireland*.

‘ He immediately attended his Excellency at
 ‘ *Cork House*, and presented him his Commission.
 ‘ This News was very acceptable, and revived
 ‘ the Spirits of the People, in expectation of a
 ‘ happy Settlement and a flourishing Government
 ‘ under so illustrious a Person.

‘ Yesterday about two o’ Clock in the After-
 ‘ noon, his Excellency met the Lords of his High-
 ‘ ness’s Council in the Council Chamber, where
 ‘ the Master of the Rolls in Presence of many of
 ‘ the Nobility, the Officers of State, the Officers
 ‘ of the Army, the Mayor and Aldermen of this
 ‘ City, with many Gentlemen and Citizens read
 ‘ the Commission, which being done, the Lord
 ‘ Chief Justice administered the Oath to his Lord-
 ‘ ship, after which Dr. *Harrison* prayed.

‘ Prayer being ended, his Excellency the Lord
 ‘ Deputy took the Sword, and conferred the Ho-
 ‘ nour of *Knighthood* on Colonel *Matthew Thom-*
 ‘ *linson*. Afterwards departing to his House, Sir
 ‘ *Matthew Thomlinson* bare the Sword before him;
 ‘ two Maces were also carried before; and Night
 ‘ being come, the Way from the Council Cham-
 ‘ ber to *Cork House* were set on both Sides with
 ‘ lighted Torches, then the great Guns fired round
 ‘ the Town, the Bells rang, Fireworks and Bone-
 ‘ fires were made, with great Testimonies of re-
 ‘ joicing among the People.’

N. Ibid. *When Richard was deposed, his Brother
 Henry laid down his Charge, and came over to En-
 gland,*

gland, and lived privately upon a little Estate of his own in Northamptonshire, till his Death.

From the Account transcribed into the (m) *Appendix* it is probable that he lived and died at *Spinny Abbey* in the Parish of *Wickin* in *Cambridgeshire*; and the Visit paid him by King *Charles II* (mentioned by *Mr. Neal*) seems likewise to confirm it, which was from *Newmarket*, not far distant from *Spinny Abbey*.

N. p. 182. *This Year (1657) died Mr. John Langley, the noted Master of St. Paul's School London; he was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire about the Year 1612.*

Here he mistakes *Mr. Wood*, from whom he took his Account. His Words are (n) ‘ *John Langley was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, became a Com. or Butler of Magdalen-Hall about 1612, took the Degrees in Arts, and some Years after was made Master of the College School in, and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester. In which School teaching about 20 Years, was elected Chief Master of that of St. Paul in London in the Room of Dr. Alexander Gill in January 1640.*’ From whence it is plain his Birth was much earlier than the Year 1612.

N. p. 183. *Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick was educated in Magdalen College in Oxford.*

(o) *Mr. Wood* says, he was first sent to *Queen's College*, but making no long Stay there, he retired to *Magdalen Hall*.

N. *Ibid.* *He often preached before the Parliament, and was esteemed an orthodox as well as an admired Preacher.*

If *Mr. Neal* means no more than that he was admired by the Rebels as a Preacher of Treason,

(m) *Appendix* No. 65.

(n) *Wood's Athena* Vol. 2. p. 213.

Wood *Ibid.* p. 217.

Rebellion and Nonsense, I readily agree with him, and desire the Reader will take the following Passages in Proof.

‘ *Agag* comes forth delicately and confidently too; surely, saith he, the Bitterness of Death is passed: and presently he is hewn in Pieces by the People in *Gilgal*.’

Obadiab Sedgwick’s Fast Sermon before the Commons *October* 2. 1644. p. 13.

(p) ‘ Break up your fallow Grounds, and sow not amongst Thorns; there must not be a little raising but a breaking; not a mere breaking, but a breaking up; and when that is done, there must be a sowing too, but every sowing must not serve the Turn, it must be such a sowing as may come to something. The Field, which I am at this Time to work upon, and go over, you see is large, there is much more Ground in it than I can conveniently break up and sow, I shall therefore by God’s Assistance, *who is the only Breaker of Hearts*, set upon the Work, and he in tender Mercy so accompany and water and prosper his Truths at this Day, that all our *fallow Ground may be broken up*, and then be so graciously sown in Righteousness that we and all the Land may shortly reap in Mercy.’

Obadiab Sedgwick’s Fast Sermon before the Commons, *May* 25. 1642. p. 4.

‘ Sirs, you must break up this Ground, or it will break up our Land; there is not such a God-provoking Sin, a God-removing Sin, a Church-dissolving Sin, a Kingdom-breaking Sin as Idolatry; down with it, down with it even to

(p) The Author of the *Friendly Debate* (Appendix to the third Part. p. 143.) takes Notice of such a gingling Preacher, who made use of the following Words in his Prayer to God. ‘ *Tbou art the Hope of our Help, and the Help of our Hope; thou art our Hope when we have no Help, and thou art our Help when we have no Hope; yea, thou art our Hope and our Help, when we have neither Hope nor Help, but are Helplejs and Hopeless.*’ I should not have mentioned this (says he) but that there are so many Witneses.

‘ the

‘ the Ground, Superstition is but a *Bawd* to
 ‘ *gross Idolatry*. [Ibid. p. 25.]

‘ Be as earnest and active as you possibly can to
 ‘ send Labourers into the Field, I mean to plant
 ‘ the Land with a *Heart-breaking Ministry*.’ [Ibid.
 p. 28.]

‘ God hath been the Salvation of the Parlia-
 ‘ ment, and in the Parliament, and for the Par-
 ‘ liament: Salvation at *Edge-Hill*, Salvation at
 ‘ *Reading* and *Causon*, Salvation at *Glocester*, Sal-
 ‘ vation at *Newberry*, Salvation in *Cheshire*, Salva-
 ‘ tion in *Pembrokeshire*, Salvation in the *North*,
 ‘ Salvation from several Treacheries, and Salva-
 ‘ tion from open Hostilities.’

Obadiab Sedgwick's Thanksgiving Sermon, April
9. 1644. p. 10.

Such was the Rhetorick of Mr. *Neal's* admired
 Preacher.

N. p. 184. *In the Month of June (1658) Mar-
 shall Turenne in Conjunction with the English Forces
 laid Siege to Dunkirk, now in Possession of the Spa-
 niards; which brought on a Battle between the two
 Armies: The Spanish Forces consisted of 30000
 Men, but Major General Morgan who covered the
 Siege, attacked the right Wing of the Spanish Army
 which came to relieve it, with 6000 English, who
 routed the whole Army, which was followed with
 the Surrender of the Town June 26. The French
 looked on, and said they never saw a more glorious
 Action in their Lives.*

I will readily grant to Mr. *Neal* so much in
 Favour of his *Cromwellian Forces* (to whose Me-
 mory as *such*, he seems to have a more than com-
 mon Regard) that they behaved very bravely:
 But that the whole of this glorious Action ought
 to be ascribed to them, I cannot by any means
 allow; he producing no Voucher in Proof of
 his Assertion. Though indeed Mr. *Echard* (Vol.
 2. p. 822.) says as much in their Favour. For

as to Numbers it is observed by the Author of the Memoirs of Viscount *de Turenne* that (q) ‘ there might be in the *Spanish* Army nine or ten thousand Horse, and five or six thousand Foot. And as to the manner of the Engagement we have the following Account in the History of the Viscount *de Turenne*. (r) The *English* were the first who attacked, as they were over against the high Sand-Hill, upon which the *Spaniards* were posted: *Turenne* sent Orders to Major General *Morgan* to drive them thence, at the same time he commanded the Marquis *de Crequi* to charge the Enemy with his right Wing, and the Marquis *de Castelnau* to march along the Strand with his left Wing, and wheeling to the Right, to fall upon them in Flank. The *English* instantly mounting the *Sand-Hill* with as much Eagerness, as *Proud Confidence*; the Hill grew more steep towards the Top: Nevertheless they clambered up, the hindmost Ranks helping up the Foremost and supporting them with the But Ends of their Muskets. The *Spaniards* defending themselves some time with their Pikes, but were at Length driven from their Post, routed and put to Flight. The Duke of (s) *York* hastening thither with his Guards, rallied the *Spaniards*, surrounded the *Cromwellians*, and made several Pri-

(q) History of *Henri de la Tour D’ Auvergne* Viscount *de Turenne* published 1735. Vol. 2. p. 185. *Don John* the *Spanish* General march’d with 15000 to the Relief of *Dunkirk*. Perfect Politician, or Life of *Cromwell* &c. p. 263.

(r) History of Viscount *de Turenne* Vol. 1. p. 313.

(s) Memoirs of the Duke of *York*, annexed to the second Volume of the History of Marshal *Turenne*. p. 503. ‘ The Duke (of *York*) ordered the Major of *Boniface*’s Regiment to charge them in Front; while he with his forty Guards attacked them in Flank: which he did so briskly that he entered the Battalion, did a great deal of Execution among them, and drove them to the last Sand-hill on the Sea shore. *Boniface*’s Battalion, though they saw the *English* broken did not charge them, but discovering from the Top of the *Sand-hill* that the whole Army was routed, turned their Backs and fled as fast as they could, however very few of them escaped.

' soners: (t) Not one of them would lay down his
 ' Arms, or ask Quarter. The *French* Infantry
 ' quickly joined the *English* on the other Side of
 ' the *Sand-Hill*; and the Regiment of *Turenne* ad-
 ' vancing out of the Line, vigorously charged and
 ' broke two *Spanish* Battalions, which fled and
 ' carried away with them the Cavalry which should
 ' have supported them. In the meantime the Mar-
 ' quis de *Castelnau*, having marched the Caval-
 ' ry of the Wing he commanded along the Strand,
 ' not only took the Enemy in the Flank, but rushed
 ' between the first and second Line, charged them
 ' on all Sides, and threw them into great Confu-
 ' sion. Those who surrendered were made Priso-
 ' ners, and the rest put to the Sword. Hitherto
 ' the *Viscount* had kept in the Centre of his Army,
 ' from whence he sent Orders and Troops as Oc-
 ' casion required: He observed from the Tops of
 ' the Sand-Hills all that passed, and perceiving that
 ' the Marquis de *Crequi* was pushing on too far,
 ' hastened to his Assistance. The Marquis had at
 ' first made the Enemy's left Wing give way, and
 ' had even pushed it a hundred Paces before him;
 ' but as he was followed by only four Squadrons,
 ' the Prince of *Conde's* Troops drove him back
 ' to the Front of the right Wing of the *French*
 ' Army. (u) ' The

(t) Id. ib. ' It is a remarkable Thing that when the *English* Battalion was
 ' broke not a Man of them asked Quarter, or threw down his Arms; each
 ' defended himself to the last, and we were in as great Danger from the But-
 ' end of their Muskets, as we had been from their Fire. A Soldier aim'd
 ' a Blow at the Duke of *York*, and had infallibly knock'd him down, if he
 ' had not broke the Force of it, giving him a Cut in the Face with his
 ' Sword, which laid him on the Ground. The Duke of *Glocester* who had
 ' followed and seconded him through the whole Fight with a Bravery of his
 ' Ancestors, having by some Accident, which I have forgot, dropt his Sword
 ' out of his Hand: A certain Gentleman whose Name was *Villeneuve*, who
 ' was the Prince de *Ligne's* Gentleman of the Horse, who was by him,
 ' seeing the Sword fall, forthwith dismounted, took it up, and gave it to the
 ' Duke, who with his Pistol in his Hand defended him, till he was got on
 ' his Horse again: But immediately afterwards this poor Gentleman received
 ' a Musket Shot through the Body: He was carried out of the Throng, and
 ' had the good Fortune to recover of his Wound.

(u) ' The Prince, who was used to improve his
 ' Advantages more than any Body, would not
 ' lose this, putting himself at the Head of a great
 ' Body of Horse with the General Officers and all
 ' the Persons of Quality in his Army, he charged
 ' the Marquis of *Crequi*, and broke some of his
 ' Ranks: He had like to have forced his Way thro'
 ' the *French*, penetrated as far as *Dunkerque*, and
 ' succoured the Town after having lost the Battle:
 ' But the Viscount, coming that Instant to sustain
 ' *Crequi*, led the Squadrons of the right Wing to
 ' the Charge himself, caused several Battalions to
 ' advance, almost entirely surrounded the Prince's
 ' Troops, and attacking them in Front, and in
 ' the two Flanks at the same Time, caused so fu-
 ' rious a Charge to be made, as opened their
 ' Ranks in many Places, where instantly the
 ' Count de *Buffy* entred with fresh Troops, mak-
 ' ing a terrible Slaughter. Three Times the
 ' Prince of *Conde* rallied his broken Squadrons,
 ' but they being as often routed by the Viscount,
 ' were weary of returning to the Charge. *Conde*
 ' advanced yet once more against *Turenne*, and to

' A *French* Squadron being entred into the *Downs* whilst the Duke of
 ' *York* was charging the *English*, he found himself obliged to retire forthwith:
 ' They were going to take him in Flank, and had infallibly cut off his Re-
 ' treat, had not the Prince de *Ligne* just then charged them: But having
 ' stopped their Progress, the Duke of *York*'s Retreat was thereby facilitated:
 ' and afterwards the Prince de *Ligne* retired Himself.

(u) Cardinal de *Retz* (*Memoirs* Vol. 1. p. 136, 137.) speaking of the Prince
 of *Conde*'s Victory at *Lens*, which he 'calls one of the finest Actions that
 was ever perform'd in War, says, ' I cannot help saying, that the Battle
 ' being in a manner lost, the Prince renewed it: and won it by the Cast of
 ' that Eagle's Eye, (which you know him to have) and which makes him
 ' perceive every thing on those Occasions, and be dazzled at nothing. And
 ' again (*Ibid.* p. 248.) The Prince of *Conde* was born a General, which ne-
 ' ver happened but to *Cæsar*, to *Spinola*, and himself. He has equalled the
 ' first, he has surpassed the second. Intrepidity is one of the least shining
 ' Strokes in his Character, Nature has formed him with a Mind as great as
 ' his Courage: Fortune in setting him out in a time of Wars has given this
 ' last a full Extent to work in. In another Place, Vol. 2. p. 276. He
 ' observes, that he was a Man of the greatest Courage in the World. See
 ' an Account of his Bravery, in a Letter from Monsieur *Voiture* to him,
 ' after his gaining the Battle of *Rocroy*, *Voiture*'s Works. London 1715.
 ' Vol. 2. p. 64.

• restore his Soldiers Courage, exposed his Per-
 • son more than he ought to have done, but all
 • his Efforts were ineffectual; his disheartened
 • Troops all deserted him, except the *French*
 • Noblemen, who with such a Hero at their
 • Head, shunned no Danger. The Viscount still
 • pushed on with the same Vigour; the Prince of
 • Conde had his Horse killed under him; but one
 • of his Gentlemen giving him his he escaped:
 • The Counts de Meilles, Coligni, Boutteville, and
 • Romainville to favour his Retreat, sacrificed
 • their own Liberty, and were taken Prisoners.
 • As this Defeat of the Enemy's left Wing hap-
 • pened almost at the same Time with that of their
 • right Wing, their whole Army immediately re-
 • tired.

• Turenne without loss of time sent away the
 • Marquis de Richlieu with the Reserve to join the
 • Troops before *Dunkerque*, and enable them the
 • better to withstand any Sallies the Besiegers might
 • make: and then proceeded to push the *Spaniards*,
 • who every where quitted their Posts. They were
 • driven with Sword and Pike from the Hills to
 • the low Grounds, where they might have rallied
 • but chose rather to have Recourse to the (x) Mer-

cy

(x) Memoirs of the Duke of York, annexed to the History of the Vis-
 count de Turenne Vol. 2. p. 507. We have hitherto said nothing of the
 • Battalion, which was made up of the King of England's Regiment, and
 • that of the Earl of Bristol, and it were a Piece of Injustice to the former
 • to pass over in Silence the following particular. They were posted on the
 • left of the native *Spaniards*: When all were put to the Rout on their
 • Right and Left, that Part of the Battalion which the King's Regiment
 • composed, all *Englishmen*, stood unmoved, though all the Soldiers of *Bristol's*
 • Regiment, who were *Irish*, took to their Heels, as did also their Officers,
 • when they found they could not stop them, except Stroud an Englishman,
 • who was Captain Lieutenant; he came and joyned himself to his Country-
 • men, whose Lieutenant Colonel, and Major, had likewise abandoned them,
 • as the *Irish* had done. The former under Pretence of going for fresh Or-
 • ders, and the other for something else as frivolous. The Lieutenant Colo-
 • nel met with his Defects, for some straggling *French* Troopers lighting on
 • him, they shot him in the Face with a *Musket*, the Ball whereof went
 • in beneath his Eye, and came out at his Neck, and it was not without the
 • greatest Difficulty that he escaped: He was dismounted, but meeting by
 • Chance

cy of the *French* Soldiers. Who, as also the *Lorrainers*, and other Strangers in the victorious Army, spared the Lives of those who yielded. But the (y) *English* would give no Quarter. The Runaways were pursued as far as the Gates of *Furnes*, behind which Place they retired. (z) Four thousand of the Enemy were taken Prisoners, and the rest of their Army so dispersed or scattered, that they could scarce get 9000 Men together during the Remainder of the Campaign. The *French* had very few Soldiers killed or wounded.—The Viscount, after this glorious Day, wrote the following short Letter to his Lady. “ The Enemy came to us, and God be

Chance with one of the Duke of York's Guards an *Irishman*, and the only Man who had not behaved himself ill on this Occasion, he delivered him from his Perplexity. All these Accidents made no Impression on the King of *England's* Regiment; they kept their Ground without any Concern, though they saw pass by on their Left the whole first Line of the Army of *France*, and on the Right *Cromwell's English* Auxiliaries. *M. de Rambure* who commanding the second Line advancing with it at the Head of his Regiment was about to attack the King of *England's* Regiment; but seeing it alone, he advanced a little way before his Troops to offer them Quarter; the Officers answered, they had been posted in that Place by the Duke, and were resolved to maintain themselves there as long as they could: He told them their Resistance would be to no Purpose, since their whole Army was routed; they answered again, they were not to believe their Enemies; upon which he offered, if they would send an Officer or two, to take them up to a Sand-Hill, from whence they might themselves see that he told them nothing but the Truth. Captain *Thomas Cook*, and Captain *Ashton* were detached, they were led to an Eminence, from whence they saw, that there were none but themselves left of the whole Army. They went and made this Report to the Regiment; upon which they offered to lay down their Arms; upon Condition they should not be put into the Hands of the *English*, nor be stripped, or so much as searched; which was granted them: and *M. de Rambure* having engaged his Word, which was exactly observed, they surrendered, and found themselves in much happier Circumstances, than the other Regiments who had abandoned them, of whom the greater Part were killed, the rest taken and stripped.

(y) From hence it appears, what bloody minded Wretches *Cromwell's* Soldiers commonly were; who I am persuaded (from the general Tenour of their Actions) thought there was no more Sin in murdering a Man of a different Persuasion from themselves, than in killing of a Dog.

It is observed (in the History of the Marshal de *Turenne* Vol. 2. p. 188.) That (in the Siege of *Dunkirk*) the *English*, though they did their Duty very well, could never lodge themselves on the Counterscarp, till after it was abandoned.

(z) Duke of *York's* Memoirs p. 509. There were not above 400 Men slain of the Side of the *Spaniards*.

“ praised they have been defeated ; I was pretty
 “ busy all Day which has fatigued me ; I wish
 “ you a good Night, I am going to Bed.”

‘ The Battle of the *Downs*, and the taking of
 ‘ *Dunkirk* were Exploits so great, and so worthy
 ‘ of Admiration, that Cardinal *Mazarin* (if we
 ‘ may believe a Writer of that time, *Mem. de*
 ‘ *Langlade*: See History of *Turenne* p. 317.) was
 ‘ fond of having them ascribed to himself, like to
 ‘ that which Cardinal *Richlieu* acquired by the Siege
 ‘ of *Rochelle*: He discovered this Weakness to his
 ‘ Favourite the Count de *Moret*, and commission-
 ‘ ed him to negotiate this Affair with the Viscount.
 ‘ *Moret*’s Instructions were to prevail (if possible)
 ‘ with *Turenne*, to write a Letter in which he
 ‘ should give the Cardinal the Honour of having
 ‘ projected the Siege, and form’d the Plan of the
 ‘ Battle: But this Agent was to manage the mat-
 ‘ ter dexterously, and rather insinuate the Thing
 ‘ than propose it. *Moret* knowing that (a) Diffi-
 ‘ mulation was the sure way to miscarry in any
 ‘ Transaction with *Turenne*, and being naturally
 ‘ averse to Artifice, frankly told him the *Cardi-
 ‘ nal*’s Desire, and assured him, that whatever
 ‘ Price he should ask for this Complaisance, the
 ‘ *Cardinal* would grant it. The *Viscount* without
 ‘ hesitating a Moment answered, that the *Cardinal*
 ‘ might employ whatever Means he thought fit to
 ‘ give the World a high Opinion of his military
 ‘ Skill, that he would never say a Word to hinder
 ‘ it, but that he could not authorise a Falshood

(a) Cardinal de Retz’s Character of Marshal *Turenne* is as follows. (*Me-
 moirs* Vol. 1. p. 250.) ‘ Mr. *Turenne* had from his Youth all manner of
 ‘ good Qualities, and he has acquired betimes the great ones. He has mist
 ‘ none but such as he thought not of: All manner of Virtues were in some
 ‘ Measure natural to him, he never had the *Glittering* of any: He was
 ‘ thought fitter to be at the Head of an Army, than of a *Party*, and I
 ‘ think so too, because he was naturally not venturesome.—He always had
 ‘ in his manner of speaking, and the rest of his Actions, something dark,
 ‘ which nothing but proper Opportunity could bring to Light, and that was
 ‘ never brought to Light but to his Credit.

‘ by any Writing under his Hand. How much
 ‘ soever the *Cardinal* was mortified by this Answer,
 ‘ he could not forbear to admire the Viscount’s
 ‘ Disinterestedness: A greedy *Politician* would have
 ‘ thought it a fine Stroke of Management to have
 ‘ secured the Advantages of a Minister’s Favour,
 ‘ by making Sport with his Vanity. But these
 ‘ low and mercenary Arts were unworthy of *Tu-*
 ‘ *renne*.’

Mr. Neal informs us,

N. p. 185. *That Cromwell ordered Lockart to let his Eminence (viz. Cardinal Mazarin) know, that if the Keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to Lockart within an Hour after it was taken he would come to demand them at the Gates of Paris (b).*

Though *Cromwell* was a vain Man, and some of our Historians mention this ridiculous Puff, yet I very much Question the Truth of it, the *French* having delivered it to *Lockart* without any Demand of that Kind. *Whitelock* says, (c) ‘ that there was
 ‘ Intelligence of the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, and
 ‘ that the King of *France*, the Cardinal, and General *Lockart* entred the Town with their Forces,
 ‘ and *Lockart* was put in Possession, and Command
 ‘ of it. And, it is observed by another Author,
 ‘ (d) that the Town surrendered the 24th of *June*,
 ‘ ten Days after the Battle,——the King came from
 ‘ *Mardyke* to *Turenne*’s Quarters, where the Hof-

(b) How contemptible soever Cardinal *Mazarin* might be in *Cromwell*’s Eyes, yet he said to Mr. *Bordeaux* the *French* Ambassador in *England* (*Cardinal de Retz*’s Memoirs Vol. 2. p. 405.) ‘ That he knew but of one Man
 ‘ in the World that contemned him, and that was Cardinal de *Retz*. Cardinal *Mazarin* was indeed some Years before this so hated in *France* (in
 ‘ 1649 *Cardinal de Retz*’s Memoirs Vol. 2. p. 6.) That when the Chamber of *Tournelle* gave Sentence against two Wretches for publishing two
 ‘ Pamphlets against the Queen, for which they deserved that Fate; as they
 ‘ were mounting the Ladder, they bawled out, that they were brought to the
 ‘ Gallows, for selling Ballads against *Mazarin*, the Mob rescued them from
 ‘ Publick Justice.

(c) Memorials p. 674.

(d) History of the Viscount de *Turenne*. Vol. 1. p. 316. Life of *Turenne*. Vol. 2. p. 188. Perfect Politician, or Life of *Cromwell*. p. 269.

* tages were given, and the Capitulation signed ;
 * the Garrison which was reduced to 1000 Foot,
 * and 700 Horse marched out the next Day, and
 * was escorted to St. Omer, *Louis* the fourteenth
 * with all his Court entred triumphantly into
 * (e) *Dunkerque* : the Town according to the
 * Treaty with the *English* was put in their
 * Possession.'

And had *Cromwell* really said what Mr. *Neal* mentions, he cannot but know, that (had not the *French* been embarrassed with intestine Broils and at War with *Spain* at the same Time) the two most celebrated Generals that ever *Europe* bred, *Marshall Turenne* and the Prince of *Conde*, had they been united with their Forces, were an Overmatch for *Cromwell* and all his *Banditti*.

Nor probably was Cardinal *Mazarin* so much afraid of *Cromwell* as Mr. *Neal* seems to insinuate.
 * For though *Cromwell* (f) with an insolent
 * Haughtiness,

(e) *Whiteball*, Thursday July 3. 1658. (*Mercurius Politicus*. Num. 425. p. 677.) An Oath to be administered to the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* was paid by the Council, being as followeth.

" I A. B. do in the Presence, and by the Name of the Almighty God,
 * promise and swear, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith, and true
 * Allegiance, and shall be true and faithful unto *Oliver*, now Lord Protector
 * of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Do-
 * minions and Territories thereunto belonging, and his Successors as chief
 * Magistrate thereof; and shall not design, contrive, or attempt any thing
 * against the Person and Authority of the Lord Protector, or against the
 * Safety, just Defence, or necessary Preservation of this Town or Place of
 * *Dunkirk*, in and for its Safety, Defence and Preservation under the Govern-
 * ment of the Lord Protector and his Successors, against all Conspiracies and
 * Attempts whatsoever: and will do my best Endeavour to make known
 * and disclose to the Protector, and his Successors, or the Commander in chief
 * in this Place, under his said Highness for the time being, all Treasons and
 * traitorous Conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against his
 * Person or Authority; or against the Safety of this Town or Place of
 * *Dunkirk*; or for the betraying of it into the Hands of any other Persons,
 * or that tends to the withdrawing of any the Persons or People in it from
 * their Fidelity to the Lord Protector or to his Government."

(f) History of the *Marshall de Turenne* Vol. 1. p. 304. It is observed by
 Sir *William Temple* (*Memoirs* Part 3. Works Vol. 1. p. 356.) That when
 the *French* King by the Assistance of the *English* Forces had made such a
 Progress in *Flanders*, ' That *Cromwell* soon found the Balance turned, and
 * grown too heavy on the *French* Side: He dispatched a Gentleman privately
 * to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France*, into
 * one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over into their Service,

* and

' Haughtiness, called upon the Cardinal to be-
 ' siege *Dunkirk*, and the Situation of his Affairs
 ' constrained his Eminence to dissemble the *Pro-*
 ' tector's Arrogance. Yet if we may give Credit
 ' to a Letter of Intelligence from *Paris* printed
 ' by Mr. *Sanderfon*, he was far from being afraid
 ' of that Usurper. (g) I have to add (says the
 ' Letter-writer) that one of my Acquaintance was
 ' very lately in Discourse with Cardinal *Mazarin*,
 ' and talking seriously of the Lord Protector,
 ' his Words were these. " Now a Treaty shall
 ' be with *Cromwell* by my Agent being received,
 ' which if *Cromwell* will not accept of, without
 ' Vanity I will pull him as fast down or faster
 ' than ever he was made up; and set up *R.*
 ' *Carolus* by a Peace with *Spain*, *Germany*, and
 ' their Conjunction with many others," and this
 ' he confirmed with Oaths, so you may judge
 ' what is best for you to do. For this *Cardinal*
 ' is altogether for himself; and as I gave a Hint
 ' often, when the King of *France* comes to riper
 ' Years, if he be so minded, all that *Mazarin*
 ' does will come to nothing; and this King's re-
 ' lation to *R. Carolus* I need not tell you, nor the
 ' (b) Inconstancy of *France*.

Mr. Neal speaking of the Discipline of the Independent Churches, says,

N. p. 192. *That they agree, that Churches con-*
sisting of Persons sound in the Faith, and of good

' and make them ten thousand, to be continually recruited, upon Condition
 ' that their first Action should be to besiege *Calais*, and when taken to put
 ' it into his Hands. The Gentleman sent upon this Errand was past the
 ' *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken with the News of *Cromwell's* Death.

(g) *Fœdera* Vol. 20. p. 792.

(b) Sir *Philip Warwick* (Memoirs p. 384.) takes Notice of the Ingratitude
 of the *French* King to King *Charles* the second: ' Who by his own good
 ' Parts and Abilities had in the nick of Time, when Providence might have
 ' flung that King into the same Condition our Prince was in, made him-
 ' self a happy Instrument to re-settle *Paris* in its Loyalty, and to divert the
 ' Prince of *Conde* from the great Changes he might probably have made.
 ' *Whitelock's* Memorials p. 531. *Hearb's* Chronicle p. 328.

Conversation, ought not to refuse Communion with each other ; though they walk in all other Things according to the same Church Order.

And how well they kept up to this Rule, I hope this following Account will convince the Reader.

‘ There was a Time (says Mr. Long, in his
 ‘ Tract called *No Protestant, but the Dissenter’s Plot*,
 ‘ p. 160.) when the Cathedral at *Exeter* was rent
 ‘ in two, and a Partition-wall erected between
 ‘ the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Congregations;
 ‘ nor was there any other Party to molest them.
 ‘ But what Union there was then among them,
 ‘ the printed Books still in being do declare. One
 ‘ Mrs. P. of the *Independent* Church went occa-
 ‘ sionally to the *Presbyterian* Assembly, and Mrs.
 ‘ A. though of the *Independent* Church procured
 ‘ her Child to be baptised by a *Presbyterian*.
 ‘ These Crimes are aggravated against them, and
 ‘ the *Independent* Church proceed to Excommu-
 ‘ nication for lying, and breaking the Church
 ‘ Covenant ; For they adjudged that lesser Crimes
 ‘ increased with Contumacy, and Contempt of
 ‘ Church Admonitions, became worthy of Ex-
 ‘ communication. And it was concluded by Ad-
 ‘ vice from several Ministers (p. 46. Of *Manifest*
 ‘ *Truth*) that they were gotten into another Fold,
 ‘ yet the Rod of Discipline should be exercised
 ‘ towards them, though some, i. e. of the *Presby-*
 ‘ *rians* were angry at it: One of them prints his
 ‘ *Diotrephes detected*, by E. T. who tells them
 ‘ *that it was Iniquity even their solemn Meeting*. That
 ‘ their Curse causeless, as *the Devil take her*, or
 ‘ *take her Devil, torment her or vex her*, would not
 ‘ come. p. 16. The Husband of Mrs. A. hearing
 ‘ what was done against his Wife at a solemn
 ‘ Meeting, with Fasting, Prayer, and a long
 ‘ Sermon afterwards printed, is charged with
 ‘ jeering

‘ jeering the Lamentings and Mournings which
 ‘ God was pleased to bestow on his People by the
 ‘ working of his Spirit, which he blasphemously
 ‘ calleth (saith the Author of *Manifest Truth*) a
 ‘ hideous howling Cry, and accounted the Cen-
 ‘ sure as the *Pope’s Bull* when it roareth loudest.
 ‘ p. 22. and he is repayed by a Report, that his
 ‘ Wife had persuaded him to separate from the
 ‘ *Independents* to save the Charge of raising a
 ‘ Gallery in *St. Peter’s West*. *E. T.* tells the
 ‘ *Independent* Pastor, that he was more kind
 ‘ to the *Cornish* Women, with whom he *joined*
 ‘ in Spirit, while they were the Mouth in
 ‘ Duty. p. 5. and that he was ashamed to think
 ‘ how much he came short of them in the Gift
 ‘ or Spirit of Prayer; and hoped this Practice
 ‘ of the Women’s praying with the Men would
 ‘ come more into Use, and p. 12. Are you not
 ‘ ashamed to make them swear (as you interpret
 ‘ your Church Covenant to be an Oath) that they
 ‘ will submit to your Teaching and Ministerial
 ‘ Guidance, without any Limitation, Restriction,
 ‘ or Proviso mentioned therein? Whereas, that
 ‘ which was required to *Lay Elders* was according
 ‘ to the Word of God.” Such was the Union be-
 ‘ tween these two of the most sober of the *Seets*
 ‘ when they had the whole City and Country at
 ‘ their Devotion. The common People love No-
 ‘ velties and Changes; they will be gadding and
 ‘ carrying Tales: they will magnify one Pastor to
 ‘ the debasing of another, and so engage them in
 ‘ their Quarrels, and so Church Censures will be
 ‘ abused to revenge private Animosities: And
 ‘ what Peace can there be when there is no Re-
 ‘ medy for such Disorders?” And how cruelly
 the *Independents* used the *Quakers* in *New En-*
gland, in cutting off their Ears, fining, ba-
 nishing and hanging of them, the Reader may
 be

be informed from the Book referred to in the (i) Margin.

N. p. 197. *The Protector once asked Dr. Goodwin, who attended his Bedside, and is said to have expressed an unbecoming Assurance to Almighty God in Prayer of his Recovery, whether a Man could fall from Grace.*

Both Dr. (k) Goodwin, and Dr. (l) Owen, have been said, (when Cromwell was in his last Illness) 'to have used the following Words in Prayer. 'Lord, we beg not for his Recovery, (m) for that 'thou hast already granted and assured us of, but 'for his speedy Recovery: And when News was brought of his Death, the famous Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled, 'telling them (n) that it was good News, because 'if he was of great Use to the People of God, when amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended into Heaven, to sit at the right Hand of Jesus, there to intercede for us, and be mindful of us upon all Occasions, (o) O horrid Flattery (says Sewell) 'Thus I call it, though he had been the 'greatest Saint on Earth, which he came much 'short of, though he was once endued with some 'eminent Virtues.'

(i) Sewell's History of the Quakers p. 160. 193. 198. 199. &c. Chandler's History of Persecution from p. 396. to p. 402. inclusive.

(k) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs p. 388. Sewell's History of the Quakers p. 187. Echard's History of England, Vol. 2. p. 825. Bishop Kennet's Complete History Vol. 3. p. 216.

(l) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 2. p. 610. Mr. Baxter observes (Life Part 1. p. 98.) 'That an Independent prayed for him in those Words as is reported, without any Contradiction that ever he heard of.

(m) Dr. South tells us, (Sermons Vol. 1. Sermon 3. p. 102.) 'That a noted Independent Divine, when O. Cromwell was sick, of which Sickness he died, declared, that God had reveal'd to him, that he should recover, and 'live thirty Years longer, for that God had raised him up, for a Work, 'which could not be done in a less time; but Oliver's Death being published 'two Days after, the said Divine publicly in his Prayer, expostulated with 'God the Defeat of his Prophecy, in these Words. Lord, thou hast lied unto 'us, yea, thou hast lied unto us.

(n) Ludlow's Memoirs Vol. 2. p. 612. Sewell's History of the Quakers p. 169. Hest's Chronicle. p. 499.

(o) Sewell. Id. ib.

N. Ibid. *The Protector died on Sept. 3. 1658—
The Day on which he triumphed in the Battles of
Marston Moor, Dunbar, and Worcester.*

The Battle of *Marston Moor*, was fought upon
the 2d Day of (p) July 1644.

N. Ibid. *As he had lived most Part of his Life
in a Storm, his Death was attended with one of the
greatest Hurricanes, that had been known for many
Years.*

(q) ' It was very memorable for the greatest
' Storm of Wind that ever hath been known for
' some Years before and after his Death; which
' overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great
' Wrecks at Sea; and the Tempest was so uni-
' versal, that the Effects of it were terrible both
' in *France* and *Flanders*, where all People trem-
' bled at it: For besides the Wreck all along
' the Sea Coasts, many Boats were cast away in
' the very Rivers, and within few Days after the
' Circumstance of his Death, that accompanied the
' Storm, was universally known.' Nor was it less
remarkable, that the same Day his Carcass was
ordered by the Lords to be dug up, and hung
up at *Tyburn*, almost as remarkable a Storm rose
in the (r) Northern Parts of this Kingdom. The
Author

(p) *Echard's Hist. of England Vol. 2. p. 479. Bishop Kennet's Complete
History Vol. 3. p. 149. Heath's Flagellum, or the Life of Cromwell, 2d Edit.
p. 23.*

(q) *Bishop Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 226. Echard Vol. 2. p. 825.*

*Toss'd in a furious Hurricane,
Did Oliver give up his Reign.*

Key to *Hudibras* at the End of 2d Vol. of *Butler's Posthumous
Works*. p. 285. *Hudibras*. See Sir R. L'Estrange's Note.

Mr. Sewall (*History of the Quakers* p. 187.) informs us, ' That a short
' time before *Oliver's* Death, *George Fox* went to *Hampton Court* to speak
' with him, about the Sufferings of his Friends, with this Intention he met
' him riding into *Hampton Court Park*, and before he came at him (accord-
' ing to his Relation) he perceived a waft of Death go forth against him, and
coming to him, he look'd like a dead Man.

(r) An Attempt towards the Character of King *Charles* the first 1738.
&c. p. 67. Mr. *Carte* informs us, (*Life of James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*,
Vol.

Author of *Cromwell's Life*, or the *Perfect Politician* p. 259. observes, ' That on June 2. 1658 arrived an ominous *Whale* in the River of *Thames*, not to do Homage to his Highness; this was a fond Conceit as one would have it, but rather to warn him of his End, which not long after happened. This Fish contrary to its Nature, which is to return to Sea when it scents the fresh Water, came swimming up the River against the Tide as far as *Greenwich*; where it was taken, and found to be fifty eight Foot in Length, and every Way proportionable.

N. Ibid. *His Funeral*, which was publick, was performed November 23 with all imaginable Grandeur, and military Pomp.

The Reader will meet with an Account of his pompous Funeral in the Tracts referred to in the (s) Margin. The Expence of it amounted to near (t) 60000 l. (which was never half paid.) But the Folly (u) and Profusion of it so far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the Night on his *Escutcheon*, that was placed over the great Gate at *Somerſet House*.

N. p. 201. *The Protector* had an absolute Command of his Passions, and knew how to behave in Character upon all Occasions.

Vol. 2. p. 347.) ' That one Dr. *John Heydon*, a Pretender to great Skill in *Astrology*, lost much of his Reputation, by prognosticating the hanging of *Oliver*, to his Son *Richard Cromwell*, and *Tburloe*, who came to him in Disguise for the Calculation of their Nativitys, being dressed like distressed Cavaliers: He was for that put in Prison 18 Months, whilst *Cromwell* out-lived the Prediction near four Years.

(s) Appendix to an Attempt towards the Character of the Royal Martyr, King *Charles* the first, &c. 1738. No. 3, 4. p. 62. &c. *Perfect Politician*, or View of *Cromwell's* Life 1680. p. 274. &c. *Ludlow's* Memoirs Vol. 2. p. 614. *Haath's* Chronicle p. 411. &c.

(t) *England's* Confusion. London 1659. p. 1. Publ. Libr. Cambridge 19. 9. 6. In the MS Collections, of my worthy Friend Dr. *Williams*, to whom I take this Opportunity of making my farther Acknowledgments for his very great Favours, (Vol. 23. No. 68.) I find the following Article, in an Account given in, 27th of December 1659. ' To *Robert Walton* Citizen and Draper of *London*, for Black Cloth, for the Funeral of *Oliver Lord Protector*, 6929l. 6s. 5d.

(u) *Ludlow's* Memoirs. Vol. 2. p. 614.

(x) ' Though

(x) ' Though in private Life (says one of the Writers of his Life) he would be jocular and merry with his Inferiors, he would, for a Frolick before he had dined, give Orders for the Drum to beat, and call in his Foot-Guards, who were permitted to make Booty of all they found on the Table.'

N. p. 202. *That if any Thing was strongly impressed upon his Mind, he apprehended that it came immediately from God, and was a Rule of Action.* (He had more Reason from his own wicked Life to conclude, that it was an *Illusion* of the Devil.) *But if there were no Impressions, but a Flatness in his Devotions, it was a Denial. Upon this Maxim he is said to suffer the late King to be put to Death.*

What was the most remarkable Instance of his Hypocrisy, Mr. Neal produces in Proof of his *Enthusiasm*. (y) ' Lord Fairfax had taken up (as is credibly reported) some Resolutions either in Abhorrence of the Crime (viz. of murdering the King) or by the Solicitations of others, with his own Regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the Execution; this being suspected or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison coming to him, after their usual Way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him, *that the Lord had rejected the King*, and with such

(x) Perfect Politician. p. 217.

(y) *Perinchief's* Life of King Charles the first, p. 91. ' When Cromwell (says the Author of the History of Independency Part 3. p. 23.) contrary to his Vows and Protestations made to the King, kept him close Prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, he affirmed, *that the Spirit would not let him keep his Word*; when contrary to the publick Faith they murdered him, they pretended, *they could not resist the Motions of the Spirit.*

In an intercepted Letter 1653 (*Rymer's Fœdera* Vol. 20. p. 734.) are the following Words. ' The Anabaptists are highly enraged against him (viz. Cromwell) inasmuch that *Vavasor Powell* and *Feake* on Sunday last in *Christ-Church*, publicly called him the *dissemblingest perjured Villain* in the World, and desired that if there were any of his Friends there, that they would go and tell him what they said, and withall, that his Reign was but short, and that he should be served worse than that great Tyrant the last Lord Protector was, he being altogether as bad, if not worse than he, and much more bitter Language than I can relate.

like Language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very Morning signed the Warrant for the *Assassination*; they also desired him, with them to seek the Lord by Prayer, that they might know his Mind in the Thing; which he assenting to, *Harrison* was appointed for the Duty, and by Compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous Discourse to God in such a Length as might give Time for the Execution, which they privately sent to their Instruments to hasten; of which, when they had Notice, that it was past, they rose up, and persuaded the General, that this was a full Return of Prayer, and God having so manifested his Pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it.

Though his *Hypocrisy* has been fully detected in my Examination of Mr. *Neal's* third Volume p. 282 &c. I shall yet take the Liberty of adding an Authority or two in Confirmation of it. (z) Major *Huntington*, who was Major of *Cromwell's* own Regiment, upon discovering his horrid Hypocrisy towards the King, threw up his Commission and quitted the Army. And *Ludlow*, who knew him but too well, calls him (a) a false Hypocrite, and as such paints him out to the (b) Life. Nay, in the Remonstrance of those Members, who were chosen to serve in Parliament (1656) and not approved by the Council, it is observed, (c) 'that by armed Men he had forcibly shut out of Doors such Men, as he and his Council suppose would not be frightened or flattered to betray their Country, and give up their Religion, Lives and Estates to be at his Will, to serve his lawless Ambition. But we fear (say they) that

(z) Sundry Reasons inducing Major *Huntington* to lay down his Commission &c. — London 1648. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, 19. 9. 6.

(a) *Ludlow's* Memoirs Vol. 2, p. 480.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 317, 318, 319.

(c) *Whitlock's* Memorials, p. 650.

• the Slavery, Rapines, Oppressions, Crueltie
 • Murders and Confusions that are comprehended
 • in this one horrid Fact, are not so sensibly
 • discerned, or so much laid to Heart as the
 • Case requires. And we doubt not but as the
 • common Practice of the Man has been, the
 • Name of God and Religion, and formal Fasts
 • and Prayers will be made use of to colour over
 • the Blackness of the Fact. (d) He seemed, (says
 • Mr. Baxter) exceeding open-hearted, by a fami-
 • liar, rustic, affected Carriage (especially to his
 • Soldiers in sporting with them) but he thought
 • Secrecy a Virtue, and Dissimulation no Vice,
 • and Simulation, that is in plain *English* a Lie, or
 • Perfidiousness to be a tolerable Fault in Case of
 • Necessity.—— He carried it with such Dissimu-
 • lation, that *Anabaptists, Independents, and An-*
 • *tinomians*, did all think he was one of them.——

N. p. 203. *A third Principle, by which the Pro-*
secutor was misled, was his determining the Goodness
of a Cause by the Success.

This *Mahometan* Maxim was a leading Princi-
 ple with the *Señaries and Enthusiasts* of those

(d) *Baxter's Life* Lib. 1. Part. 1. p. 99. Sir *William Dugdale* observes
 (View of the late Troubles p. 461.) ' That he chiefly applied himself to the
 Humour of desperate *Fanatics*, and by his subtle Arts in praying, preach-
 ing, groaning, and howling amongst them, got himself no less Credit, than
 Mahomet of old did with his Followers. And Mr. *Walker* (History of In-
 dependency Part 2. p. 153.) tells us, That Sunday after Easter Day (1649)
 six Preachers militant at *Whitehall* tried the Patience of their Hearers;
 one calling up another successively, at last the Spirit of the Lord called up
Oliver Cromwell, who standing a good while with lifted up Eyes, as it were
 in a Trance, and his Neck a little inclining to one Side, as if he had ex-
 pected Mahomet's Dove to descend, and murmur in his Ear; and sending
 forth abundantly the Groans of the Spirit, spent an Hour in Prayer, and
 an Hour and a half in a Sermon. In his Prayer, he desired God to take off
 from him the Government of this mighty People of England, as being too
 heavy for his Shoulders to bear: An audacious, ambitious, and hypocritical
 Imitation of *Moses*. It is now reported of him, that he pretendeth to *Inspi-*
rations: and that when any great or weighty Matter is propounded, he usu-
 ally retireth for a quarter or half an Hour, and then returneth and deliver-
 eth out the Oracles of the Spirit. Surely the Spirit of *John Leyden* will
 be doubled upon this Man.

Times. (e) ' A Parliament Officer (we are told)
 ' in the Days of King *Charles I*, received a Mus-
 ' ket Ball upon a *Practice of Piety* he had in his
 ' Pocket, which providential Deliverance was as-
 ' cribed by the Party to the Righteousness of the

(e) Sir Roger *L'Estrange's Fables*. Part. 2. p. 56. ' Remarkable is the
 ' Account given by the Writer of *Mercurius Politicus* (Num. 301. p. 6037.
 ' *penes me*. See *Heatb's Chronicle* p. 380.) of Sir *Thomas Alcock*, who cut
 ' his own Throat (Anno 1655) from a *Memorial* under his own hand Wri-
 ' ting of the many notable Deliverances, he had received from the good Hand
 ' of God from his Childhood. And therefore (says that *News Writer*) it is
 ' the more remarkable; that he should after all be so far forsaken by God,
 ' as to commit that Act of Violence upon himself.

' *To the eternal Praise and Glory of my good God, I will set down the ma-
 ' ny and most apparent Dangers, he hath preserved me from, for which his great
 ' Mercy I will ever praise his holy Name.*

I. " In the time of my Childhood, I was by a drunken Man cut by a
 " Sword in the hinder Part of the Head to the very Skull."

II. " And being at School, I was by a Boy stabbed in the Forehead, be-
 " tween the Eye-Brows—it was a most merciful Deliverance."

III. " Being alone sliding on the Ice, I fell with half my Body into the
 " Water, dangerously so hanging, until it pleased God to send one to my Res-
 " cue."

IV. " I fell from the top of a Bridge over the River *Thames*, there being
 " a Boat not far from the Place; and although I could not then swim, it
 " pleased God that I got to it, and thereby escaped Drowning."

V. " Being on the Moat at the *Grave* in the *Low Countrys*, in frosty
 " Weather, I fell in up to the Chin; the Place was so dangerous and brittle,
 " that my Company feared to assist me, yet by the Hand of a Stranger,
 " who did hazard himself to help me, I was delivered."

VI. " I stepped in to part two Soldiers that were fighting at *Namigen*,
 " one of the Soldiers made a Thrust, which cut the Loop of my Girdle,
 " passed through it, and but for the Stiffening, had gone into the mortal
 " Place of my Belly."

VII. " At the Isle of *Rhe*, I was shot through and through the Crown
 " of my Hat; it being pulled fast on my Head: the Buller making a Noise
 " with the Resistance it found; and yet it pleased my good God that only
 " some small part of my Hair was taken off, without any other Harm, to
 " the Wonder of my Company who were then present."

VIII. " Before diverse at *Portsmouth*, I was on a sudden run at by a
 " drunken Man with a broad Sword my Face being from him, he ran at
 " me so violently, the Sword bended to the very Hilt, which the Standers
 " by judged to have been through my Body, but it pleased God so to order it
 " that the Point of the Sword met with a Hook of my Breeches, and so
 " most miraculously I escaped."

IX. " At the Siege of the *Buffe*, there came a Canon Shot through the
 " Breast of a Work in which I was; it hit me on the Arm making it on-
 " ly discoloured."

" These Particulars of Mercy, besides many and sundry other Preserva-
 " tions from visible Dangers (as before besieged Places, in several Storms, and
 " many infected Places, when Soldiers perished on all Sides) have I received,
 " and through the great Goodness of God have still been preserved."

' Cause.

Cause. One of the King's common Soldiers afterwards received a Musket Shot at the second Battle of *Newbury* upon a Pack of Cards. He took the Bullet and the Cards immediately out of his Pocket, and called to his *Comrades* to bear him Witness, that he was now even with the Colonel for his *Practice of Piety*. Which (says Sir *Roger L'Estrange*) may serve for a Caution to us, not to lay the Stress of Things in the wrong Place; and upon the whole Matter, a Man had better be saved by a Pack of Cards in a righteous Cause, than by a Book of Devotion in a Rebellion, as that was the very Case.

N. p. 204. *Cruelty was not in his Nature, he was not for unnecessary Effusion of Blood.*

How came he then to murder so many Men in cool Blood at *Drogheda*, and other Places in *Ireland*, after Quarter given? How came it to pass, that this *merciful Man* had a Hand (nay the principal Hand) in that execrable Murder of the best of Princes, and that he might (as we are told by Dr. *Perinchief*, *Life of Charles I.* p. 93.) satisfy his solicitous Ambition, which aspired at *Monarchy*, when the lawful King was destroyed, curiously surveyed the murdered Carcass, when it was brought in the Coffin at *Whitehall*, and to assure himself the King was quite dead, with his (f) Fingers searched the Wound, whether the Head were fully severed from the Body or no.

His Name (says Mr. (g) *Baxter*) standeth as a monitory Monument, or Pillar to Posterity to tell

(f) Who sicker than the City Ruff
 Can change his Brewer's Coat to Buff,
 His Dray Cart to a Coach; the Beatt
 Into two Flanders Mares at least,
 Nay hath the Art to Murder Kings;
 Like *David*, only with his Slings.

Oliver's Court: Butler's Posthumous Works. Vol. 2. p. 240.

(g) *Life Part 1. p. 100.* Mr. *Heath* gives us the following Piece of Cant upon *Cromwell's* recovering from a fit of Sickness in *Scotland* 1651. In a Letter

• tell them the Instability of Man in strong Temp-
 • tations, if God leave him to himself: What
 • great Success and Victories can do to lift up a
 • Mind that once seemed humble: What Pride can
 • do to make Men selfish, and corrupt the Heart
 • with ill Designs: What Selfishness and ill De-
 • signs can do to bribe the Conscience, and corrupt
 • the Judgment, and make Men justify the greatest
 • Errors and Sins, and set against the clearest
 • Truth and Duty. What *Bloodshed* and great
 • *Enormities of Life*, an erring deluded Judgment
 • may draw Men to, and *patronize*; and that when
 • God hath dreadful Judgments to execute, an
 • erroneous *Secretary*, or a *proud Self-seeker*, is oft-
 • ner his Instrument, than an humble Lamb-like
 • innocent Saint.]

N. p. 205. *After his Death his great Achievements were celebrated in Verse by the greatest Wits of the Age: Dr. Sprat, Waller, Dryden and others who outdid every Thing which till then had been seen in the English Language.*

Neither did some of his *Puritanical* Friends fall short of them in Point of Flattery in another (b) Language, as appears from the Specimen in the Margin.

N. p. 208.

Letter from one of his Creatures. (Chronicle p. 290.) 'Truly Sir, his
 • Life and Health are exceeding precious, and I account it every Day a
 • greater Mercy than other that we have his Life, observing, that every Dis-
 • pensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more hea-
 • venly and holy, and by consequence more useful for his Generation, in the
 • Management of that Power, God hath committed to him &c.' *Cromwell*
 had so little regard to his Word, that he rarely spoke Truth, and what Mar-
 quis *Richardi*, Ambassador to Pope *Alexander Giraffi* from the Duke of
Tuscany, in a Letter to the great Duke, which he shewed to Cardinal de
Retz (Memoirs Vol. 4. p. 68.) says, was justly applicable to *Cromwell* (chang-
 ing the Word *Pope*, into *Protector*.) *In fine Sørenissimo Signore, babbiamo un*
Papa, chi non dice una parola di verità!

(b) ΕΡΗΝΟΣΙΑΜΒΟΧ.

*Anglia Trifsis, habens sparsos sine lege Capillos,
 Et gravidos Oculos cum scissa Veste, Dolor
 Squalida tota suae sic est exorsa querelae.
 Ergo jaces, Dux Magnae? Jaces Pater Almi? Nec ultra
 Permittis circum vitæicia Tempora Laurum*

Serpens?

N. p. 208. Richard Cromwell being proclaimed Protector after his Father's Decease, received numberless Addresses from all Parts, congratulating his Accession to the Dignity of Protector, with Assurance of Lives and Fortunes chearfully devoted to support his Title.

And nothing ever exceeded them in Point of Flattery, except those canting Addresses of the Dissenters to King James upon his Indulgence.

*Serpere? Pacificos an dedignaris Honores?
At populi miseresce Tui, quibus ipse salutem
Impertire soles, & qui tua Sceptra colebant
Obsequio affectuque pari. Sed Cormina nulla
Non exorandas potuerunt flectere Parcas.
Occidit Anglorum Decus ingens, occidit, eheu!
Gentis Præsidium! Quis me jam vindictæ armis?
Quis poterit nimium dubiis succurrere Rebus?
Sæpius illa Patrem, Patrem tristissima dixit,
Effuditque istas non Exauditu Querelas.
Verum siste tuos planctus, nunc Anglia mater;
Sume novos Animos; oculisque absterge dolorem;
Ecce! Novus Cromwellus adest & funere Patris,
Phoenix de Phœnice novo reparabilis ævo
Hic tua Bella geret, pacem legesque fovebit,
Ille Reformatæ Fidei tutela perennis
Regnabit, sacris præstabit & otia Musis.*

Antonius Tuckney, Coll. S. Joannis Præfekt. & S. Theol. Profes. Reg.
Musarum Cantabrigiensium Luctus & Gratulatio, In Funere Olive-
ri &c. Cantabrig. 1658. penes Reverend. Amicum. Tho Bakeri
S. T. B.

*Proh Dolor, occubuit Dux invictissimus, Heros
Heroum, Martis cura, corona, decus.
Flete viri, plorate Senes, lugete puellæ,
Cantus Lugubres incipe Musa Gravis.
Aspicias; vitæ est, quod necis esse putas.
Terra nil majus tenuit, super æthera scandit,
Concives Dignos numina sacra petens.*

La. Seaman, S. T. P. Col. D. Petri Præfektus. Mus. Cantab.
Luct. & Gratulatio. &c.

*Magne Oliveræ cadis; Casaque torrefcimus ostrea
Sublimi ut Quereu, Sylva cadente tremis,
Ob! quam te metueram, nunc illa acerrima, solem
Hunc cum perdidimus, nec novus Ortus erat!
Undique grassari cæci, mala turba timores:
Et quis non coepit crastinus esse Miser?
Providus at cælo vst oculis; tenet ille cadentes;
Ex Desperatis explicat ille malis.
Fulgidus alter adest, altis Cromwellius Heros;
Sed, uno Occiduo, fulgidus alter adest.*

G. Moses, Anth. Pemb. Cultos. Id. ib.

I desire the Reader to take a Specimen from the following Addresses.

(i) The Petition of, and Representation of the
Mayor, Recorder, &c. of Coventry.

Most humbly sheweth,

‘ That your Petitioners conceive themselves
‘ equally at least bound with others deeply to re-
‘ sent and be affected with the sad Stroke of Di-
‘ vine Providence that *took away the Breath of*
‘ *their Nostrils, and smote their Heads from off*
‘ *their Shoulders, your Highness most gloriously re-*
‘ *nowned Father.* ———

———— ‘ But yet as this Providence was sad
‘ and dark, so every Way auspicious and fa-
‘ vourable was that which introduced your most
‘ *Serene Highness* to a Succession of him: Your
‘ Princely Virtues raising our Hopes, and the
‘ peaceable Entrance upon your Government, sig-
‘ nally pointing, that God’s Aim and End in
‘ taking away his *Moses*, was to usher you in his
‘ *Joshua*, that the Purpose of his Will might be
‘ carried on by Variety of Instruments, whom he
‘ would make strong for himself.

‘ And now, most *Serene* Sir, that you are exalted
‘ to be the Head of the Tribes of the Land, and
‘ to go before a great People, it shall be the
‘ earnest and humble Prayer of your Petitioners,

(i) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 442. p. 3. 4. *penes me.* Mr. Heath observes, (Chronicle p. 410.) ‘ That in some of these Addresses to Richard, his dead
‘ Father was stiled and compared to *Moses*, to *Zerubbabel*, to *Joshua*, to
‘ *Gideon*, to *Elijah*, to the *Chariots and Horsemen of Israel*, to *David*, to
‘ *Solomon*, to *Hezekiah*, to *Constantine*, and to all that was either good or great
‘ in Holy, or humane Writ: and in most their *Parallels* were nearer to *Blas-*
‘ *phemy*, than any of his Qualities: He was lamented as the *Father* of his
‘ *Country*, (but it was in that Sense no doubt, in which he was caressed, by
‘ that Book called *Killing no Murder*: For so long as it lived, the People
‘ should never enjoy their *Inheritance*, the *Restorer of pleasant Paths* to dwell
‘ in, of whom we were not worthy, and what not: Every one striving to
‘ exceed the other in this monstrous, and most absurd Vanity: In which the
‘ *Independent Churches* were the most foully guilty, their Addresses being
‘ drawn by their *Metropolitans, Goodwyns, and Nya*

‘ that

‘ that everlasting Arms might be under you for
 ‘ your Support, that God would make him that
 ‘ hath the Government of Kingdoms and Na-
 ‘ tions on his Shoulders, to interest himself in your
 ‘ Cares, and labour for your Good ; that the
 ‘ Wisdom of *Solomon*, the Integrity of *David*,
 ‘ and the Zeal of good *Josiah* for a Reformation
 ‘ may center in you ; that you may with good
 ‘ *Hezekiah* speak comfortably to all that reach
 ‘ the good Knowledge of the Lord in the Land,
 ‘ and be a Wall of Defence to that sacred Calling
 ‘ against all Usurpers and Reproachers of it.—

— ‘ It remains therefore as to your *Petitioners*,
 ‘ that from the due Sense they have of your *Higb-*
 ‘ *ness*’s unquestionable Authority and Right to go-
 ‘ vern these Nations, they resolve and declare that
 ‘ with their Lives and Estates they will stand by
 ‘ and adhere to you in your Person and Govern-
 ‘ ment, and from their Hearts desire the Lord
 ‘ to bless and prosper you.

The Address of the Mayor Recorder &c. of St.
Albans in the County of *Hertford*.

(k) ‘ When we call to Mind that Series of Di-
 ‘ vine Goodness and Mercy which followed his
 ‘ Highness your renowned Father—— in his
 ‘ pious and prudent governing of these tottering
 ‘ Nations, wherein the Lord made him as another
 ‘ (l) *Joshua* to redeem his People from their Wil-
 ‘ derness-

(l) *Mercurius Polit.* Num. 442. p. 10. *penes me.*

(l) In the Address from the Provost and Fellows of the College of *Dur-*
ham, (*Mercurius Politicus* Num. 445. p. 59. *penes me.*) speaking of *Oliver*
 they say, ‘ who more successful to make up the Ruines, and increase the
 ‘ Well-being of a broken State than he? In whom the warlike Prowess of
 ‘ our fifth *Henry*, the Prudence of our seventh *Henry*, and the Piety of our
 ‘ sixth *Edward*, were happily conjoyned, and on whom was fulfilled the
 ‘ ancient Wish of the *Romans* at the Inauguration of their Emperors. *Sis Au-*
 ‘ *gusto felicior, sis Trajana melior.* (See in Append. No. 66, 67. *Cromwell’s*
 ‘ Charter for the Foundation of a College at *Durham*.) In an Address from
 ‘ the *Bayliff* &c. of great *Yarmouth* (*Mercurius Politicus* Num. 548. p. 132.
 ‘ 133. *penes me.*) *Oliver* is stiled, the Leader of his People in these three Na-
 tions;

derness-State, and lead them in a good Measure
 unto a *Canaan's Rest*, it makes us smite upon
 our Thighs saying, *What have we done*, that
 the Lord should remove such a precious Instru-
 ment from us! Yea our Spirits would have
 fainted in that Day, had not the Lord continued
 his Goodness to us, in establishing your High-
 ness his undoubted and rightful Successor: And
 we doe hope and pray, that he who hath raised
 your Highness to sway the Scepter in his Stead,
 will cause both the Mantle and Spirit of our de-
 parted *Elijah*, (even the Chariots and Horsemen
 of our *Israel*) to rest upon your Highness's Head
 and Heart, &c.

(m) To his Highness *Richard* Lord Protector of
 the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and
Ireland &c.

*The humble Address of the Mayor, Recorder,
 Aldermen, Ministry, Gentry, and Commonalty of
 the Borough of Leicester.*

May it please your Highness,

As we desire with joyful and thankful Hearts to
 record the glorious Outgoings of the most high
 God, whose Power, Wisdom and free Grace
 have triumphed, in rescuing his People (when
 very low) from the deep Designs of subtle and
 great Opposers, and herein to own as a Chief In-
 strument set up by the Lord himself your so much
 honoured Father; under whose religious and
 prudent Conduct and Government so many glo-
 rious Atchievements (through the good Hand of
 God) have issued as the genuine Offspring of
 his admirable Worth and Valour; having had a

tions: God translating him from a temporal, to an immortal Crown, which
 we have great Cause to lament, being smitten of God for our many Sins, and
 afflicted so good, so great a Man, the Captain of the Lord's host being fallen
 in *Israel*.

(m) *Mercurius Politicus* No. 441. p. 153. pens me.

most

' most sensible Experiment thereof ourselves, so
 ' we dare not but with serious Reflection upon all
 ' our Sins, to lie low under the Stroke of the
 ' God of our Mercies, in taking from us so emi-
 ' nent a Pillar, who under him was looked upon
 ' at Home and abroad as the great Support and
 ' Protector of our Peace and Joy. Yet in the
 ' Midst of our trembling Thoughts our Hopes
 ' begin to revive, having observed our gracious
 ' God, no sooner to *frown*, but as suddenly
 ' drawing aside the dark Curtain, and giving us
 ' an auspicious Smile of Providence, calling out
 ' your *Highness* to the Government of these Na-
 ' tions, in such establish'd Order, with unanimous
 ' Concurrence of Friends, and silencing of Ad-
 ' versaries; we doubt not but your Highness
 ' looks upon it as the Work of God and your
 ' highest Honour, to study the Advancement of
 ' the whole Interest of *Jesus Christ*, and just Pri-
 ' vilege of his People, so shall our Hearts be
 ' engaged to all chearful and ready Obedience to
 ' your Highness, and humbly to beg at the
 ' Throne of Grace, *that though your renowned*
 ' *Father (who as a designed Instrument helpt us*
 ' *out of Egypt, having Canaan in his Eye) was*
 ' *even then called to Mount Nebo, to dye there;*
 ' *yet you as another Joshua with his Spirit redoubled,*
 ' *may by the efficacious Conduct of the Captain of the*
 ' *Lord's Host, lead us into a more full Possession of*
 ' *Truth, Righteousness and Peace as our desired Ca-*
 ' *naan, and which we also hope will be the happy*
 ' *Result of your Highness's Government.*'

This Address presented to his Highness on the
 6th of November 1658, by James Winstanley Esq;
 Recorder at Leicester.

(n) To his Highness Richard Lord Protector
 of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and

Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.

The humble Remonstrance and Representation of the Major and Burgeses of the Borough of *St. Ives* in the County of *Cornwall*, in the Behalf of themselves, and the rest of the Inhabitants of the said Borough &c.

‘ May it please your Highness,

‘ The sad and unexpected Fall of your now
 ‘ blessed Father (whom the Lord had chosen
 ‘ among all the Families of the Nations to make
 ‘ strong for himself, being that Plant of Re-
 ‘ nown, under whose (o) Shadow the tired and
 ‘ drooping Spirits of his People have been re-
 ‘ freshed and quickened) is, and hath been for a
 ‘ Lamentation, when our Hopes were in the
 ‘ Height; and our *David* having gotten some
 ‘ breathing Time, and Rest from his Enemies
 ‘ round about, began to apply his Thoughts to
 ‘ build a settled House for the Lord in the Midst
 ‘ of these his so pretious Resolutions, was with-
 ‘ drawn and catcht from us, which would prove
 ‘ an overwhelming Consideration had not God left
 ‘ us a Nail in his Sanctuary, and him a Light in
 ‘ *Jerusalem*. We cannot but admire and adore
 ‘ Providence, that (*when the Delight of our Eyes*
 ‘ *vanished*) we were not benighted in a Wilder-
 ‘ ness of Confusion, and our Walls and Bul-
 ‘ warks being thrown down, as a forsaken Vine-
 ‘ yard delivered into the Hands of the Devourer.
 ‘ But contrary (our Enemies abroad, and that
 ‘ Spirit of Discontent and Murmuring in our own
 ‘ Bowels being charmed and laid asleep) God direct-
 ‘ ed the Hearts of the Nations to center and meet
 ‘ upon you, as the undoubted Successor, and no-

(o) ‘ He was in Sum (says Mr. *Heatb* Chronicle p. 409.) fit to have made
 ‘ a Prince of *Tartars*, or some other *Cannibal*, barbarous or perfidious People;
 ‘ or had he been a *Hun*, or *Vandal*, we should have read him big and fa-
 ‘ mous in History.

' blest Branch of that Princely Stock was removed.
 ' We are thankfully sensible, that whereas the
 ' Ways of our *Zion* might be mourning and Judg-
 ' ment, being turned backward, we are defended
 ' in our Civil and Religious Liberties, sitting
 ' under our Vines and Fig-trees, none making of
 ' us afraid, and are confidently persuaded, this is
 ' an imperfect Taste and Earnest of better Things
 ' in Store treasured up for us, communicated in
 ' the fuller Age of your Government. It was the
 ' Honour of that famous Ruler now in his Grave,
 ' that neglecting his own, he had a natural Care
 ' for the Things of *Christ*, of which that re-
 ' formed Magistracy and Ministry surviving, are
 ' standing Monuments for him dead, yet speak-
 ' ing and praising him in the Gate: And we dare
 ' not doubt but the same Concernments have as
 ' high a Seat in the Heart of your Highness, of
 ' the same Flesh and Substance with him. As for
 ' us, whatever the Enviars and Maligners of our
 ' Establishment, and the bringing forth the Top-
 ' Stone of our Peace, may frowardly attempt,
 ' we, as in the Lord's Sight, promise our cordial
 ' and chearful Submission to your Authority as
 ' our supreme Magistrate, resolving to be assist-
 ' ant to you with our Lives, and what else is of
 ' Value and Esteem with us, and that there may
 ' be a Defence upon your Glory, your Crown
 ' may flourish, and your Mountain against all
 ' Opposition may stand strong, shall be the so-
 ' lemn Prayer and Endeavour of

' Your most loyal and
 ' ever faithful Subjects.'

(p) To his most Excellent Highness *Richard*
 Lord Protector, the Humble Address of the
 Major,

(p) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 558. p. 299. *penes me.* ' This poor Gentle-
 man was egregiously flattered on all Hands. In his first Parliament after
 he had made his Speech, he was seconded by *Fiennes*, who began with a
 ' gross

Major, Recorder, Governours, and Burgesſes of the Town of *Beverly*, in the Eaſt Riding of the County of *York*,

‘ May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

‘ Our being ſo late in our Addreſs is not out
‘ of Remiſſneſs to ſerve your Highneſs, but out
‘ of Dread, and that due Fear to be had to
‘ *Majeſty*, in not making too bold Approaches to
‘ it, we muſt confeſs we doubted within ourſelves
‘ at firſt, whether Congratulations might not
‘ better become *neighbouring Princes* than *Subjects*;
‘ and it thought Preſumption in us what would be
‘ civil Reſpect in them; it being our bounden
‘ Duty to do our *Fealty* and *Allegiance* to your
‘ Highneſs, and to pray to God, even the God
‘ of your Father, to bleſs and own you, and to
‘ go out and in with you, as he did with his
‘ late Highneſs deceaſed, your deare Father. In
‘ the firſt place therefore we crave Leave here-
‘ by to atteſt our Loyalty to your Highneſs, and
‘ to aſcertain your Highneſs, that we and the In-
‘ habitants here, with all Humility bow down
‘ our Heads unto your Highneſs as our lawful
‘ Sovereign and Protector; and preſent your
‘ Highneſs even with our Hands and Hearts
‘ to ſerve you; and the worn Tract and Path of
‘ others, that have gone before us, emboldens us
‘ to come yet nearer to your Highneſs, and be
‘ ſo familiar to joy in you, and to mourn with
‘ you; for as the Death or ſetting of that
‘ great Light, that great Warrior, that great

‘ groſs ridiculous Flattery, (though deſigned) what can a Man ſay after the
‘ King? A Quotation borrowed from the *Proverbs*. (*Heath's Chron.* p. 413.)
‘ He ſays p. 418. That there was once great Talk of *Richard* fourth, who
‘ within two or three Mornings after this was caſt out of his Office; inſtead
‘ of his Guards, poor *Richard* was beſet with all the Bailiffs of *Middleſex*,
‘ who had a Writ againſt him for a Debt of the late funeral Expences, by
‘ the Name of *Richard Cromwell* Eſq;

————— *I, curre per Alpes*
Ut Pueris placeas, & Declamatio fiat,

‘ Statesman

• Statesman your Father, did benighten and co-
 • ver with Blackness and Clouds of Sorrowe
 • these Partes of your Countries, so the rising and
 • already comforting Beams of the Son, your
 • Highness, do not a little rejoyce and glad us,
 • and we think our selves in meer Gratitude, and
 • in Point of the choycest Judgment bound to
 • obey you, and remain,

• (q) Your Highnesses most humble,
 • faithful, and devoted Subjects
 • and Servants.

*N. p. 210. The Officers at Wallingford House
 published a Declaration, without so much as asking the
 Protector's Leave, inviting the Remains of the Long
 Parliament to resume the Government, who imme-*

(q) Such Regard was paid for a small time to this unfortunate *Mock Prince*,
 that I find in an Account from *Dunkirk* Sept. 12. S. N. 1658. [Mercurius
 Politicus Num. 433. p. 828—29.] • That Mr. *W. A.* a Trooper belonging
 • to the Troop of *Lockart* the Embassador, for drinking the *King's* Health,
 • and the Duke of *York's* &c. was ordered to ride towards the Gallows, with
 • his Face towards the Horse's Tail, with a Halter about his Neck, and In-
 • scriptions to his Back and Breast, importing his heinous Crimes, and there
 • standing under it, have his Sword and Spurs broken over his Head, in the
 • Sight of the three Troops, and then be stigmatized, with a T in his left
 • Cheek. After the Execution thereof, he shall be cashiered out of the said
 • Troop, and not suffered to remain within this Town, or ever come into it
 • after he is once departed, at his Peril. The said Sentence was this After-
 • noon executed, the Offender being very bold and obstinate: The Troopers
 • crying out aloud, *God save the Lord Protector, and let all such Traytors pe-*
 • *risb.*

Remarkable are Mr. *Baxter's* Words (Life Lib. 1. Part 1. p. 100.) upon
Richard's Usurpation. • Though his Father traiterously made the Change
 • yet the Successor of a Traytor, by the People's Consent may become a Go-
 • vernour, whom each Individual must acknowledge by Subjection: That the
 • Bishops and Churches both of *East* and *West* (as all History sheweth,) have
 • professed their Subjection to *Usurpers*, in a far shorter time; and upon lighter
 • Reasons: That this Man having never any Hand in the War (but supposed
 • to be for the King) and never seeking for the Government, and now seeming
 • to own the sober Party was likely to be used in the healing of the Land
 • &c. Such Reasonings as these began to take with the Minds of many, to
 • subject themselves quietly to this Man, (though they never did it to his
 • Father) as now despairing of the Restitution of the King: and I confess
 • such Thoughts were somewhat prevalent with my self: But God quickly
 • shewed us the Root of our Error, which was the limiting of the Almighty,
 • as if that were hard to him, which was impossible to us. So that the
 • Restoration of the King, which we thought next to impossible, was accom-
 • plished in a trice, and we saw that twelve or eighteen Years is not long
 • enough to wait on God.

diately

diately declared their Resolution for a Commonwealth, without a single Person or a House of Peers.

In a Pamphlet printed about that Time, I meet with the following Account. (r) * On Saturday, the 7th of May early, they met in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and to make up their Number, sent for the two chaste Cock Sparrows Lord Monson, and (s) Henry Martyn out of Prison, where they were in Execution for Debt; and honest Whitelocke and (t) Lisle of the Chancery Bar, and with this Addition being two and forty in Number, the Chancery Mace for Haste being carried before them.

(u) William Lentball, their tender-conscienced Speaker, together with the said Lord Monson, Henry Martyn, Mr. Whitelocke, Mr. Lisle, temperate Mr. Chaloner, wise Alderman Atkin, rich Alderman (x) Pennington, pedantick Thomas Scot, hastily rich (y) Cornelius Holland, single hearted (z) preaching Sir Henry Vane, now old Sir Harry, (a) Prideaux Attorney to all

(r) *England's Confusion*—with a Description of the Power ruling there by the Name of a Parliament, under the Mask of the good old Cause, written by one of the few English that are left in England, London printed 1659. p. 9, 10, 11. Publick Library Cambridge, 19. 9. 6. See likewise Hist. of Independency 4th Part p. 40. Heath's Chronicle p. 419.

(s) Henry Martyn, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Whores. Hist. of Independency Part 1. p. 171.

(t) John Lisle Master of St. Crosses, a Place for a Divine; Hist. Indep. Ibid. p. 167.

(u) See a Letter of Lentball's &c. Appendix No. 68.

(x) Isaac Pennington twice broke, once Lieutenant of the Tower; a Year and a half Lord Mayor of London before his time, had 7000*l.* given him, and Store of Bishops Lands. Hist. of Independency Ibid p. 170.

(y) Cornelius Holland a Link Boy, (History of Independency Part 3. p. 37.) He rented as much of the King's Grounds at 200*l.* per annum, as was worth 1600*l.* or 1800*l.* per annum.

(z) Most of the Parliament Colonels were Preachers; which was the Occasion, why O. Cromwell, when in the humble Petition, there was inserted an Article against Publick Preachers being Members of Parliament, excepted against it expressly, because he (he said) was one, and diverse Officers of the Army, by whom much good had been done,—and therefore desired they would explain the Article. Heath's Chronicle. p. 408.

(a) Mr. Heath (Chronicle p. 430.) says, That Edmund Prideaux was Attorney General throughout the Usurpation, by which he got a vast Estate, leaving sixty thousand Pounds (as credible Report went) in his Coffers, besides Lands of very great Demesnes.

* Governments,

Governments, smiling Sir *James Harrington*,
 levelling *Ludlow*, *Pembrochian Oldsworth* that
 made the Earl his Master's wise Speeches;
 vain glorious hair-brained (b) *Hazlerig*, with
 Repentance like the Armys in his Conscience,
 and the Bishoprick of *Durham* at his Back.
 Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Man *Jones*, doting
 (c) *Purefoy* without Purity or Faith, Colonel
White the Lord *Fairfax's* Secretary, got before
 his Master, Religious *Harry Nevil*, Mr. *Say*,
 the famous Lawyer, Mr. *Blaggrave* better known
 at *Reading* than here, Colonel *Bennet* Sir *Henry*
Vane's Little Second at preaching, Mr. *Brewster*
 a Cypher to make up the Number, Serjeant *Wilde*
 best known by the Name of *Wilde Serjeant*,
John Goodwin, alias *Herbe John*, Mr. *Lech-*
more, the *Attorney General's* Second at all Go-
 vernments, *Augustin Skinner* a *Kentish Christian*;
 Mr. *Downes* another Cypher, Mr. *Dove* a
 Brewer at *Salisbury* come to help in this new
 brewing, Mr. *John Lentball*, *William Lentball's*
 own Son, *Saloway*, a smart prating Apprentice
 newly set up for himself, formerly a Grocer's
 Man: (Hist. of Independency Part. I. p. 171.)
 Mr. *John Corbet* such another Lawyer as (d) *Miles*,
 and of his own Colour, Mr. *Walton* that will
 never forget his Son furnished Blacks for the
 Protector's Funeral, *Gilbert Millington* the
 Church-Snuffers, who desires no better Trade

(b) *Hazlerig* (says Mr. *Walker* History of Independency Part 1. p. 173.)
 Governour of *Newcastle*, hath the Bishop of *Durham's* House, Park, and
 Mannor of *Aukland*, and 6500*l.* in Money given him.

(c) This *Purefoy*, I think, was the same mentioned by Mr. *Walker* (His-
 tory of Independency Part 1. p. 172.) who was Colonel, and Governour of
Coventry, who fought resolutely against the Cross, in the Market Place
 at *Warwick*, and against the ancient Monuments in the Earl's Chappel in
St. Mary's Church there: For which he had 1500*l.* given him, but when
 he should have fought with the Enemy, hid himself in a Barley-Field.

(d) *Miles Corbet* (Hist. of Independency Part 1. p. 168.) at the begin-
 ning of the Parliament 3000 *l.* in Debt more than he was worth, was made
 a Register in Chancery worth 700 *l.* per annum, besides Chairman for
 scandalous Ministers worth 1000 per annum.

• than scandalous Ministers, Mr. Gould newly
 • married to get more, the Commonwealth being
 • poor, Colonel Sydenham, Colonel Bingham,
 • a *Dorsetshire* Couple in at all Governments,
 • who would rather talk than fight, and yet will
 • venture to do any Thing being backed with
 • an Army against the naked People, Colonel
 • Ayre whose Name fills his Head, Mr. Smith
 • a *Six Clerk*, that wishes he could write and read,
 • Colonel Ingolsby that fought so well lately for
 • the *Protector* against *Fleetwood*, and *Fleetwood*
 • that holy Man, who so smoothly supplanted the
 • *Protector*, that he persuaded him three Crowns
 • were not worth a drawn Sword, stole on the
 • suddain into the House, the Invitation of the
 • Army for the sitting of the Long Parliament
 • (as they call it) being first published in *West-*
 • *minster Hall*.

N. p. 216. *The Protector having parted with
 the Parliament, who were his chief Support, had not
 the Courage and Resolution to strike a bold Stroke for
 three Kingdomes, but tamely submitted to resign his
 high Dignity, by a Writing under his Hand, after
 he had enjoyed it but eight Months. How little the
 Soul of Oliver was in his Son Richard, may be seen
 in this Conduct.*

It is readily allowed that as he wanted the Spirit
 of his Father, he wanted his wicked Spirit of Hy-
 pocrisy, and was much the honestest Man of the
 two. He is on Account of his *Pusillanimity* called
 by Mr. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 600.) the
 (e) *Titmouse Prince*: And remarkable is Lord
Clarendon's Story of him. (f) 'It may not prove
 • ungrateful to the Reader (says he) in this Place

(e) 'The Vulture died (says *Heath*, *Chronicle* p. 409.) and out of his
 Ashes rose a Titmouse, who with the Frog in the Table being swollen up
 • with the Flatteries and fond Advice of his Councillors, durst vie his Great-
 • ness with the regal Right, till the tumid Bubble burst, and vanished into
 • nothing.'

(f) *History of the Rebellion.* Vol. 3. p. 519.

to entertain him with a very pleasant Story, that
 related to this miserable *Richard*, though it hap-
 pened long afterwards. — Shortly after the King's
 Return, and the manifest Joy that possessed the
 whole Kingdom thereupon, this *Poor Crea-*
ture found it necessary to transport himself into
France, more for Fear of his Debts than of the
 King, who thought it not necessary to enquire
 after a Man so long forgotten. After he had
 lived some years in *Paris* untaken Notice of,
 and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure
 Condition and Disguise, not owning his own
 Name, nor having above one Servant to attend
 him, he thought it necessary upon the first Ru-
 mour and Apprehension, that there was like to
 be a War between *England* and *France*, to
 quit that Kingdom, and to move to some Place
 that would be neuter to either Party; and pitched
 upon *Geneva*, making his Way thither by *Bor-*
deaux, and through the Province of *Languedoc*,
 he passed through *Pezenas*, a very pleasant Town
 belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a
 fair Palace there, and being then Governour of
Languedoc, made his Residence in it.

In this Place *Richard* made some Stay, and
 walking abroad to entertain himself with the
 View of the Situation, and of many Things
 worth the seeing, he met with a Person who
 well knew him, and was well known by him,
 the other having always been of his Father's,
 and of his Party; so that they were glad enough
 to find themselves together. The other told
 him, " that all Strangers, that came to that
 Town, used to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*,
 the Governour of the Province: who expected
 it, and always treated *Strangers*, and particu-
 larly the *English* with much Civility: That he
 need not be known, but that he himself would
 first

“ first go to the Prince, and inform him, that
 “ another *English* Gentleman was passing through
 “ that Town towards *Italy*, who would be glad
 “ to have the Honour to kiss his Hand.” ‘ The
 ‘ Prince received him with great Civility and
 ‘ Grace, according to his natural Custom, and
 ‘ after few Words, begun to discourse of the
 ‘ Affairs of *England*, and asked many Questions
 ‘ concerning the King, and whether all Men
 ‘ were quiet, and submitted obediently to him;
 ‘ which the other answered briefly according to the
 ‘ Truth. “ Well, said the Prince, *Oliver*, though
 ‘ he was a *Traytor*, and a *Villain*, was a *brave*
 “ *Fellow*, had great Parts, great Courage, and
 “ was worthy to command. But *that* *Richard*,
 “ *that Coxcomb*, *Coquin*, *Poltron*, was surely the
 “ basest Fellow alive; what is become of that
 “ Fool? How was it possible he could be such
 “ a Sot?” He answered, “ that he was betrayed
 “ by those whom he most trusted, and had been
 “ most obliged by his Father.” So being weary
 ‘ of his Visit quickly took his Leave, and next
 ‘ Morning left the Town, out of Fear that the
 ‘ Prince might know, that he was the very *Fool* and
 ‘ *Coxcomb* he had mentioned so kindly. And with-
 ‘ in two Days after, the Prince did come to know
 ‘ whom it was that he had treated so well, and
 ‘ whom before by his Behaviour he believed to be
 ‘ a Man not very glad of the King’s Restoration.

N. p. 217. Upon his quitting Whitehall, the
 Parliament voted him a Maintenance, but refused to
 (g) concern themselves with his Father’s Debts, the
 Payment of which swept away the greatest Part of
 his Estate.

(g) Wednesday May 25. 1659. ‘ The House hath also under Consideration several things in relation to the Debts of *Oliver Cromwell*, the late
 ‘ Protector deceased, and referred to a Committee to state the Account of his
 ‘ said Debts, and to report the same to the House with all conveniency.
Perfect Diurnal. No. 303. p. 4684. penes me.

(h) Monday

(b) Monday 4 July 1659.

Resolved that the Parliament doth exempt
Richard Cromwell, eldest Son of the late Lord
General *Cromwell* from all Arrests for any Debt
whatsoever for six Months.

It is referred to a Committee to examine what
is due for Mourning for the late Lord General,
and to consider how it may be paid for, without
Prejudice or Charge to the Commonwealth.

(i) Saturday July 16. 1659.

The House has this Day under Consideration
the Debts of *Richard Cromwell*, eldest Son of
the late General *Cromwell*, and have resolved
them to be 29640 *l.* and have ordered a Way
for the Payment thereof.

Resolved that the said *Richard Cromwell*, eldest
Son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*, shall be,
and is hereby acquitted and absolutely dis-
charged from Payment of the said Debt of
29640 *l.* and every Part thereof, and of and
from all Actions, Suits and Demands for or
by Reason thereof by the Creditors: And that
the State will satisfy the Persons to whom the
same is due.

It is ordered to the Committee to examine the
true yearly Value of the Estate of the said Lord
General's eldest Son, in Order to the settling on
him a comfortable and honourable (k) Main-
tenance.

N. p. 217. Only Sir George Booth a Presbyte-
rian, had an Opportunity of appearing about Chester;
with five or six hundred Men, declaring for a free

(b) *Mercurius Politicus*. Num. 277. p. 575. *Whitelock's Memor.* p. 681.
4th part of *Independency* p. 50.

(i) *Mercurius Politicus* No. 185. p. 590, 591. penes me. *Heatb's Chronicle*
p. 4. 22.

(k) *Ludlow* says (*Memoirs* Vol. 2. p. 665. See likewise *Whitelock* p. 680.)
That upon his Promise to remove from *Whitehall*; the Parliament ordered
20000*l.* to be presently paid him, to enable him to remove, and passed a
resolution to pay those Debts, which it was said he had contracted on the
publick Account.

Parliament, without mentioning the King; but he and Sir Thomas Middleton who joined him, were defeated by (l) Lambert, and taken Prisoners.

The *Rump* so much resented this Insurrection, that they *disfranchised* the City of *Chester*.

(m) ' The humble Petition of several of the Inhabitants of the City of *Chester* (Saturday 17 Sept.) in Behalf of themselves and the well affected in the same City was read.

' Resolved, that the Corporation of the City of *Chester* be, and is hereby dissolved and discontinued.

' Resolved that the Charter of the City be, and is hereby declared void and null, as to the incorporating of that City.

' Resolved, That the City of *Chester*, and the County of the City of *Chester*, shall be no longer a distinct County of itself, and shall have no distinct County Jurisdiction, but shall be laid to the County at large.

' It is referred to a Committee to consider how these Votes may be put in Execution, and of the Government of the said City, and how the Peace of that Place may be preserved, and the well affected within the said City encouraged.

' Nay they proceeded further, and had under Consideration a (n) Bill for settling the Lands and Tenements of Persons now in Rebellion upon their Tenants and their Heirs, rendering the Rent formerly reserved, that desert their Landlords, and engage in the Parliament Service, which was committed (8 August.)

(l) There is a remarkable canting Address to the *Rump* on occasion of this Victory over Sir George Booth, from a great Number of the Clergy of the County of Leicester, *Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 586. p. 721. penes me. It is mentioned Heatb's Chronicle p. 427.

(m) *Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 587. p. 786. penes me. See the Petition printed, Appendix No. 69.

(n) *Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 582. p. 655. penes me. See Heatb's Chronicle, p. 426. 427.

(o) ' The House had under farther Consideration the Bill for encouraging the Tenants of *malignant Landlords*, to be faithful to the Parliament, but this came to Nothing, they being after dissolved.'

N. p. 219. *The Committee of Safety*— attempted an Accommodation with Monk by Clarges his Brother-in-law, but without Success.

Their ill Success is not to be wondered at, after he had discovered their sly Attempt to secure him in *Scotland*, the Account of which follows.

(p) *The Committee of Safety* were resolved to secure *Monk*, who kept his ordinary Residence at *Dalkeith* some four Miles on this Side *Edinburgh*, the *London Packet* being there constantly opened, that the General might have his Letters, before any were delivered at *Edinburgh*. The Committee dispatched their secret Orders to *Scotland*, by the Ordinary Packet, lest an Express might give Suspicion: and instead of directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was usual, it was ordered straight for *Edinburgh*. It happened, that one of *Monk's Life Guard* met accidentally the Post turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touched there, he brought him back, notwithstanding the Direction of the Label. *Monk*, suspecting a Trick, opened the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army, among which there was one from the *Committee of Safety* to Colonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him, "to use the most effectual, speedy and secret Way to secure the Person of Gene-

(o) *Mercurius Politicus* Id. Ib. ' I have heard (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, Fables Folio Edit. 1694. p. 472.) of Tenants, who refused to pay their Landlord his Rent, unless he could shew a Text for it.' And Mr. Walker (*History of Independency* Part 2. p. 204.) mentions an Ordinance passed some Years before, ' for Relief of well affected Tenants, against malignant Landlords, who have compounded for their Estates, rack their Tenants Rents, or turn them out of Doors.

(p) Bishop Kennet's Complete History Vol. 3. p. 233. *Welwood's Memoirs* sixth Edit. p. 106.

“ ral *Monk*, and to send him up to *London* un-
 “ der a strong Guard, in a Frigate that lay in
 “ *Leith Road*, and then to take upon him the
 “ Command of the Army till further Order.”
 “ Having taken out this Letter, and what others
 “ he thought fit, together with his own from the
 “ same *Committee*, full of high Compliments and
 “ Expressions of Trust, he sent away the Pac-
 “ ket as it was directed. And then communi-
 “ cating the Matter to some of his particular
 “ Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review
 “ of the Army to be made next Morning at
 “ *Edinburgh*, where he arrested Colonel *Wilks*,
 “ and some other Officers he had Reason to sus-
 “ pect, and sent them Prisoners to the Castle,
 “ filling up their Places with those in whom he
 “ could confide.

I wish Mr. *Neal* does not charge this Action with Treachery, and say (as in Mr. *Love's Case* p. 46.) that the *Committee of Safety* fell a Sacrifice to the ungovernable Rage of *Monk* and the *Cavaliers*.

N. p. 221. *When the General came to St. Albans, he sent a Message to desire the Parliament (Rump he should say) to remove the Regiments quartered in the City to some Distance, which they weakly complied with.*

If they had not, they would have been forced to it.

N. Ibid. *And made Way for Monk's Entrance with his Forces in a Sort of Triumph, February 3. 1659-60.*

(q) “ On Friday, the Soldiers being march-
 “ ed, Tumults quieted, and all both within and
 “ without the City in a great Calm, General
 “ *Monk* with the Parliament's Army under his

(q) *Mercurius Politicus* Num. 606. p. 1074. penes me. *Echard* Vol. 2. p. 377.

‘ Conduct drew near the Town, and after Noon
 ‘ his Lordship and his Army entred by the Way
 ‘ of *Greys-Inn-Lane* into *Holbourn*, and from
 ‘ thence down *Chancery Lane*, and so through
 ‘ *Temple-Bar* along the *Strand* to *Whiteball*.

‘ The Horse marched first, and himself on
 ‘ Horseback in the Head of them, gallantly
 ‘ mounted; before him rode several Trumpeters
 ‘ richly habited, so also were his Footmen, and
 ‘ there were several led Horses in compleat Equi-
 ‘ page.

‘ After him followed many of his Officers and
 ‘ other Persons of Honour and Quality, and then
 ‘ the Horse in their Order: After them marched
 ‘ the Foot, which are reputed as good as any in
 ‘ the World, trained up under an excellent Disci-
 ‘ pline; and they discovered it both in their Coun-
 ‘ tenances and their Order.

‘ The Speaker of the Parliament having Notice
 ‘ of his Approach with the Leave of the House,
 ‘ set forward in a Coach from *Westminster* to meet
 ‘ his Lordship. In the *Strand*, over against *So-*
 ‘ *merset House* they met, and as the *Speaker* was
 ‘ descending from his Coach, the *General* alighted
 ‘ off his Horse, and embracing each other with
 ‘ all Demonstration of Respect and Honor,
 ‘ after mutual Expressions of Civility, they
 ‘ parted; the *Speaker* Home, and *General Monk*
 ‘ advanced as before to *Whiteball*: Where his
 ‘ Lordship is settled in the Lodgings prepared for
 ‘ him, and hath received particular Visits from all
 ‘ the Members of Parliament, and hath the like
 ‘ daily from many other Persons of the highest
 ‘ Rank and Quality.’

Monk being sensible that he had disoblighd the
 City by pulling down their Gates,

*N. p. 222. Sent his Brother Clarges to assure
 them of his Concern for what he had done; and
 summoned a Council of Officers in the Night, he sent*

a Letter to the Parliament, insisting upon their issuing out Writts to fill up their House, and when filled, to rise at an appointed Time, and give Way to a full and free Parliament: Upon reading this Letter the House voted him Thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking Measures to satisfy his Request.

But notwithstanding this, had he put any Trust in them they would have failed him, and were encouraged so to do by their *canting fanatical* (r) *Teachers*, who advised them not to *dissolve*. Nor was the *Declaration* of Sir *Hardresse Waller*, Major General of the Parliament Forces in *Ireland*, and the Council of Officers there, less remarkable in the following *canting* Words.

(s) ' The signal Turns of God's Hand challenge
' of Right our signal Observation and Improve-
' ment, that we may express in our Heart and
' Life the due *Counterpaine* of his various Deal-
' ings. Providence hath of late wrought Won-
' ders of Mercy, as in those Nations, so particu-
' larly in this City, and throughout this Land.
' The Lord hath remembered us in our low Estate,
' *Because his Mercy endureth for ever. Who is so*
' *great a Stranger in our Israel*, who observed not
' the dreadful Symptomes of threatned Ruine to
' our Religion and all our Liberties sacred and
' civil? Hath not God saved us with a *Notwith-*
' *standing*, by the late Dispensation of his gracious
' Appearance in our great Straights and Per-
' plexities? Were not the Mountains of sinful
' Provocations and strong Oppositions raised up
' to their Height, to obstruct the great Work of
' Reformation, so happily begun, and so solemnly
' engaged for amongst us. Had not the *Romish*
' *Emissaries* and *Engineers* of Darknes prevailed
' far to divide and distract, to delude and destroy

(r) Appendix No. 70. 71.

(s) *Mercurius Politicus* Num 603. p. 1014, 1015.

‘ us? Were not the Hopes of our common Ene-
 ‘ my exceedingly raised up, gaping for the Con-
 ‘ fusion and Dissolution of *Christ’s* Interest, and
 ‘ People of these Nations? Had not the Powers
 ‘ and Policies of Hell prevailed so far, and laid the
 ‘ very Necks of Magistracy and Ministry upon
 ‘ the Block of direful Anarchy and arbitrary Rule?
 ‘ Were not all Foundations religious and politick
 ‘ so put out of Course in all Relations, as to threat-
 ‘ en eminent Ruine both to Church and State?
 ‘ Which Ordinance of God was not slighted, op-
 ‘ posed, maligned, and scorned by specious Pre-
 ‘ tences and strong Delusions? Were not God’s
 ‘ own People very deeply guilty of Apostacy,
 ‘ Hypocrisy, of Unfaithfulness and Breach of
 ‘ Covenant in all Relations? Were not all ready
 ‘ to devour one another by sinful Mistakes, and
 ‘ woeful Miscarriages? Whilest our ill Neighbours
 ‘ were laughing at us, and combining against us!
 ‘ Did not unclean Spirits range and rage amongst
 ‘ us, possessing many, foaming out their Shame,
 ‘ torturing Souls, and all Societies with deadly
 ‘ Convulsions? Were not our Distempers *personal*
 ‘ and *public* grown so inveterate, so complicate
 ‘ and so multiplicitous, that our best Physicians
 ‘ could do little else than pity and bewail our ex-
 ‘ piring Liberties? Was not the Name of *Christ*
 ‘ and whatsoever is dear unto his People, ready to
 ‘ be made the Scorn and Prey of our ill Neigh-
 ‘ bours? Were we not hastening to the sad *Ca-*
 ‘ *tastrophe* of the *German* Tragedy, and *Mun-*
 ‘ *ster’s* Desolations, procured by the like (t) fa-
 ‘ natick Spirit, which then obstructed Reforma-
 ‘ tion-work? What Cause have we then to ad-
 ‘ mire the miraculous Patience and Bounty of
 ‘ our God, that have made us now the living

(t) See several Letters in which the Rump is congratulated upon its being
 restored. Appendix No. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80.

‘ Monuments of undeserved Mercy ? Should not
 ‘ we adore and celebrate that good Will of his,
 ‘ who dwelling in this Bush has thus prevented
 ‘ the Consumption thereof ? He that is our God,
 ‘ now appears to be the God of Salvations, to
 ‘ whom belongs all Issues from Death, he hath
 ‘ delivered, he doth deliver, in him we hope,
 ‘ that he will still deliver. Thankfulness to him
 ‘ verbal and actual, cordial and constant, will
 ‘ be the best Preserver of Mercy, and Improver
 ‘ thereof. The choice Circumstantials of this
 ‘ Salvation are so many and so remarkable, that
 ‘ the Sense thereof cannot but ingage and inflame
 ‘ our Hearts to the highest Expressions of Grati-
 ‘ tude and Praise. That such a God, so highly
 ‘ provoked, should shew such a Favour to such an
 ‘ unworthy People, in such a Season, and by such
 ‘ Means, in such a Manner, and to such an End.
 ‘ This is indeed the Wonder of Mercies, the Com-
 ‘ plex and Complement of Free Grace. That so
 ‘ great a Change should be brought about with so
 ‘ little Noise, so little Blood, so little Opposition,
 ‘ and so hopefully ! Is not this a Miracle of Mer-
 ‘ cy ? This Day of small Things should not then be
 ‘ despised, being the Lord’s Doing, so marvellous
 ‘ in our Eyes. Though our Redemption be not
 ‘ yet perfected, yet do we cause abundantly to
 ‘ provoke all *Christ’s Friends* to solemn Acknow-
 ‘ ledgments. Should not they praise him, that
 ‘ have been seeking him ? Do not the signal Re-
 ‘ turns of this Mercy challenge proportionable
 ‘ Returns of our Duty ? Is not this the best Way
 ‘ to assure and increase, to improve and hasten
 ‘ the Blessings promised and begun ? Doth he not
 ‘ command and commend such a Course ? Hath
 ‘ it not been his own and his People’s Method in
 ‘ all former Ages ? Have we not received notable
 ‘ Experiences, ever since the Beginning of our fa-
 ‘ mous Parliament, to direct and strengthen us
 ‘ thereto ?

‘ thereto ? Doth not the Posture of God’s reform-
 ‘ ing People, so signally foretold *Rev. xv.* chal-
 ‘ lenge this from us ? Those very Persons, who
 ‘ have been unhappily seduced into Snares, and
 ‘ illegal Engagements against the supreme Autho-
 ‘ rity, may in this great *Turn* find sufficient
 ‘ Ground of blessing the Lord, that they have
 ‘ been stopt in such a Career, posting to Con-
 ‘ fusion. To be thus kept from Sin and Ruine,
 ‘ will then be known and acknowledged for a
 ‘ singular Mercy, when the Lord shall please to
 ‘ remove Prejudice and Preingagements.

‘ *That all God’s People in this City, and through*
 ‘ *Ireland, may tenderly concur in all humble Return*
 ‘ *of Praise to our God on this Account. It is there-*
 ‘ *fore seriously recommended and desired, that Tues-*
 ‘ *day next, being the 3d of January 1659, be set*
 ‘ *apart, and solemnly observed, as a Day of pub-*
 ‘ *lic Thanksgiving within the City and Liberties of*
 ‘ *Dublin ; and the Tuesday fortnight next after it,*
 ‘ *being the 17th of January, to be likewise observed*
 ‘ *for a solemn Thanksgiving throughout all the Parts*
 ‘ *of this Nation, and the several Ministers of the*
 ‘ *Gospel in their respective Places are desired to give*
 ‘ *publick Notice thereof on the first Lord’s Day af-*
 ‘ *ter the Receipt hereof, Dated at Dublin-Castle, the*
 ‘ *28th of December 1659.*’

(u) *Har. Waller.*

N. p. 223. *The General, being now supported by the*
Citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded Members
of 1648, who were of the Presbyterian Party.—

As their Seclusion was owing to their declared
 Abhorrence of any Violence upon the King’s

(u) ‘ Sir *Hardress Waller* was one of the King’s Judges, and one of those
 ‘ five, who were appointed to consider of the Time and Place of his Execu-
 ‘ tion, which they appointed before his own Door.

The Names of such Members of the Commons as bold Offices civil and mili-
tary, contrary to the self denying Ordinance. p. 36.

But was pardoned upon his Pretence of being sorry for what he had done.
Tryals of the Regicides p. 272, 273. Heatb’s Chronicle p. 466.

Person, their Names are certainly more worthy of Remembrance than several Persons whom Mr. Neal has made honourable Mention of in his History of the Puritans: Though it must be owned that many of them at first had been but too active against both Monarchy and Episcopacy.

(*) A List of the imprisoned and secluded Members.

Maj. Gen. Rich. Browne.	Sir Robert Harley Knight
Colonel John Birch.	of the Bath.
Thomas Boughton Esq;	Colonel Edward Harley.
John Bulkley Esq;	Sir Anthony Irby Knt.
Francis Butler Esq;	Richard Knightly Esq;
Sir Henry Cholmeley.	Sir Martin Lister Knt.
Sir John Clotworthy.	Major Robert Harley.
Commist. Lionel Copley.	Colonel Edward Leigh.
John Crew Esq;	Thomas Lane Esq;
Francis Drake Esq;	William Lewes Bart.
Sir Walter Earle Knt.	Sir Samuel Luke Knt.
Nathaniel Fines Esq;	Major General Edward
Sir Gilbert Gerard Bart.	Massej.
Francis Gerrard Esq;	Sir John Merrick Knt.
Thomas Gewen Esq;	Sir Richard Anesloe Knt.
Giles Green Esq;	Henry Pelham Esq;
Sir Harbot. Grimstone	William Priestly Esq;
Baronet.	William Prynne Esq;

(*) A Vindication of the imprisoned and secluded Members of the House of Commons, from the Aspersions cast upon them. London 1649. Publick Library Cambridge 19. 9. 6. 'Resolved (Feb. 21.) that all Orders of this House made upon a Paper, entitled *A solemn Protestation of the imprisoned and secluded Members of the Commons House, against the horrid Force and Violence of the King's Soldiers of the Army on Wednesday and Thursday last being the sixth and 7th of December 1648.*' be and are hereby vacated, and made null and void, and the said Paper be taken off the File. *Merc. Polit. Num. 608. p. 1123.* Mr. Walker observes (*History of Independency Part. 2. p. 181.*) 'That those Traytors and Tyrants Fairfax and his Council of War imprisoned and secluded above 200 Members at once without Cause shewn, leaving only 40 or 50 of their cheating Faction in the House to carry on their bloody Anarchical Designs, some of which secluded Members with barbarous Usage were almost brought to Death, and their Murther since attempted by Soldiers.'

Sir Robert Pye Knt.	Sir Robert Needham.
Sir Benjamin Rudyard Knight.	Mr. John Nash.
Sir Thomas Soame Knt.	Sir Nicholas Martin.
Edward Stephens Esq;	Sir Thomas Middleton.
Colonel William Strode.	Mr. Thomas Middleton.
John Swinfen Esq;	Sir Oliver Luke.
Charles Vaughan Esq;	Sir William Lutton.
Edward Vaughan Esq;	Mr. Henry Lucas.
Sir William Waller Knt.	Sir William Lister.
Clement Walker Esq;	Mr. John Ash.
Thomas Viscount Wenman.	Mr. Robert Packer.
William Wheeler Esq;	Mr. John Harris.
Mr. Peregrine Hobbye.	Sir John Seimor.
Mr. John Holcroft.	Mr. Samuel Vassall.
Mr. George Horner.	Sir Robert Napper.
Mr. Thomas Hodges.	Sir Roger North.
Mr. William Jones.	Mr. Thomas Grove.
Colonel William Jephson.	Mr. John Selman.
Sir Norton * Knatchpole.	Mr. Herbert Hay.
Mr. James Cambell.	Mr. Robert Genner.
Mr. Capel Luckinge.	Sir John Burgen.
Sir Martin Lumley.	Colonel John Barker.
Mr. Charles Pym.	Mr. John Nelborpe.
Mr. Henry Peck.	Mr. William Oldfield.
Sir John Pagrove.	Mr. William Ellys.
Sir Philip Parker.	Mr. Edward Wingate.
Sir William Playters.	Mr. John Whaddon.
Mr. John Pelham.	Mr. Thomas Waller.
Sir Thomas Pelham.	Sir Richard Win.
Sir Nevile Poole.	Mr. Richard Winwood.
Mr. Edward Poole.	Sir Edward Askew.
Sir Edward Partridge.	Sir Ralph Ashton.
Sir Thomas Parker.	Mr. Matthew Allen.
Mr. Thomas Povey.	Mr. John Alford.
Mr. Henry Oxenden.	Mr. Michael Bidulfe.
Mr. Arthur Ansley.	Mr. Peter Brook.
Mr. Arthur Owen.	Colonel John Booth.
Sir Dudley North.	Mr. Mor. Barrow.
	Mr. John Buller.

Sir Ambrose Browne.	Mr. William Edwards.
Sir Thomas Trever.	Mr. Charles Rich.
Mr. Sim. Thelwell.	Sir William Spring.
Mr. Thomas Thynn.	Mr. Simon Snow.
Sir John Temple.	Mr. Thomas Sands.
Mr. Thomas Temple.	Mr. George Scut.
Mr. John Thomas.	William Lord Fitzwil-
Mr. Samuel Terrick.	liam.
Sir Humphrey Tuston.	Mr. William Hoxwist.
Mr. Edward Thomas.	Collonel John Floid.
Sir John Corbet.	Mr. Richard Gennings.
Edward Lord Clinton.	Mr. Thomas Gell.
Sir John Curson.	Mr. Francis Gawdey.
Sir Thomas Dacres.	Mr. Samuel Gardiner.
Collonel William Davies.	Mr. Henry Hungerford.
Mr. John Doderidge.	Mr. Denzill Hollis.
Mr. Thomas Earl.	Sir Francis Hollis.

With sundry others driven away.

N. p. 224. *The House thus enlarged became entirely Presbyterian.*——— *They declared for the Continuance of Tythes.*———

Frequent Attempts had been made to take them from the Clergie by the *Independents*, and other *Settaries*; as appears from Variety of Tracts published in those Times, and two remarkable Letters transcribed into the (y) *Appendix*.

N. Ibid. *They resolved to encourage the two Universities and all other Schools of Learning.*

This was done during *Richard Cromwell's* short Usurpation, as appears from several Letters from *Dr. Wallis* to *Mr. Pool*. Which are likewise transcribed into the (z) *Appendix*.

N. p. 226. *The Long Parliament passed an Act for their own Dissolution, and for calling a new Parliament to meet April the 26th 1660.*

(y) Appendix No. 81. 82.

(z) Appendix No. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87.

The Form of the Writ as follows,

(a) ' The Keepers of the Liberty of *England*
' by *Authority of Parliament*, to the Sheriff of *N.*
' greeting. Whereas it is enacted, that a Parlia-
' ment shall be held at *Westminster* the five and
' twentieth Day of *April* next ensuing, Therefore
' wee command and formally enjoyn you, that
' Proclamation being made at the Day and Place
' aforesaid, at your next County Court, to be
' holden after the Receipt of this our Writ, you
' cause to be freely and indifferently chosen by
' them, who shall be present at such Election——
' *Knights with their Swords girt*, of the most fit
' and discreet Persons for the County aforesaid ;
' and of every City of the said County——
' *Citizens* ;—— and of every Burrough——
' *Burgesse*s, of the most discreet and sufficient, ac-
' cording to the Form of the Statutes thereupon
' made and provided. And the Names of the
' said *Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgesse*s, so to be
' chosen, whether they be present or absent, you
' cause to be inserted in certain Indentures there-
' upon to be made betwixt you and them that
' shall be present at such Election, and that you
' cause them to come at the Day and Place afore-
' said: So that the said *Knights* for themselves
' and the Commonalty of the said County, and
' the *Citizens* and *Burgesse*s for themselves and for
' the Commonaltys of the Cities and Burroughs
' aforesaid severally, may have full and sufficient
' Power to do and consent unto those Things
' which then and there shall happen to be or-
' dained for the Good and Safety of the Church
' and Commonwealth. So that for Defect of
' such like Power, or by Reason of improvident
' Choice of *Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgesse*s afore-
' said, the said Affairs may not remain undone in

(a) *Mercurius Politicus*, Num 612. p. 118c. peres me,

‘ any Wise. And wee will, that neither you,
 ‘ nor any other Sheriff of this Commonwealth be
 ‘ in any Wise chosen, and that the Choice in
 ‘ your full County aforesaid so made you certify
 ‘ to us in our Chancery, at the Day and Place
 ‘ aforesaid distinctly and openly, without Delay
 ‘ under the Seal of the County aforesaid, and the
 ‘ Seals of them who shall be present at such
 ‘ Election; sending back to us the other Part of
 ‘ the said Indentures to these Presents annexed,
 ‘ together with this Writ. Witness our Selves at
 ‘ *Westminster* the sixteenth Day of *March*, in the
 ‘ Year of our Lord 1659.

N. p. 227. The Truth is, he (Monk) had a cloudy Head and in no Action of Life discovered a quick or enterprizing Genius.

The bringing about this Revolution, under the Hand of Providence, I think, discovered a good Deal of Both. I find the following Things said of him, by those that knew him much better than Mr. *Neal*. ‘ (b) That God had raised up a
 ‘ Deliverer, having by admirable Providence put
 ‘ an Opportunity and Power into the Hands of
 ‘ General *Monck*, the ablest and most experienced
 ‘ Commander of these Nations.’

And great is the *Encomium* upon him, in the Preambles to the (c) *Patent* for creating him Duke of *Albemarle*, &c. Dated 7 July 1660.

N. p.

(b) A Letter from Sir *Ant. Ashley Cooper*, *Thomas Scot*, *Jo. Berners*, and *John Weaver* Esquiers, delivered to Lord *Phetwood* p. 3. Printed 1659 Pub. Libr. Cambridge. 14. 5. 17.

(c) Cum nihil æquius, nihil sanius ad stabiliendam Regale Solium, nihil fortius appareat, quam ut Viri boni Sanguine clari, Conciliis & Armis clariores; Titulis insuper honorificis jecernantur a Vulgo, & pice cæteris emineant.

Visum est nobis perdilectum, & perquam fidelem Consiliarium nostrum Georgium *Monck*, &c.

Cum enim Bellica Laude ab Incunte Ætate florentissimus multa Terra Marique egregiè gessit; tum hoc turbulentissimo Regni nostri Statu omnes omnium hominum Laudes præsentium, præteritorum penè dixerimus & futurorum, supergressus est.

Nam Leges a Libidine Tyrannorum; Libertatem publicam a Servitute indignissima; Nobilitatem a Contemptu, Populum a Miseriâ, Paupertate atque Infamia, Religionem

N. p. 228. *No Man ever went beyond him in Dissimulation and Falshood, as appears in this very Affair of the King's Restoration.*

This is indeed sufficient to blacken his Character with *Republicans* of all Sorts and Sizes, but according to Mr. Neal's Account, I should think King Charles exceeded him in *Dissimulation*. If there be any Truth in his Appeal to our Historians when he calls upon them (p. 38.) *who complain of Prevarication in Cromwell, to find a Parallel (to the King's taking the Covenant) in all History.*

General Monck (it must be owned) acted with Cunning enough in this Affair, as appears from many of his Letters in Print, and two or three copied from Originals into the (d) *Appendix*. But Mr. Neal must acknowledge, that the General had a Company of *Subtil Banditti* to deal with; and he might imagine that under such Circumstances, they were not entitled to the whole Truth: Though nothing certainly can justify a Lie, though the End for which it is told be never so good; Tho' (e) *Plato* allowed it in some Cases. *Fallere Fallentem* was but too often, I fear, the *Casuistry* of Gentle-

Religionem a Squalore, atque ab omni Hæreticorum Furore; nos denique ab Exilio, & crudelissimâ Calamitate vindicavit; & utilissimo Exemplo Dominum suum inhumanissime ejectum [revocavit] atque hæc omnia perquam exigua bonorum manu, contra ingentes Proditorum hominum Exercitus, & omnium Conspirationem Impiorum prudentia ac felicitate summâ, victor sine Sanguine, perfecit.
 * Ita quod nullo subditorum nostrorum Cruore, (quod semper a Deo Optimo
 * Maximo precati sumus) quodque est in hoc Redditu nostro jucundissimum;

Hæc tanta Bonorum omnium Restauratio confiterit

Propter hæc atque salia Merita sciatis, &c.

Peck's Desiderata Curiosa Vol. 2. Book 14. Num. 1. p. 1. 2.

(d) *Appendix* No. 88. 89. 90.

(e) *Plato* allowed a Lie lawful either to save a Citizen, or to deceive an Enemy. *Platonis de Republic. Lib. 3. Dialog. 3. p. 433. Edit. Ficini 1590.*
Τοις Ἀρχαίοις δὲ τῆς Πόλεως, ὑπὲρ τισὶν ἄλλοις, ἀποτόναι ψεύδεσθαι ἢ Πόλεμίων, ἢ πολιτῶν ἔνικα, ἐπ', ἐπιβλῆναι τῆς Πόλεως τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Πάσιν οὐχ ἀπὸ τῆς τοιούτου.

And *Ovid* who was certainly a much better Poet than *Casuiſt* allowed of *Cowenage* on some Occasions.

*Fallite Fallentes; ex magna parte profanum
 Sant Genus. In laqueis, quos posuere, cadant.*

men

men of the *General's* (f) Profession in those Times, who did not in their Transactions with one another, always adhere to the strict Rules of Truth.

N. p. 237. He informs us, *That Mr. Baxter said he was for restoring the King, that when they (viz. the Presbyterian Ministers) were silenced, and their Ministry at an End, and some of them lie in Prisons, they may there and in that Condition have Peace of Conscience in the Discharge of their Duty, and the Exercise of Faith, Patience, and Charity in their Sufferings.*

And notwithstanding this, Mr. (g) *Baxter* and some of his Brethren, I fear, were not too zealous for the King's Restoration; till they found that there was a Probability of its being brought about by other Hands. In the Year 1659 we are told, that Mr. *Calamy*; *Baxter*, and five or six more of the same Character by one of their Number made the following *Loyal Speech* to General *Monck*. 'I hear
' a Report, Sir, that you have some Thoughts of
' calling back the King. But it is my Sense,
' and the Sense of these Gentlemen here with me,

(f) It was to such that *Lucan* alludes in the two following Lines.

*Nulla Fides, Pietasque viris, qui Castra sequuntur,
Venaleque Manus; ibi fas, ubi Maxima Merces.*

Lucan. de Bello Civili. Lib. 10. l. 407. 408.

(g) A Letter to Dr. *Calamy* in Vindication of Mr. Archdeacon *Echard's* History of England &c. Printed by *James Bettenham* &c. p. 27.

Remarkable are Mr. *Baxter's* Words in his Dedication to *Richard Cromwell*, prefixed to his *Key for Catholics*. 'If you ask who it is that thus presumeth to be your Monitor,—— It is one that rejoiceth in the present Happiness of England, and earnestly wisheth that it were but as well with the rest of the World, and honoureth all the Providences of God by which we have been brought to what we are.'

'They were inclined (says the Author of a Tract intitled, *sedition Preachers, ungodly Teachers* p. 34.) to restore the King, purely to be revenged on the Independents; so that Necessity not Choice, Revenge not Loyalty, made them instrumental in the Restoration of the Royal Family: For if their Duty to their King, or Love to their Country were the chief Motives, which reconciled them to, or engaged them in the Restoration, how came they to express so much voluntary Satisfaction, Contentment and Thanksgiving for the Usurpation but the Year before?'

' that

‘ that it is a Thing you ought not to do upon
 ‘ any Terms; for *Prophaneness* is so *inseparable*
 ‘ from the *Royal Party*, that if ever ye bring the
 ‘ King back, the Power of Godliness will most
 ‘ certainly depart from this Land.

N. p. 245. Mr. *Neal* in his Account of Bishop *Brownrigg’s* Preferments makes no Mention of his (*b*) Prebend of *Ely*.

N. Ibid. He (*viz.* Bishop *Brownrigg*) was no Favourer of Archbishop *Laud’s* Innovations.——

(*i*) ‘ He kept (says Dr. *Gauden*) to the Doc-
 ‘ trine, Worship, Devotion and Government in the
 ‘ Church of *England*, which he would say he
 ‘ liked better and better, as he grew elder, and
 ‘ then best of all when he saw the *Vipers of Fac-*
 ‘ *tions* seizing upon her out of the *Fire of her*
 ‘ *Tribulation*, but not able to do her any Harm,
 ‘ either so as to confute her Doctrines, or to
 ‘ condemn her Constitutions with any Shew of
 ‘ Reason.

‘ Neither in her Prosperity, nor in her Adver-
 ‘ sity did he endure, that any Great or Small, out
 ‘ of Faction, Pride or Popularity, or Novelty,
 ‘ should worship or recede from its excellent Or-
 ‘ ders: If any out of simple Tenderness of Conscience
 ‘ was less satisfied with some Things, no Man
 ‘ had a more *tender Heart*, or *gentler Hand* either
 ‘ to heal any little *Scratches*, or to supple any
 ‘ wonted *Obstinacy*, or to win any Minds to the
 ‘ Peace of the Church, who were capable, inge-
 ‘ nious and honest; he drew all by the silken
 ‘ Cords of Humanity and Humility, Reason and
 ‘ Religion; not by the *Cart-ropes of Rigour* and
 ‘ Imperiousness; he would convince, though he
 ‘ did not convert Gainayers, and if he could not

(*b*) Memorials of Bishop *Brownrigg* by Dr. *Gauden* 1660. p. 257. Survey of Cathedrals by *Brown Willis* Esq; Vol. 3. p. 385.

(*i*) Memorials of Bishop *Brownrigg* p. 161, 162.

‘persuade them, yet he would pity and pray for them.’

N. Ibid. *He was permitted by the Protector, Cromwell, to be a Preacher in the Temple.*

And notwithstanding this he was very free in his Advice to Cromwell, as appears from Dr. Gauden’s following Account. (k) ‘When O. P. with some Shew of Respect to him, demanded his Judgment in some public Affairs, then at a Nonplus, his Lordship, with his wonted Gravity and Freedom, replied, *My Lord, the best Counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, Render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God, the Things that are God’s;*’ with which free Answer O. P. rested rather silenced than satisfied.

N. Ibid. *He was indeed a most humble Christian, and very patient under most severe Fits of the Stone, which were very acute and tedious for some Time before his Death.*

(l) He used to say, ‘that it was a very cheap Time now to die, there being so little Temptation to desire Life, and so many to welcome Death; since he had lived to see no King in the State, no Bishop in the Church, no Peer in Parliament, no Judge in the Land, yea no Parliament in any Freedom, Honor, Power, or being worthy of that Name.——’

(m) ‘God was pleased to exercise him with bodily Pains, Indispositions and Distempers, sometimes with sharp Fits of the Stone, and Hydro-
pick

(k) Ibid. p. 186, 187.

(l) Memorials p. 227.

(m) Id. ib. p. 225. Remarkable is the following Account of a providential Escape taken from the Bishop’s own Mouth, by Dr. Gauden, which (though it is foreign to any thing in Mr. Neal’s Account of him,) as it is curious, and may divert the Reader, I hope I shall have his Pardon for inserting it. ‘Among other memorable Passages (says he, *Memorials*. p. 211.) which I have heard from him, I cannot but represent to the Reader one memorable Story, which being sealed with the Credit and Veracity of so grave a Person, who was a Man of great Integrity, may not be unworthy of Observation.

• *pick Inclinations*, which made the Chariot of his
 • Body, which was somewhat *plethorick* and corpulent) drive heavily, though those fiery Horses,
 • his fervent Spirits, were still *agile* and able; but
 • under all these God supported him with his
 • Grace, and a Spirit always humble, devout and
 • pious, so for the most Part sociable, serene and
 • chearfull, till he had lived to his sixty seventh
 • Year.

N. p. 249. *The Presbyterian Ministers writ to their Friends in the several Counties, to be careful that Men of Republican Principles might not be returned to serve in the next Parliament, so that in some Counties the Elections fell upon Men that had no Religion.*

Or in other Words, upon Men that were no *Republicans*, to whose Interest Mr. Neal has shewn but too great a Regard, both in this and the foregoing Volumes.

Nor are his Observations less remarkable upon the *Declaration* of some of the *Presbyterians* that
 “ they expected to be silenced, imprisoned and
 “ banished, yet they would do their Parts to restore the King; because no foreseen ill Consequence

• His Lordship (a few Weeks before he died) told me, together with Dr. Barnard, his very faithful Friend, and Servant, that his Lordship was assured from the Relation of a *Dutch Minister* of his particular Acquaintance, having lived long in *England*, a Man of good Learning, and of a most Religious plain heartedness in Life; that this *Dutchman* coming from *Ireland*, and being cast away by Storm far from Shore, he floated (not knowing how to swim) on the Face of the Deep, as despairing of Life, and half dead, yet not forgetting to *invoke God's Mercy*. After two Hours Distress, lying now on his Back, and tossed at the Pleasure of the Wind and Waves, a Vessel came by him under Sail, and took him up; when he was aboard the Ship, the charitable *Mariners* helped to relieve him with dry Clothes; and while they were looking on him as a *drenched* and almost *drowned Man*, to their great Wonder, they saw on the Back of his Coat towards the middle, a perfect Print of a Man's Hand, which by its different Colour shewed it was dry, as indeed it was, like *Gideon's Fleece*, when the Floe was all wet about it; this the good Man himself, when he had put on his upper Garment saw, admired and blessed God, acknowledging that he seemed as upheld by a divine Hand from sinking all that time he was floating, and helpless on the Sea. This he averred on his Faith to God and Man, to this excellent Bishop: Whose Belief of it makes me think it not only credible, but true and worthy of Memory.

“ quence ought to hinder them from doing their
 “ Duty.” N. p. 251. *That surely they were bet-
 ter Christians than Casuists :* Nay in another Place
 p. 252. *That the best Apology that can be made for
 them is, that most of them lived long enough to see
 their Errour.*

Such is the *Casuistry* of our great Historian.

N. p. 253. *Sir John Greenville attended with a
 Letter to the House, was immediately called in, and
 having delivered his Letter at the Bar withdrew,
 and carried another to the Lords.*

But he forbears to inform us in how respectful
 a Manner he was treated by the House, two Days
 after, May 3.

(n) ‘ The House being informed that Sir *John
 Greenville* was at the Door, he was called in to
 ‘ receive the Thanks of the House according to
 ‘ the Order of Yesterday, which Mr. Speaker de-
 ‘ livered as followeth.

Sir John Greenville,

“ I need not tell you with what grateful and
 “ thankful Hearts the *Commons* now assembled in
 “ *Parliament* have received his Majesty’s gracious
 “ Letter, *Res ipsa loquitur*, you yourself have
 “ been *auricularis & ocularis Testis de Rei Veritate*;
 “ Our Bells and our Bonfires have already be-
 “ gun the Proclamation of his Majesty’s Good-
 “ ness, and of our Joys: We have told the
 “ People that our King, *the Glory of England*, is
 “ coming Home again, and they have refounded
 “ it back again in our Ears, that they are ready,
 “ and their Hearts open to receive him. Both
 “ *Parliament* and People have cried aloud in their
 “ Prayers to the King of Kings, *Long live King
 “ Charles the Second.*

(n) *Mercurius Publicus* published by Order of the Council of State, Numb.
 39. p. 292. penes me. Lord Clarendon Vol. 3. p. 594.

“ I am

“ I am likewise to tell you, that the House
 “ doth not think fit that you should return to
 “ our Royal Sovereign without some Testimony
 “ of their Respects to yourself, they have or-
 “ dered and appointed that (o) 500*l.* shall be deli-
 “ vered unto you to buy a Jewel, as a Badge of
 “ that Honour, which is due to a Person, whom
 “ the King has honoured to be the Messenger of
 “ so gracious a Message: And I am commanded
 “ in the Name of the House to return you their
 “ very hearty Thanks.

N. p. 260. *The King landed at Dover May the 26th, and came the same Night to Canterbury, where he rested the next Day, and on Tuesday May the 29th rid in Triumph with his two Brothers, through the City of London to Whitehall, amidst the Acclamations of innumerable Crouds of Spectators.*

(p) ‘ The Manner of the grand Procession was
 ‘ thus: First marched a gallant Troop of Gen-
 ‘ tlemen in Cloth of Silver, brandishing their
 ‘ Swords, and led by Major General *Brown*.
 ‘ Then followed another Troop of two hundred
 ‘ in velvet Coats, with Footmen and Liveries at-
 ‘ tending them in Purple: Then another Troop
 ‘ led by Alderman *Robinson* in Buff-Coats with
 ‘ Cloth of Silver Sleeves, and very rich green
 ‘ Scarves; and after these a Troop of about two
 ‘ hundred with blue Liveries laid with Silver, with
 ‘ six Trumpets and several Footmen in Sea-Green
 ‘ and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and
 ‘ twenty, with thirty Footmen in Gray and Sil-
 ‘ ver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly ha-
 ‘ bited: Then another Troop of an hundred and
 ‘ five, with Gray Liveries and six Trumpets;
 ‘ and another of seventy with five Trumpets:

(o) The City of London presented the Lord *Mordaunt*, and Sir *John Greenville* who brought them his Majesty's Letter 300*l.* to buy them Rings, *Heath's Chronicle* p. 446.

(p) *Ecbard's History of England*. Vol. 2. p. 909. *Heath's Chronicle* p. 450, 451, 452.

And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all gloriously habited, and gallantly mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesty's Arms; the Sheriffs-Men in red Clokes richly laced with Silver, to the number of fourscore, with half Pikes in their Hands: Then followed six hundred of the severall Companies of *London* on Horseback, in black velvet Coats with gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in different Liveries, with Streamers &c. After these came Kettle-Drums and Trumpets with Streamers; and after them twelve Ministers at the Head of his Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse, commanded by the Lord *Gerard*; next the City-Marshall with eight Footmen in divers Colours, with the City-Waits and Officers in Order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in their scarlet Gowns and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, red Coats laced with Silver and Cloth of Gold; the Heralds and Maces in rich Coats: Then the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare, which his Excellency and the Duke of *Buckingham* bare also: And then, as the Lustre to all this splendid Triumph, rode the King himself between his two Royal Brothers the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*. Then followed a Troop of Horse with white Colours, and after them the General's Life-Guard led by Sir *Philip Howard*, and another Troop of Gentry, and last of all, five Regiments of the Army Horse, with Back, Breast and Head-piece, which diversified the Show with Delight and Terror.

Thus triumphantly was his Majesty conducted to his Royal Palace at *Whitehall*, amidst continual Shouts and Acclamations, resounding and echoing from several hundred thousand Mouths, transported even to Extasie and Madnes. At

Whitehall

‘ *Whitehall* he was most solemnly attended by
 ‘ the two Houses of Parliament, who cast them-
 ‘ selves at his Feet, and in two shining Speeches
 ‘ testified their Vows of Affection and Fidelity to
 ‘ the utmost Degree of Loyalty. The Night was
 ‘ turned into Day, and the great City into one
 ‘ Luminary, by the continual Blazing of Bone-
 ‘ fires, and the Irradiations of Sky-Rockets,
 ‘ Stars, and all Sort of Fireworks; and all accom-
 ‘ panied with the most profuse Entertainments of
 ‘ the richest Wines, and greatest Rarities, and in-
 ‘ deed with all possible Marks of the most di-
 ‘ lated Joy and Gladness, that ever had been seen
 ‘ in any Nation in the World; and this so unex-
 ‘ pressible and universal, that his Majesty smiling-
 ‘ ly said to some about him, “ he doubted it
 “ had been his own Fault, he had been absent so
 “ long; for he saw no one who did not protest he
 “ had ever wished for his Return.” As *England*
 ‘ had never seen such a glorious Sight, so it is
 ‘ justly believed, that no other Nation have; no
 ‘ not *Rome* itself: For all the magnificent Tri-
 ‘ umphs, that ever that proud City saw, ought
 ‘ not to be compared with this Solemnity: Where,
 ‘ there were no miserable Princes to be exposed,
 ‘ no innocent Captives to be murdered: where
 ‘ there were none of the Spoils of Kingdoms and
 ‘ Provinces, and the Price of the Blood and Tears
 ‘ of innumerable Wretches, but the most free
 ‘ and exalted Expression of a delivered and over-
 ‘ joyed Nation, triumphantly restored, without
 ‘ a Drop of Blood, by the all merciful and Power-
 ‘ ful Hand of Heaven.

Mr. *Neal* speaking of the Translations of Bishops
 says,

*N. p. 269. That Dr. Juxon Bishop of London was
 translated to Canterbury, who was promoted (says
 Bishop Burnet) as being the eldest, and most eminent*

of the surviving Bishops; he never was a great Man, but was now superannuated.

Bishop Burnet cannot sure be esteemed a more competent Judge of his Character, than those Historians who were contemporary, and had an Acquaintance with him. From whom I have already given his Character, in the Answer to Mr. Neal's second Volume p. 163. To which I shall take the Liberty of adding the following Article from Bishop Kennet. (q) ' This Day
' (September 20. 1660) was a Day of rejoicing to
' all that love that (whereof God is the Author)
' Order in the Church. For this Morning, that
' most reverend Father *William (Juxon)* now Lord
' Archbishop was translated from *London* to *Can-*
' *terbury*: The Solemnization was in King *Henry*
' the Seventh's Chapel, where besides a great Con-
' fluence of the orthodox Clergy, many Persons
' of Honour and Gentry gave God Thanks for
' the Mercy of this Day, there being scarce a
' Man whose Heart was not touched with the
' Sight of that most holy Prelate, (who by the
' Confession of all the World) is a Person of such
' primitive Sanctity, such Wisdom, Piety, Learn-
' ing, Patience, Charity, and all Apostolical Vir-
' tues, that God hath shewn now, that he hath
' Mercy left for the distressed Church of *England*.
' Consider how, where, and in what Times he
' was preserved, was made Bishop of the great
' City, when it was most giddy, kept the King's
' Purse when Necessities were deepest, and cla-
' mours loudest, in highest Places and greatest
' Business, and yet universally beloved; always
' drawn and forced into Preferment. Remem-
' ber his valiant Piety at the Death of *Strafford*.

(q) Register and Chronicle p. 264. from Publick Intelligencer, 4to No. 39
(See Merc. Papi. the same Book. Num. 99. p. 601. penes ms.)

and *Strafford's* Master, and then you'll grant
 (what our martyr'd Sovereign sealed at his last
 Breath) that this is the good Man whom God
 and the King have now placed at the Helm of
 the Church of *England*.

N. 269. Dr. Accepted *Frewen* translated to
 York.— He made no Figure in the learned World,
 and died in the Year 1664. Wood and Walker.

Mr. Wood says, (*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 1147.)
 This Dr. *Frewen* was accounted a general Scholar,
 and a good Orator; but hath Nothing extant,
 only a *Latin* Oration, with certain Verses on the
 Death of Prince *Henry*, (for his *Moral Philoso-*
phy Lectures are not yet published.)

N. Ibid. Dr. *Brian Duppa* was translated to
 Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had
 been the King's Tutor, though not very fit for it.

(r) The Solemnities of the Translation of the
 Right Reverend Father in God, *Brian* Lord
 Bishop of *Winchester*, were performed on Munday
 (September 24) to the great Joy and Comfort of
 many Lords and Gentlemen, as well as the Re-
 verend Clergy, who all have a deep Sense and
 Memory of the Prudence and Piety of that
 eminent Prelate, to whom the whole Nation
 owes a lasting Tribute, not only for his great
 Example of Virtue and Godliness, but for those
 excellent Seeds and Principles so happily laid in the
 Youth of our Sovereign Lord the King, when he
 was Prince of *Wales* and under his Lordship's
 Tuition. (s) He was, says Mr. Wood, made
 Tutor to Prince *Charles* (afterwards King
Charles II) which proved his future Happiness,
 being by all accounted a most excellent Man.
 This worthy Prelate was so esteemed by King
Charles II, that when he lay upon his Death-

(r) *Mercurius Publicus* Num. 40. p. 625. *penes me.*

(s) Wood's *Athenæ*, Vol. 2. p. 270. *Merc. Pub.* Num. 41. p. 639.

‘ bed at *Richmond*, the King craved his Blessing
‘ upon his bended Knees by his Bedside.

N. Ibid. He would have been more esteemed had
be died before the Restoration; for he made not Use of
the great Wealth that flowed in upon him, as was
expected.

Mr. Neal should not have propagated this Mis-
take of Bishop *Burnet's* (it would have suited Mr.
Oldmixon well enough) because it is apparent al-
most to Demonstration, that his Charities were
extraordinary (as I shall shew hereafter) and that
he made the most proper Use of his great
Wealth.

His Character of Bishop *Sheldon* I have already
replied to, in my Answer to his third Volume,
p. 320. To which I may add, what the Writer
of (t) *Mercurius Publicus* says of him, ‘ that his
‘ Majesty thought him the fittest to take Charge
‘ and Care of the great and populous City of the
‘ Nation, on Account of his exemplary Life,
‘ large Understanding and Prudence.

In his Account of the Bishops consecrated De-
cember 2, Dr. *William Laws* should be Dr. *Wil-*
liam Lucy.

N. p. 274. After a lamentable Account of the
dismal Consequences of the Restoration, he tells of
some remarkable Irregularities of the restored
Clergy, (to which I believe none but *Republicans*
will give the least Credit.) And informs us,

(t) *Mercurius Publicus*. Num. 44. p. 693. penes me. Mr. *Wynn*, in his
Life of Sir *Leoline Jenkins* prefixed to his Works, p. 69. observes, ‘ that to
‘ the End that the great and just Veneration he had for Archbishop *Sheldon's*
‘ Memory might not expire with him, but be in some Sort transmitted to
‘ those that come after, he ordained that out of the Revenues that he had
‘ given to the College (*Jesus College* in *Oxford*) the Principal should set aside
‘ and give the Sum of 20*l.* every Year for a Speech in the College Chappel,
‘ every 9th Day of *November*, in Commemoration of his said Grace, who
‘ departed this Life that Day 1677. and that it might be performed with that
‘ Decency and Piety that becomes so worthy a Subject, he did appoint that
‘ one of the Fellows being in holy Orders should make the said Speech.

N. p. 274.

N. p. 274. *That one of them was represented to be drunk in the Pulpit.*

And supposing this to be true (which I very much question) ought it in Justice to redound to the Discredit of the *conforming Clergy*? (u) ‘It was well turned by Mr. *Selden* upon an *Alderman* of the Long Parliament upon the Subject of *Episcopacy*: Mr. Speaker (says the *Alderman*) *there are so many Clamours against such and such of the Prelates, that we shall never be quiet till we have no more Bishops.* Mr. *Selden* upon this, informs the House, what grievous Complaints there were for high Misdemeanors against such and such *Aldermen*, and therefore (says he) by Parity of Reason, it is my humble Opinion, that we may have no more *Aldermen*. Here was the Fault transferred to the Office, which is a dangerous Error; for not only Government but human Society itself may be dissolved by the same Argument, if the Frailties or Corruptions of particular Men shall be revenged upon the whole. (x) Sir *Philip Warwick* observes upon the *Royalists* during the Usurpation, ‘That *Cromwell* used many Artifices to gain them; and it is no Vanity to say, that this numerous and considerable Party in the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, were then so steddy to their Principles, so regular in their Lives, and so exemplary to all, (though there were some (y) *drinking Heſtors* intermixt) that they converted very

(u) Sir *Roger L’Eſtrange’s* Fables Part 1. Fab. 354.

(x) *Memoirs* p. 379.

(y) Mr. *Whitelock* (*Memorials* p. 453.) gives the following remarkable Account. ‘From *Berkshire*, that five *Drunkards* agreed to drink the *King’s* Health in their Blood, and that each of them should cut off a piece of his Buttock, and fry it upon a *Grid-Iron*, which was done by four of them, of whom one did bleed so exceedingly, that they were fain to send for a Chirurgeon and so were discovered. That the Wife of one of them hearing that her Husband was among them, came to the Room, and taking up a pair of Tongs laid about her, and so saved the cutting of her Husband’s Flesh.

‘ many, and had they kept the same Temper
 ‘ upon his Majesty’s Return, which they did to
 ‘ make Way for his Return (to say no more) we
 ‘ had certainly been in a better State than we had
 ‘ been at Present ; but

———*Sæviior Armis*

Luxuria incubuit, Victumque ulciscitur Orbem.

Mr. Neal tells us,

N. p. 300. *That upon the Terms of the King’s
 Declaration Dr. Reynolds accepted of the Bishoprick
 of Norwich, Mr. Baxter was offered the Bishop-
 rick of Hereford, but refused upon other Reasons:
 And Mr. Calamy declined the Bishoprick of Litch-
 field and Coventry, till the King’s Declaration should
 pass into a Law.*

‘ They (says Mr. Long, *No Protestant, but Dis-*
 ‘ *senter’s Plot*, p. 157.) have so vehemently de-
 ‘ claimed against the established Bishops, that they
 ‘ should be the most contemptible and scandalous
 ‘ Persons alive, if such as Mr. Baxter &c. should
 ‘ accept of a Bishoprick in *Statu quo*: Yet they
 ‘ are very reconcileable both to the Name and the
 ‘ Thing: Whether it be declared to be *Jure Hu-*
 ‘ *mano*, or *Divino*.——Neither are they against
 ‘ the Title of Lord Bishops, so they themselves may
 ‘ enjoy them. Their Modesty forsooth expects,
 ‘ they should be commanded to accept the *Bishop-*
 ‘ *ricks*, and then they cannot refuse it, though
 ‘ hitherto they cried *Nolumus episcopari*, as much
 ‘ as any *Popish* Bishop of them all.

N. p. 301. *Men of the highest Principles and
 most inveterate against the Presbyterians, were pre-
 ferred to Bishopricks, by which they were more than
 compensated for their Sufferings, by the large Sums
 of Money they raised by renewing of Leases, which
 after so long an Interval were almost all expired:
 But what a sad Use they made of their Riches, I*

choofe

choose rather to relate in the Words of Bishop Burnet than my own. " What the Bishops did with their great Fines was a Pattern to all the Lower Dignitaries, who generally took more Care of themselves than of the Church: The Men of Service were loaded with many (2) Livings and many Dignities: With this Accession of Wealth, there broke in upon the Church, a great Deal of Luxury and high Living upon a Pretence of Hospitality: And with this Overset of Wealth and Pomp that came upon Men, in their Age, they who were now growing into old Age became lazy, and negligent in all the true Concerns of the Church.

How far Bishop Burnet was mistaken appears from the following authentick Account of the great Charities and Benefactions of some of our Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, &c.

(a) ' Even since the late Restoration of the Bishops (says Dr. Chamberlayn) to set down the many considerable public Benefits flowing from them, and other dignified Clergy, would tire the Reader.

' What Sums of Money have been by them expended in repairing Cathedral Churches, Episcopal Houses, in founding and building Hospitals, in Charity to poor Widows and Clergymen utterly ruined by the late Rebels, for redeeming a great Number of (b) Christian Slaves
' at

(2) Bishop Burnet sure must have forgot himself, for by the 21st of Henry eighth chap. 13. No one who was possessed of one Living of 8l. a Year or more, could accept a second (without voiding the first) without a Dispensation. *Spiritual Persons* of the King's Council excepted, who might have Dispensation for three Benefices with Cure of Souls, and King's Chaplains, who might accept of as many Benefices as the King should be pleased to give them. See the Bishop of London's Codex. p. 945, 947.

(a) Present State of England fifth Edition 1671. p. 262. *penes me.*

(b) It is observed by Mr. Salmon (History of England Vol. 7. *Modern History* Vol. 22. p. 263.) ' That the Bishops and dignified Clergy redeemed upwards of one hundred and fifty English Captives from Slavery with their own Money. [This history of Mr. Salmon's has the Approbation of my worthy Friend Mr. Tho. Baker B. D. of St. John's College Cambridge, as I have heard him declare more than once.] Bishop Kennet adds (Complete Hist. Vol.

at *Algiers*; what public and private Sums for supplying of the King's Necessities at his Restoration; what Expences in *Hospitality &c.* above and beyond the Charity and Bounty of others, who have ten Times their Wealth and Riches.

To instance in a few, whereof a certain Information hath been given.

Dr. *William (c) Juxon* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased augmented to poor Vicarages to the Value of 11000 *l.* paid for the Redemption of *Christian* Captives, in Subsidies, Poll-Money, Benevolences, First-Fruits &c. 16000 *l.* Repairs 16000 *l.* Besides the repairing (d) *St. Paul's Church* 2000 *l.* To *St. John's College* in (e) *Oxford* 7000 *l.* In other charitable Uses (f) 2000 *l.* In all 48000 *l.* Besides this, he was so kind to Tenants as to abate in their Fines 16000 *l.*

(g) Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, late Bishop of *London*, now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gave for Redemption of Captives, and other charitable Uses, in Subsidies, Benevolences, Purchase of *London House*, Repairs, Building at *Oxford*, First-Fruits &c. 40000 *l.* and abated to his Tenants

Vol. 3. p. 259.) That to their eternal Praise, the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters contributed a great Sum of Money and sent their Collection by two of their own Number, the Archdeacon of *Bath* (*John Sellick*. S. T. P. who was installed. June 6. 1661. *Le Neve's Fasti*. p. 46.) and a Prebendary to *Algiers*, from which they redeemed one hundred and fifty *Christian* Slaves, *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, from the Miseries of a *Turkish* Captivity.

(c) *Qu.* 1100 *l.* *Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.* p. 159. 160.

(d) *Le Neve's Lives &c.* p. 161.

(e) *Id.* ib.

(f) Mr. *Le Neve* *Id.* ib. makes the Sum but 19000 *l.*, but then he adds, by *Codicil*, to the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury* ———— 1. 500 00 00 to such of his poor Kindred as are not mentioned by Will ———— 500 00 00

(g) Mr. *Le Neve* observes (from Mr. *Wharton*, *Lives of the Archbishops &c.* p. 193.) See Bishop *Parker's* History of his own Time p. 36. That his works of Piety and Charity amounted to ———— 4. 38203 9 9 his Gifts to his Servants (p. 194, 195.) ———— 1470 00 00 Besides which he appropriated to good Uses. ———— 1500 00 00

We are assured (says Mr. *Echard* *Hist of England* Vol. 3. p. 437.) from his Relations, that from the Time of his being Bishop of *London*, to that of his Death, it appeared from his Book of Accounts, that upon publick, pious and charitable Uses, he had bestowed above threescore and six thousand Pounds. See *Batteley's* Contin. of *Somner's* Antiquity of *Canterbury* Part 2. p. 85.

17000 *l.*

‘ 17000 *l.* and almost all this whilst Bishop of
‘ *London.*

‘ (b) ‘ *Dr. Brian Duppa*, late Bishop of *Winchester*,
‘ gave for redeeming of Captives, building and
‘ endowing Almshouses, with other charitable
‘ Deeds, in Benevolences, Repairs &c. 16000 *l.*
‘ and was so good to his Tenants as to abate
‘ 30000 *l.* in their Fines.

‘ *Dr. Frewen*, late Archbishop of *York*, disburs-
‘ ed in public Payments and Repairs only, be-
‘ sides Abatements to Tenants (i) 15000 *l.*

‘ (k) ‘ *Dr. Cosins* Bishop of *Durham*, having from
‘ his first Entrance to the End of seven Years
‘ not received above 19800 *l.* he expended it
‘ all, and 5000 *l.* more, either in rebuilding or
‘ repairing the Houses and Castles belonging to
‘ that See, and in rebuilding the Chappel at
‘ *Aukland*, and Free Schools at *Durham*, all
‘ which had been ruined by the late Rebels: In
‘ founding two Hospitals and a public Library,
‘ and in founding eight Scholarships in *Cambridge*:
‘ Of which pious and charitable Works, the whole
‘ Expences came, according to a certain Com-
‘ putation, to above 22000 *l.* Besides, he hath
‘ expended in two Benevolences to the King, in

(b) Notwithstanding these great Charitys, and Benefactions of Bishop *Dup-
pa*, Bishop *Burnet*, (History of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 177.) remarks,
(with what Justice the Reader must be left to judge) ‘ That he would have
‘ been more esteemed, if he had died before the Restoration: For he made not
‘ that Use of his great Wealth that flowed in upon him, that was expected.’

(i) Mr. *Le Neve*, in his Lives of the Archbishops of *York* p. 236. ascrib-
ed the rebuilding the Cathedral of *Litchfield* to *Dr. Frewen* from *Groom’s*
Dignity of the Clergy, but either his Author *Groom* is wrong, (as he seems
to think) or *Anthony Wood*, and *Dr. Plume* the Writer of Bishop *Hacket’s* Life
are much mistaken, in giving Bishop *Hacket* the Honour of it.

(k) In the Chappel of *Aukland* in the County of *Durham*.

In non meritum Memoriam.

JOHANNIS COSIN Episcopi Dunelmensis

Qui hoc Sacellum construxit, ornavit, & Deo

Consecravit. Ann. 1665. In Feste Sancti Petri.

Obiit 15 Die Mensis Januarii, Anno Domini 1671.

Et hic sepultus est expectans &c.

Le Neve’s Monument. Anglican. Since 1650. to the End
of the Year 1679. p. 150.

‘ redeeming

* redeeming *Christian Captives* at *Algiers*, for his
 * Consecration &c. for the Furniture of the New
 * Chappel at *Aukland* with Plate and other decent
 * Ornaments; for relieving the *distressed loyal*
 * *Party*, and other public and pious Uses above
 * 44000 *l.* all which is declared more particularly,
 * than the designed Brevity of this Treatise would
 * handsomely allow, only thereby to put a Stop to
 * the Clamour of many Persons against this Bishop,
 * and many others, as if they had received vast Sums
 * of Money, and put it all in their private Purses.

(1) * Dr. Warner, late Bishop of *Rochester*,
 * though his Fines were but small, yet besides
 * Abatements to Tenants, he gave in Royal Pre-
 * sents, Benevolences and Subsidies, and in re-
 * deemming of Captives &c. above 25000 *l.*

* The Deans and Chapters were proportionably
 * as liberal. To mention in some of them.

* That of <i>Canterbury</i> in Royal Pre-	}	<i>l.</i>	16000
* sents, Charities, Repairs, besides all			
* Abatements to Tenants,			
* That of <i>Winchester</i> _____			45800
* <i>Durham</i> _____			15000
* <i>Ely</i> _____			14000
* <i>Exeter</i> , near _____			26000
* <i>Lincoln</i> _____			11000
* <i>Rochester</i> _____			10000
* <i>Worcester</i> _____			9000
* <i>Windsor</i> , in Fines 9000 <i>l.</i> in Royal	}		28500
* Presents 2600 <i>l.</i> in Augmentations			
* 6900 <i>l.</i> in Repairs 8000 <i>l.</i> in cha-			
* ritable Works 2000 <i>l.</i> In all			
* <i>York</i> _____			8000
* <i>Wells</i> _____			8000
* The Sum Total of only these above-	}		413800
* mentioned Bishops, Deans and			
* Chapters amounts to			

(1) See likewise an Account of him. *Wood's Athenae, Oxon.* 1st Edit. Vol.
 2. p. 150.

(m) ' The rest doubtless parted with their
' Money proportionably, and then all Accounts
' cast

(m) Bishop Morley Bishop of Worcester, afterwards translated to Winchester. The Authors of the *Universal Historical Dictionary* observe, (Vol. 7. p. 671.) ' That when made Bishop of Winchester, he verified what the King ' said of him at that time (1662). That he would be never the richer for it. ' For he expended eight thousand Pounds in repairing *Farnham Castle*, and ' four thousand Pounds in purchasing *Winchester House* in *Chelsea*, which ' he annexed to that See, besides which he laid out considerable Sums in re- ' pairing the Palace at *Winchester*, and in Benefactions at *Christ's Church*. [See likewise *Echard's History* Vol. 3. p. 719. *Lives of English Bishops* from the *Restoration* to the *Revolution*. p. 346.]

Dr. Hacket Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry* ' repaired, or rather rebuilt ' the Cathedral Church at the Expence of 20000*l*, a thousand of which he ' had from the Chapter and laid out 1000*l*. upon his Episcopal Palace. [Life ' prefixed to his Sermons by Dr. Plume, p. 31. *Wood's Athen.* Vol. 2. *E-* ' *chard's History of England* Vol. 3. p. 263. *Lives of Bishops from the Resto-* ' *ration* p. 296.] He gave liberally to several Colleges in *Cambridge*. To *Clare-* ' *Hall* 50*l*. to *St. John's* 50*l*. To *Trinity College* he added a peculiar Building ' called *Bishops House*, which cost him 1200*l*. and appointed, that with the ' Yearly Rents of these Chambers Books should be bought into the College Li- ' brary, he bequeathed by Will all his own Books to the *University Library*, ' which cost him about 1500*l*. [Life p. 49.]

' Dr. Laney gave 100*l*. towards repairing one of the great Arches in the ' Church Porch at *Peterborough*, (and gave 100*l*. to that Church upon quitting ' it) and was carrying on other good Designs there, but was translated to *Lin-* ' *coln* 1663. [Survey of Cathedrals. By *Brown Willis* Esq; Vol. 3. p. 509.] ' He gave 500*l*. towards the rebuilding of *St. Paul's Cathedral London*, and ' procured 150*l*. more from his Church of *Ely*—he in a great Part rebuilt ' his Palace at *Ely*, and gave 1500*l*. to the Poor of *Ely* and *Sobam*, the In- ' terest for *Apprenticing* poor Children, [Id. ib. p. 364. *Lives of Bishops* ' from the *Restoration* &c. p. 248.] A Part of his Will dated 1674 is as ' followeth—I give towards the building of a Publick School, or *Museum* ' *Cantabrigiense* the Sum of five hundred Pounds, in case the Foundation be ' laid within one Year after my Decease. Otherwise I give the said five ' hundred Pounds to *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, for making an Addition to ' the *Ipswich Fellowship*, and founding another Fellowship there. [*Lives* ' of the Bishops from the *Restoration*. p. 248.] Mr. *Echard* observes, Vol. ' 3. p. 368. ' That he was mounted through several Bishopricks, to this rich ' Bishoprick [*Ely*] where he dyed in Honour and Reputation. See his *Epi-* ' *taph*, *Le Neve's Monument. Anglican.* from 1650. to 1679 p. 162, 163.

Dr. Sanderfon Bishop of *Lincoln*, who was 73 Years old at the King's *Re-* ' *storation*, (Life prefixed to his Sermons p. 40.) undertook the Reparation or ' rather Rebuilding of his Palace at *Buckden* which was in a great Part demo- ' lished; and whilst he was repairing that, he did augment the small *Vica-* ' *rages* of his Diocese ' as fast as Fines were paid for the renewing of Leases; ' so fast, that a Friend taking Notice of his Bounty, was so bold as to advise ' him to remember, *he was under his first Fruits, and that he was old, and* ' *that he had a Wife and Children that were yet but meanly provided for, es-* ' *pecially if his Dignity were considered.* To whom he made a mild and thank- ' ful Answer saying, *it would not become a Christian Bishop to suffer those Hou-* ' *ses built by his Predecessors to be ruined for want of Repair; and less justifiable* ' *to suffer any of those poor Vicars, that were called to so high a Calling, as to* ' *sacrifice at God's Altar, to eat the Bread of Sorrow constantly, when he had* ' *Power by a small Augmentation to turn it into the Bread of Cheerfulness,* ' *and wished that as this was, so it were always in his Power to make all*

‘ cast up, the Remainder could not be great.
 ‘ For Instance, in one of the best Churches, *Can-*
 ‘ *terbury*, out of the clear Remainder of all the
 ‘ first four Years, viz. at the End of the Year
 ‘ 1664. they had no more than every *Prebend*
 ‘ 1100*l.* and the Dean a double Share.

N. p. 302. *From this Time* (says Bishop *Kennet*) *the Presbyterians began to prepare for the Cry of Persecution, and not without Reason.*

Lord *Clarendon*, in his Speech to the Parliament 1662 (*Life* p. 202.) observes, ‘ that King
 ‘ *Charles II.* was the most discerning, generous
 ‘ and merciful Prince, who, having had more Ex-
 ‘ perience of the Nature and Humour of Man-
 ‘ kind than any Prince living, could best distin-
 ‘ guish between the *Tenderness of Conscience*, and
 ‘ the *Pride of Conscience*; between the real Effects
 ‘ of Conscience, and the wicked Pretences to
 ‘ Conscience, *who having fought with Beasts at*
 ‘ *Ephesus*, knew how to guard himself and the
 ‘ Kingdom from the Assaults and Violence of a
 ‘ strong malicious corrupted Understanding and
 ‘ Will, and how to secure himself and Kingdom
 ‘ from the feeble Traps and Nets of deluded
 ‘ Fancies and Imaginations.

N. Ibid. For Feb. 14. *Mr. Zachary Crofton was sent to the Tower for writing in Behalf of the Covenant.*

‘ *Mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his Wife and Children*
 ‘ *he hoped to leave them a Competence, and in the Hands of a God, that would*
 ‘ *provide for all that kept Innocence, and trusted in his Providence and Protec-*
 ‘ *tion, which he had always found enough to make, and keep him happy* [*Life*
 ‘ p. 44.] See his great Character *Echard* Vol. 3. p. 94. Vol. 2. p. 891. *Lives*
 ‘ of Bishops from the Restoration &c. p. 289. &c. And an account of his Faith
 ‘ and Persuasion in Matters of Religion and Church Government, from his last
 ‘ Will and Testament, Bishop *Kennet*’s complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 263.

‘ *Dr. Humphrey Henchman* Bishop of *Salisbury* 1660. afterwards translated
 ‘ to *London*, died 1675, and gave 765 *l.* to *St. Paul*’s [*Lives of the Bishops*
 ‘ from the Restoration &c. p. 299. See his Character *Echard* Vol. 3. p. 401.]

‘ *Dr. Wren* Bishop of *Ely* (notwithstanding his former Losses in that See.)
 ‘ performed several acts of *Charity* and *Munificence*, and particularly became
 ‘ a noble Benefactor to his own College *Pembroke-Hall*, where he built and
 ‘ endowed a very beautiful *Chappel*, which this Year (1667) was made his
 ‘ burying Place, being eighty one Years of Age. [*Echard*’s Hist. Vol. 3.
 ‘ p. 207.]

‘ Mr.

Mr. Zachary Crofton (says Bishop Kennet Register p. 397.) for his intemperate Writings, and rude Reflections upon the King and Bishops, committed Prisoner to the Tower of London March the 23d 1660—61. (n) That notorious Presbyter Zachary Crofton having, both from the Press and Pulpit, broached many seditious Doctrines was this Day, March the 23d, sent Prisoner to the Tower of London.

Giving an Account of the Act of Attainder of the King's Judges, he says, N. p. 304. *After the Preamble, the Act goes on to attain all the King's Judges dead or alive, except Colonel Ingoldsby and Thompson; who for their late good Services were pardoned.*

The Case of Colonel Ingoldsby was singular. (o) From the Time that the King came to Breda, (says the noble Historian) very few Days passed without some Express from London, upon the Observations of his Friends, and the Applications made to them by many who had been very active against the King, and were now as solicitous his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his Service, even before the General had declared himself, or the Parliament was assembled; some who had sat Judges upon his Father sent many Excuses: That they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal Services, if they might obtain their Pardon. But his Majesty would admit no Address from them, nor hearken to any Propositions made on their Behalf.

(n) *Mercurius Publicus*. Published by Authority. Num. 12. p. 179.

(o) History of the Rebellion Vol. 3. p. 595. Bishop Kennet observes (Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 230.) 'That an inferior Officer having publicly murmured at the Advancement of some that had been Cavaliers to command in the Army, he was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Richard Cromwell, besides other reproachful Language, asks him in a deriding Manner, *whether he would have him prefer none but those that were Godly.* Here, continued he, in Dick Ingoldsby, *who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all.*' Colonel Ingoldsby was one who advised Whitelock to go over to the King with the Broad Seal. December 1659. (Whitelock's Memorials. p. 691.)

‘ There was one Instance that perplexed him,
 ‘ which was the Case of Colonel *Ingoldby*; who
 ‘ was in the Number of the late King’s Judges,
 ‘ and whose Name was in the Warrant for his
 ‘ Murther. He, from the Deposal of *Richard*
 ‘ had declared, that he would serve the King,
 ‘ and told Mr. *Mordaunt*, “ that he would per-
 “ form all Services that he could, without
 “ making any Conditions, and would be well
 “ content, that his Majesty when he came Home
 “ should take his Head off, if he thought fit;
 “ only desired, that the King might know the
 “ Truth of his Case which was this.”

‘ He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction,
 ‘ and near allied to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him
 ‘ into the Army before, or about the Time when
 ‘ he came first to Age; where he grew to be a
 ‘ Colonel of Horse, and had the Reputation of
 ‘ great Courage against the Enemy, and of equal
 ‘ Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was
 ‘ named amongst those who were appointed to be
 ‘ Judges of the King; and it is as true, that he
 ‘ was never once present with them, always ab-
 ‘ horring the Action in his Heart, and having no
 ‘ other Passion in any Part of the Quarrel, but
 ‘ his personal Kindness to *Cromwell*. The next Day
 ‘ after the horrid Sentence was pronounced, he
 ‘ had Occasion to speak with an Officer, who, he
 ‘ was told, was in the painted Chamber; where,
 ‘ when he came thither, he saw *Cromwell*, and the
 ‘ rest of those who had sat upon the King, and
 ‘ were then, as he found afterward, assembled to
 ‘ sign the Warrant for the King’s Death. As
 ‘ soon as *Cromwell*’s Eyes were upon him, he run
 ‘ to him, and taking him by the Hand, drew him
 ‘ by Force to the Table; and said, “ though he
 “ had escaped him all the while before, he should
 “ now sign that Paper as well as they;” which he,
 seeing what it was, refused with great Passion;

saying, " he knew nothing of the Business ;" and
 ' offered to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others
 ' held him by Violence ; and *Cromwell* with a loud
 ' Laughter, taking his Hand in his, and putting
 ' the Pen between his Fingers, with his own
 ' Hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all
 ' the Resistance he could ; and he said, " if his
 " Name there were compared with what he had
 " ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon
 " as his own Hand."

' Though his Majesty had within himself
 ' Compassion for him, he would never send him
 ' any Assurance of his Pardon, presuming, that
 ' if all these Allegations were true, there would
 ' be a Season when a Distinction would be made,
 ' without his Majesty's declaring himself, between
 ' him and those others of that *bloody List* which he
 ' resolved never to pardon. Nor was *Ingoldsby*
 ' at all disheartened with this, but pursued his for-
 ' mer Resolutions, and first surpris'd the Castle
 ' of *Windfor* (where there was a great Magazine
 ' of Arms and Ammunition) and put out that
 ' Governor, whom the *Rump* had put in, and af-
 ' terwards took *Lambert* Prisoner.

N. Ibid. (p) *The Bodies of (q) O. Cromwell,*
Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken out of their
Graves,

(p) It is observed by Mr. *Heath*, (*Chronicle* p. 294.) ' That the King, in
 ' his Declaration before the Battle of *Worcester*, offered his free Grace and Par-
 ' don, to be confirmed by Act hereafter, to all his Subjects of *England*, of
 ' whatever Nature or Crime their Offences were, except *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*
 ' and *Cook*, and the more immediate Murtherers of his Father.

(q) *Cromwell's* pompous Funeral may be met with in many Books: [See
Mercurius Politicus Num. 438. p. 927. *Perfect Politician: Attempt towards*
the Character of King Charles the First 1738. p. 62. &c.] But as that of
Bradshaw (the most execrable Regicide) is less common, I shall take the Li-
 berty of inserting it from *Mercurius Politicus*, [Num. 595. p. 907. *penes me.*]

Westminster November 22. 1659.

' This Afternoon the Funerals of the Lord *Bradshaw* were performed in a
 ' very solemn Manner, and his Body interred in the *Abbey Church*, being at-
 ' tended thither from his own House, by Persons of the greatest Honour now
 ' resident in Town, viz. Most part of the Members of the Long Parlia-
 ' ment, divers Members of the Committee of Safety, many Serjeants at
 ' Law, and others of the several Inns of Court, Officers of the Army, se-

Graves, and drawn upon Hurdles to Tyburn, where they were bung up from ten in the Morning, till Sun set the next Day, after which their Heads were cut off, and their Trunks buried all together in one Hole under the Gallows.

And this was done upon a 30th of January, a Circumstance which Mr. Neal might probably think below his Notice.

In proclaiming the King at Sberborn in Dorsetshire, we have the following remarkable Account.

(r) ' In the Close of the Day, some of the Wags
' of the Town did very formally represent an *High*
' Court of Justice at the Sessions Bench, whither by
' a formidable Guard was brought a grim Judge,
' or Lord President, with a Blood-red Robe, and a
' (s) Tire for his Head of the same Hue, who
' being

' veral of the Aldermen, and many of the most eminent Citizens of London, besides a numerous Train of other Gentlemen and Persons of Quality
' of all Professions, which passed in good Order to the Abbey; the whole
' Ceremony being directed by the Officer at Arms; the Pall was carried up
' by four Judges, and four Serjeants at Law, viz. The Lord Chief Baron
' Wilde, the Lord Chancellor Steele, Justice Newdigate, and Baron Thorpe,
' Serjeant Bernard, Serjeant Littleton, Serjeant Maynard, and Serjeant Crooke:
' The chief Mourner was Henry Bradshaw Esq; Nephew of the Deceased.
' There were Mourners also, the Lord Terril, and the Lord Fountaine, his
' late Brother, Commissioners of the Great Seal: Mr. Justice Archer, Mr.
' Solicitor Ellis, Richard Bradshaw Esq; who hath served this Common-
' wealth many Years in the honourable Quality of Resident of Hamburg,
' and been employed in several other Negotiations, besides many other Persons
' of Quality, which attended in Mourning.' The Sermon by Mr. John
Rowe, whose Text was taken out of the 57th of *Isaiab* ver. 1. Mr. Heath
observes (Chronicle p. 430.) ' That Bradshaw died in the same desperate
' Impenitence in which he lived, saying to a Gentleman on his Death Bed,
' that charitably advised him to examine himself about the Matter of the King's
' Death, that if it were to do again, he would be the first Man that should do it.

This wicked Wretch had 2000*l.* per Annum, and 1000*l.* in Money given him Ann. 1649. as the Price of Blood. [Walker's Hist. of Independency Part 2. p. 196.] Mr. Heath says, [Chronicle p. 235.] that Lord Cottingham's Estate was given him. And Mr. Walker [History of Independency part 2. p. 258.] ' That Somerbil a pleasant Seat with 1000*l.* a Year belonging to the Earl of
' St. Albans, was given by the *Juncto* to that Blood-bound Bradshaw, and
' in the third Part of the History of Independency p. 37. he is called the Mur-
' derous Pettifogger, and in the 4th Part p. 2. ' That Horseluck of Hell, John
' Bradshaw, President of the High Court, at the Tryal of the E. of Cam. &c.
' (r) Mercurius Publicus Num. 21. from Thursday [May 17 to Thursday
May 24. 1660. p. 330. penes me.

(s) Bishop Kennet observes, (Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 181.) That up-
' on the Tryal of the King, beside other Defence, Bradshaw had a thick
' high

' being gravely set down in the Chair of Judica-
 ' ture, together with sundry *Assessors*, the Cryer, in
 ' the Name of the supreme Keeper of the Liberties
 ' of *England*, did command Silence, and the ap-
 ' pointing of an *Attorney General*, and *Solicitor Ge-*
 ' *neral*, and other Officers for the due constituting
 ' so high a Court, and the empannelling of a Jury.
 ' *J. Bradshaw*, and *O. Cromwell*, whose Effigies were
 ' artificially prepared, and brought thither by a
 ' Guard of Soldiers, were indited of High Treason
 ' for murdering of the King, and were commanded
 ' to hold up their bloody Hands, which for that
 ' Purpose were besmeared with Blood. They
 ' were asked, whether they did own the (t) Au-
 ' thority of the Court; at which being silent, the
 ' whole Multitude present cried out, *Justice my*
 ' *Lord, Justice*, for these bloody Traytors and
 ' Murderers. They were asked again, whether
 ' they owned the Authority of the Court? And
 ' upon Refusal, Sentence was passed upon them,
 ' to be dragged to the Place of Execution, to be
 ' there hanged upon two Gibbets forty Foot
 ' high; on both Sides the State's Arms, which
 ' had lately been erected by one Captain *Chafee*,
 ' one of *Lambert's* Champions: Which Sentence
 ' was accordingly executed. The honest Officers
 ' that dragged them to Execution from the lower
 ' Part of the Town to the Upper, had many
 ' a Blow with Filts, Swords, Halberts and Pikes,

' high crown'd Beaver Hat lined with plated Steel, to ward off Blows. This
 ' Hat had long hung useless, when the Renowned Dr. *Bisse* Preacher at the
 ' *Rolles* lighting on it, sent it for a Present to the *Museum* in *Oxford*, with
 ' a Latin Inscription to preserve the Memory of it. [See likewise *Echard's*
 ' Appendix to his three Volumes of the History of *England* p. 6.]

So Britain's Monarch once uncovered fate

Whilest Bradshaw bulged in a broad brim'd Hat.

Man of Taste 1733. p. 8.

(t) It is observed by Mr. *Clement Walker*, ' That when the King disowned
 ' the Authority of his Judges,' *Bradshaw* said, (History of Independency
 ' Part 2. p. 92.) *We are satisfied with our Authority that are your Judges.*
 ' Upon which he remarks (Part 3. p. 33.) ' So are Thieves upon the high
 ' Way satisfied with their Authority, that rob, and murder us by God's Pro-
 ' vidence and Permission.

* which were aimed at the execrable Malefactors.
 * As they hung upon the Gibbets, they were so
 * hacked and hewed, so gored and shot through,
 * that in a short Time little remained besides
 * *Cromwell's* Buff Coat, and bloody Scarf, that
 * was worth the burning. Yet would not the
 * People be satisfied till they had made a Fire
 * between the Gibbets, and burnt all they could
 * get of their Garbage and Garments, and at last
 * tore down the State's Arms, to help to make
 * up their funeral Pile. At Night, besides the
 * Multitude of Bonfires—— there were three
 * huge Piles of Faggots fixed on the Brows of
 * three of the highest Hills about a Mile distant
 * from the Town, which were visible over all the
 * Marshes of *Somersetshire*, in Part of *Wales*, and
 * the greatest Part of *Blackmoor*,—— This ex-
 * traordinary Joy of the People of this Town
 * might perhaps proceed from the native Genius
 * of this Place, which having enjoyed formerly
 * the Residence of many a King and Bishop, and
 * the Felicities that attend those Governments in
 * Church and State, did cause them to be even
 * transported with Joy at the Restitution of the
 * one, and the fair Hopes of Restauration of the
 * other to these so long harassed Kingdoms and
 * Churches.

* *Sir John Strangeways*, as they rode along
 * the Streets, encouraged and commended the Peo-
 * ple of *Sherborn*, for their hearty and constant
 * Loyalty to the King; and told them, that as
 * they were some of the first People in *England*,
 * that appeared in Arms for the Defence of King
 * *Charles I.* so now, it did rejoice his Heart to see
 * how studious they were to transcend all other
 * Places in the Expressions of their Joy for the
 * restoring of King *Charles II.* *Mr. Birstall*
 * (Master of the King's School there, who pro-
 * claimed him) after the Proclamation at the
 * Castle

' Castle Gate, did with a loud Voice beg of
 ' Almighty God, that of his infinite Mercy
 ' he would pardon the crying Sins of all there
 ' present, that were guilty through base Fear or
 ' otherwise, of hypocriticall protesting, covenant-
 ' ing, swearing, and engaging against the King's
 ' sacred Majesty, and desired them, and all others,
 ' now to learn with sincere Hearts to cry out,
 ' *God save the King, and General Monk, the King's*
 ' *Restorer.*

Remarkably loyal (though conceited) was the
 Town Clerk's Speech of *Dorchester*, upon proclaim-
 ing the King at that Place. May 12. 1660.

(u) ' It is a divine Command, *Tbou shalt not*
 ' *speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People*, and it is a
 ' true Maxim both in Religion and Politics, *Va-*
 ' *let Argumentum a Minore ad Majus*, it is good
 ' arguing from the less to the greater; is the less
 ' Evil to be forborn, then the greater is not to
 ' be committed? May we not speak amiss, then
 ' certainly we must not do amiss? May I not
 ' strike, then surely I must not destroy? *Quod*
 ' *statuendum est semel, deliberandum est diu*, to
 ' be long in Deliberation before we proceed to
 ' Action. Had these Things been duly weighed
 ' by some in this Kingdom, whose Head-strong
 ' Passion hurried them upon brutish Actions,
 ' they having drowned their Reason in the vio-
 ' lent Current of a depraved Will, making their
 ' Law, *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro Ratione Voluntas*,
 ' England had not been made *Ludibrium Mundi*,
 ' the Scorn of the World, *Terrorem sibi*, an Hor-
 ' ror to itself, as it was by that dismal Stroke
 ' given to the Person of our present King's most
 ' sacred Father, which extinguished not only his
 ' Life, but our Light, our Peace, our Liberty,
 ' and whatever else was dear unto us, hurried us
 ' into a World of Confusions, distracted us un-

(u) *Marc. Pub. Num.* 20. p. 313. *pens me.*

' der strange and before that Time unheard of Go-
 ' vernments; and wasted our Treasure, and much
 ' precious Blood in the Nation; but our Light
 ' we trust in God is now arising, both Houses
 ' having declared the most illustrious *Charles II*,
 ' Son and Heir of our late *martyred* King, what
 ' said I *martyred*? as to himself *martyred* indeed,
 ' but as to the Actors of that horrid Tragedy of
 ' our late murdered King, to be his Father's
 ' lawful and undoubted Successor in his Imperial
 ' Crown and Dignities; we are therefore here assem-
 ' bled this Day to proclaim him by the Grace of
 ' God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and
 ' *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith &c. And let
 ' us all pray, that the Blessing of God may be
 ' upon the King and his People, and that his
 ' Throne may be established in Righteousness,
 ' with Peace from the Lord for ever. Let us
 ' all present say, Amen, Amen. God save the
 ' King.

(x) From *Wicomb* April 23. 1661.

' This being a Day set apart for the Honour
 ' of him whom God hath set over us (our most
 ' gracious Sovereign) and that we might not be
 ' behind in Expressions of our Duty and Loy-
 ' alty; first, Captain *George Long* having or-
 ' dered a Division of Musketeers to attend the
 ' Solemnity, our present Mayor Mr. *Richard*
 ' *Lucas* (who for his Affection and Loyalty to
 ' his Prince was heretofore commonly stiled the
 ' *Scarlet Cavalier*) gave Order for setting up
 ' of four Poles in four principal Places of
 ' the Town, and about each Pole good Store
 ' of Faggots for Bonfires; upon the first

(x) *Merc. Pub.* 1661. Num. 17. p. 261. *pene me.* This may probably be
 called *Ranting Cavalierism*, though it does not appear that there was any
 drinking of Healths, or Confusion wished to any Person or Party: Nay they
 were more moderate than the *Cavaliers* during *Cromwell's* Usurpation, who
 usually put a Crum of Bread into their Glafs, and before they drank it off
 said, *God send this Crum well down.*

• Pole

Pole were hung the Arms of the old *Rump*,
 the Relict of that stinking Society that for-
 merly outfaced all Comers into our Town-Hall.
 On the second and third Pole were hung in two
 Parts the *Charter*, with the *Effigies* of that in-
 famous grand Rebel and Traytor of *Europe*
 (y) *Old Noll*, purchased by our quondam *Rum-*
pers of this Burrough, with great Pains, at the
 Sum of eightscore Pounds. On the 4th Pole
 were hung several Orders of our Colonel brought
 hither by his Dog, Captain *Face*, and made to
 abuse the King's Friends, and with them hung
 lovingly together, (as Brethren in Iniquity to
 suffer for the Cause) those simple Orders of *Jack*
Grove; all which several Parcels, (of *Rump*,
Noll, *Charter*, and *Orders*) by Appointment of
 our honest Mayor, had the Honour to be drawn
 through the Town in a dirty Wheelbarrow to
 the Place of Execution, all Things being there
 in Readiness, and Fire put to the Wood at
 every Place, the Musketeers went from Bon-
 fire to Bonfire, and gave several Vollies of Shot,
 which was seconded with ringing of Bells, Ac-
 clamations of all Sorts of People, all shouting
 and crying, *God save King Charles*. Thus loyal
 we are here, who not long since were born
 down by *Phanaticks*, but our Loyalty we hope
 is really expressed by choosing those two noble
 Cavaliers, Sir *Edmund Pye*, and Sir *John Burlase*,
 who have suffered so much for their Affection to
 his Majesty, and his Father of Blessed Memory.

Mr. Neal informs us from Bishop Burnet p.
 305. That all Men seemed pleased at the Trials and
 Executions of the first of the Regicides that suffered,
 but the Firmness and Shew of Piety in the Sufferers,
 who went out of the World in a Sort of Triumph in
 the Cause in which they suffered, turned the Minds
 of the Populace.

(y) *Cromwell* is called *Old Noll*, *Whitelock's Memorials* p. 366.

(z) ' It is justly observed of them (says an eminent and learned Divine of our Church) that they shewed no Remorse, but continued inflexible and obdurate. Their Hearts were so hardened by the just Judgment of God for their accumulated Wickedness, that even those of them who by his peculiar Providence were reserved for public Justice, were far from any Signs of Repentance for their inhuman Deed.

' Just so died *Hacket* (a) the *Blasphemer*, continuing at his very Death in his blasphemous Assertions, to the great Horror and Amazement of the Spectators.

N. Ibid. Inasmuch that the King was advised to proceed no further.

What was one of the greatest Instances of the King's (b) Lenity and Mercy, seems to be imputed by Mr. *Neal* to a quite different Cause.

(z) Dr. *Snape's* Sermon. before the Lord Mayor. Jan. 30. 1709-10. p. 18. Bishop *Kennet* observes, (Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 242. See likewise *Heath's* Chronicle p. 466.) ' That none of those that suffered betrayed a Repentance, that most of them gloried in their Villainy, and justified the Cause and Authority by which they acted.'

(a) *Eckard's* Hist. of England. Vol. 1. p. 866.

(b) Mr. *Eckard* takes Notice (Vol. 3. p. 2.) ' That the King's own Clemency was apparent, and remarkable, and it was his Opinion both before, and after his Arrival, that the best Means to restore the decayed Body of the Kingdom to its former Health and Vigour, was not to cure one Part by the afflicting of another, but to heal those Wounds that were already festered by proper Lenitives, and to remove all the Causes of future Animosities.

A Serjeant at Law, (who had held one of the most profitable Posts of the Law during *Cromwell's* Usurpation) when Council for the Defendant in an *Action of Battery*, (some small Time after the Restoration,) observed; ' that the Plaintiff was a little insignificant Fellow, and no better than a Rope-maker by Profession.' The Council for the King replied, ' that how contemptibly soever the Serjeant might speak of the Plaintiff's Profession, yet he assured him, that had it not been for the King's most gracious Pardon, the Rope-maker's Trade had been one of the best and most gainful Trades in the Kingdom.'

One of the *Regicides* (Colonel *Hutchinson*) ' sent a Letter to the House, signifying his hearty Sorrow for being drawn in to be one of the late King's Judges, and Abhorrency of that Act, upon reading which, the House ordered that he should be set at Liberty upon his Parole. [*Merc. Pub. Num.* 23. p. 366. *penes me.* See likewise *Ludlow's* Mem. Vol. 2. p. 822. *Heath* p. 454.]

And *Rowland Wilson* another died (as it is said,) with the Conceit of it, being accused by a Parrot for killing of his King. [A Tract intituled, *The Names of such Members who held Offices contrary to the self denying Ordinance.* p. 35. *penes me.*] But Mr. *Whitlock* (p. 368.) says, ' that Colonel *Rowland Wilson* a Person of great Worth and Integrity, refused to Act as a Commissioner, though named in this Business, or to sit with them.' *N.*

N. p. 305. Colonel Harrison declared at the Gibbet (c), that he was fully persuaded that what he had done was the Cause and Work of God, which he was confident God would own, and raise up again how much soever it suffered at that Time.

A remarkable Instance this of the Infatuation of the Man, and but too plain a Proof, I fear, that he was given over to a reprobate Mind.

N. p. 306. Mr. Cook went out of the World with surprizing Resolution, blessing God that he had a clear Conscience.

This is a very common Case with the most hardened Malefactors. This Man had drawn up a villainous Plea against the King, in Case he had owned the Jurisdiction of the Court (which he afterwards printed) and at his Trial he pleaded, that what he did, was as a Lawyer, and for his Fee, and he believed, that he was the first Person that ever had suffered for calling out for (d) Justice. Nay before his Execution, out of a Bravado, he asked several Times, if the Sheriff was not come, profanely saying, (e) "why stay-
"eth the Wheels of his Chariot? Why do they

(c) ' Such (says Mr. Echard, Hist. of England. Vol. 3. p. 30.) were the prodigious Effects of *Enthusiasm*, *Possession*, or something that wants a Name; which are sufficient to create *Horror* in good Men, and *Infidelity* in Bad: Yet this obdurate and impenitent Behaviour is not believed to have risen wholly from within, or from a sedate Frame of Mind: For others tell us, that most of them made use of Art, and prepared themselves for their Journey by *Intoxicating Cordials* and other *strong Liquors*.

(d) Ludlow's Memoirs Vol. 3. p. 76.

(e) *Speeches and Prayers of the Regicides* printed 1660. p. 30. ' This Man (Trials of the Regicides p. 117.) acknowledged his Majesty's and his Council's Favour, that he was not put in a *Jeremy's Prison*, but in the *Tower*, and not in *Irons*: He gave their Lordships humble Thanks for that, and truly (says he) considering the Nature of the Charge, had it been in some other Kingdom, they would have served us as *John Baptist* in Prison, and thanks the Judges that he has a fair Tryal by the noble Lords upon the Bench, who though not upon their Oaths, but upon their Honour, he trusts if they knew of any Law to save his Life, they would rather save, than destroy it.

The Mastership of *St. Croix's Hospital* was bestowed upon this Man in the Year 1649, (*Whitelock's Memorials* p. 411.) upon which Mr. Walker (*History of Independency* Part. 2. p. 209.) makes this Remark, ' that every
' *Judas* should have his Reward.

" drive

“ drive so heavily? I am ready, praised be God,
 “ I have nothing to do but die.”

N. Ibid. Hugh Peters *was more fearful, but though he sate by, and saw the Execution and quartering of Mr. Cook, he resumed his Courage at Length (which some said was artificial) and said to the Sheriff, Sir, you have here slain one of the Servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on Purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an Ordinance for my strengthening and Encouragement.*

If Peters said so, it is plain he died as he lived, and went out of the World with a *notorious Lie* in his Mouth. But it is probable that he was not in a Condition to make such a Reflection: For it is observed of him, (f) ‘ that he had taken so ‘ large a *Potion*, that he for some Time behaved ‘ himself like an *Idiot*, and was stupidly drunk, ‘ which caused Cook, who suffered with him to ‘ say, *Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid ‘ he is not fit to die at this Time.* And it is added ‘ by the vile Publishers of the *Speeches and Prayers ‘ of those Regicides*, (g) “ I could wish, that his “ Majesty might shew some Mercy.”

Various were the Charges against this infamous Buffoon Peters, and there appeared a whole (b) ‘ Cloud of Witnesses against him, who upon

(f) *Ecclard's Hist. of England* Vol. 3. p. 30. Mr. Walker (in the History of *Independency*, Part 2. p. 488.) observes, ‘ That at a certain City Feast, Hugh Peters, and many other Saints were full of the Creature, *anglicè drunk.*

(g) *Speeches and Prayers &c.* printed 1660. p. 30. *penes me.* Bishop Kennet (*Complete Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 242. See likewise *Caveat against the Whigs* Part. 1. p. 5. *Heatb's Chronicle* p. 466.) speaks of this Book in the following Manner. ‘ Some of their surviving Friends were so very insolent, that ‘ they published their *Pleadings and Prayers, and Speeches*, to all the Advantage that the Spirit of Hell could invent, with an insufferable Insult upon the Civil Government, and all Morality and Religion. And Mr. Petyt observes, (*Visions of the Reformation* p. 145.) That the Murderers of the King were represented to the People as the righteous Sufferers in a glorious Cause, and their last Speeches recommended as the groaning Oracles of *Dying Martyrs.* But if those be their *Saints* what are their *Devils?* Surely, ‘ such Villains never were *canonized* before, since the World began.

(b) See the several Charges against him, *Mercurius Publicus* Num. 42. p. 662. &c. *penes me.* Tryals of the *Regicides.* p. 154.

‘ their Oaths, testified him guilty of as many
 (i) *horrid Crimes*, as any Man, *Lay* or *Clergy* could
 be guilty of. In answer to which he only said
 in general, (k) *That his Heart was right towards*
God. ‘ The *Jury* upon his *Trial* perceived every
 ‘ Article of his Charge to be so fully proved,
 ‘ that without removing from the Bar, they gave
 ‘ their Verdict, that *Hugh Peters* was (l) guilty.

N. p. 306. *Collonel Axtel and Hacker suffered*
last, the former behaved with great Resolution,

(i) Besides the several *Horrid Crimes* laid to his Charge, and proved at his
 Trial, he has been charged (*Dugdale's short View* p. 571.) upon a Fast kept
 by the two Houses to have preached 22 Dec. 1648. ‘ concerning the bring-
 ‘ ing the Children of *Israel* out of *Egyptian* Bondage, to which he paral-
 ‘ leled the State of this Kingdom: and to shew how they would be brought
 ‘ out of this Bondage, he put his Hands before his Eyes, and laid down his
 ‘ Head for a Space on the Cushion, and then pretended a *Revelation*, that it
 ‘ must be by extirpating *Monarchy* here, and in all other Places.’

This *Peters* certainly gave Orders for knocking down the Staples to tie our
 Martyred Sovereign fast to the Block. For which *Tench* the Carpenter, who
 fastened the Staples to the Block, was committed close Prisoner to the Gate-
 House after the Restoration. [See *Mercurius Publicus* Num. 42. p. 671. *Merc.*
Publ. Num. 40. p. 776.] Nay it has been suggested in a Tract intitled
Cromwell's bloody slaughter House 1660. p. 33. *penes me.* That he cut off the
 King's Head. ‘ Who calls him that mongrel Minister, that military Priest that
 ‘ modern *Simon Magus*, that disguised Executioner, that bloody Butcher of the
 ‘ King. H. P. A Butchery (says he p. 29.) so barbarous, that the com-
 ‘ mon Headsmen abhorred to do it.’ *Unus ex his Colonellis & Carnificibus*
fuisse perhibetur, & constans Fama id narrat, quidam Minister verbi Dei, idem-
que Tribunus Militum, Homo nequam & flagitiosus omnibus cooperatus. [*Salma-*
ji Defens. Reg. p. 430. Edit. 1652. 12mo.]

It was sworn at his Trial [*Merc. Publ. Num.* 42.] ‘ That after the King
 ‘ was murdered, *Peters* said, Lord now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace,
 for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation, and a little while after the Execution
 he said, I rejoice to think of that Day, for to me it seemed like the great and
 last Day of Judgment, when the Saints shall judge the World.

(k) ‘ There were none of these Reforming Harpies (says Dr. South Ser.
 ‘ May 29. 1672. Vol. 5. p. 275.) who by Plunder and Sequestrations had
 ‘ scraped together three or four thousand Pounds a Year, but presently accord-
 ‘ ing to the sanctified Dialect of the Times, they dubbed themselves God's
 ‘ peculiar People of Inheritance, so sure did these thriving Regicides make of
 ‘ Heaven, and so fully reckoned themselves in the high Road thither, that
 ‘ they never so much as thought that their Saintsships were to take Tyburn
 ‘ in the way. And in another Place, (Vol. 3. p. 167.) when a Man tells
 ‘ me (says he) his Heart is right with God, when his Hand is in my Pocket,
 ‘ he outbraves my Reason, and outfaces the common Principles of natural
 ‘ Discourse with an Impudence equal to Absurdity.’

(l) The Law and the Gospel (says the Author of *Mercurius Publicus* p. 667.)
 have suffered much in these two. (*Cook and Peters.*) ‘ But to say Truth, the
 ‘ Bar hath not so often been abused by the Learning of the Former, as the
 ‘ Pulpit, by the Blasphemy of the Latter whose Trial (as that excellent
 ‘ Person Sir *Heneage Finch* observed) will convert more in old and New Eng-
 ‘ land, than his Preaching; and his Death be a better Sermon than his Life.

and

and holding the Bible in his Hand, said, the very Cause, in which I was engaged, is contained in this Book of God, and having been fully convinced in my Conscience of the Justness of the War, I freely engaged in the Parliament's Service, which, as I do believe, was the Cause of the Lord, I ventured my Life freely for it, and now die for it.

The same Spirit of Infatuation possessed most of the Regicides. (m) ' I must truly tell you (says *Axtel*) that before these late Wars, it pleased the Lord to call me by his Grace, through the Work of the Ministry, and afterwards keeping a Day of Humiliation and Fasting and Prayer with Mr. *Simeon Ashe*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Woodcock*, and other Ministers in *Lawrence-Lane*, (n) they did so clearly state the Cause of the Parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own Conscience of the Justness of the War, and thereupon engaged in the Parliament Service, which (as I did, and do believe) was the Cause of the Lord, I ventured my Life freely for it, and now die for it.

When *Axtel's* Daughter came to him in Prison (See Speeches and Prayers &c. p. 32.) he told her that he had left Jesus Christ an Executor in Trust for her.

N. p. 307. There was another Act passed this Session, for a perpetual Anniversary on the 29th of

(m) *Speeches and Prayers &c.* p. 87. Dr. *South* (Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.) says ' that *Axtel* declared before he suffered, that he was engaged into the Rebellion, by *Calamy's* and *Brooks's* Sermons, who made the Cause of the Parliament so meritorious, that he thought Salvation could not be obtained by any *Englishman*, without heartily espousing it.' The Author of *Mercurius Publicus* Num. 43. p. 674. penes me. makes this Remark. ' For that Minister, and all his Brethren, who notoriously inflamed our Distractions, they may see to what they have brought their *Proselytes*.'

(n) Sir *Roger L'Estrange's* Observation (Fable 66. p. 66.) upon such Trumpeters of Sedition is very just. ' A Trumpeter (says he) in the Pulpit, is the very Emblem of a Trumpeter in the Field: and the same Charge holds good against both, only the Spiritual Trumpeter is the more pernicious Instrument of the two. For the latter sounds only to rouse the Courage of the Soldiers, without any Doctrine or Application of the Text, whereas the other infuses Malice over and above, and preaches Death and Damnation both in one, and gives you Chapter and Verse for it.'

May.

May.— Upon which Occasion the Bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable Form of Prayer. And Mr. Robinson, in his Preface to his Review of the Case of Liturgys, says, that in the first Form, which is since altered, there were these unwarrantable Expressions, which I mention only to shew the Spirit of the Times.

(The very Alteration shews a Spirit of Condescension, in giving up some Things very defensible, in Order to bring over some Persons who were needlessly scrupulous.)

“ We beseech thee to give us Grace, to remember
“ and provide for our latter End, by a careful and
“ studious Imitation of this thy Saint and Martyr,
“ and all others thy Saints and Martyrs that
“ have gone before us ; that we may be made
“ worthy to receive Benefit by their Prayers, which
“ they in Communion with the Church Catholick offer
“ up unto thee for that Part of it here militant,
“ and yet in Fight with and Danger from the Flesh.”

And pray what is there blameable in all this ? Here is no praying to Saints ; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the (o) Fathers, long before Popery had a Being.

And Mr. Robinson must be very little versed in Liturgical Matters, if he places this Prayer amongst the Collects in the first Office for the 29th of May, or the King's Restoration. To which it bears no other Relation, than what is betwixt the Twenty Ninth of May, and the Thirtieth of January. For it is a Part of the first Collect of the Evening Prayer, in the (p) first Office for the Thirtieth of January : Which I have now before me. And as there are many Collects left out in the

(o) Gregorii Nazianzen. Orat. viceßima in Laudem Basilii, Parisiis, 1630. p. 372. *Κι νυν ο μιν εν τινι υπακοις, και εν ταις δακρυμαιν αις οϊμαι προσφερειν δουλειαι, κι ταυτα λαβειν αποσπαραχμενους.*

(p) A Form of Common Prayer to be used upon the thirtieth of January, being the Anniversary Day appointed by Act of Parliament for Fasting and Humiliation &c. Published by his Majesty's Direction. London Printed by John Bill Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1661.

Office that was authorized the same (q) Year, I shall take the Liberty of inserting them from this first Office.

The Sentences of Scripture before the Exhortation for the Morning Service, are *Jeremy* x. 24. *Joel* ii. 13. *Lament.* iii. 22. In the present Office *Dan.* ix. 9, 10. and *Psalms.* cxliiii. 2. The Hymn instead of *venite exultemus* differs much from that in the present Office, being composed of different Passages of Scripture. Psalms appointed are the 7, 9, 22, 38, 64, 89, 143. The four first in the Morning, the three last in the Evening Prayer. Instead of Psalm 9, 10, 11. for the Morning Service, and 74th, 94th, 85th for the Evening Service.

Proper Lessons Morning Service, *Lam.* v. or 2 *Chron.* xxxv. from the 20th to the End. In our present Office for the first Lesson 2 *Sam.* i. for the second *Matt.* xxvii.

The first Collect at Morning Prayer (there are (r) two in the present Office.)

O Lord God that rulest over all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and hast threatened, that if we do wickedly, we should be consumed, both we and our King: We miserable and wretched Sinners, do here in the Bitterness of our Souls prostrate our selves before thy Throne of Grace, acknowledging against ourselves, that we have made thee to serve with our Sins, and wearied thee with our Iniquities, so that in the Fierceness of thine Anger thou hast wounded us with the Wound of an Enemy. Woe unto us that we have sinned, the Crown as this Day fell from our Head, and the Beauty of *Israel* was slain by the Hands of

(q) A Form of Common Prayer to be used on the thirtieth of January, being the Anniversary Day appointed for Fasting and Humiliation &c.

Published by his Majesty's Command. London: Printed by *John Bill*, and *Christopher Barker*, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty 1660. Cum Privilegio &c. The same with our present Office.

(r) Viz. O most mighty God, terrible in thy Judgments &c. and blessed Lord, in whose Sight the Death of thy Saints is precious &c.

wicked

wicked Men. Thou sufferedst the Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord to be taken in their Pits, of whom we said under his Shadow we shall have Peace and Protection: Thou sufferedst thy Vicegerent to be murdered as though he had not been anointed with Oil. A wonderful and horrible Sin was this Day committed in the Land, overpassing the Deeds of the Wicked; a Sin that no Nation, no People ever committed, and such as the Sun never saw, since it withdrew its Light at the Passion of thy dear Son our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Other Rebels have murdered Kings, but (as it was in itself a Deed of Darknes, so) they acted their Sin in Darknes, shunning the Light; but this Parricide was committed with a High Hand, presumptuously in the Sight of the Sun, and owned as an Act of Justice. The Cry of this innocent Blood of a righteous King, of our own King, a King too good for a wicked People, entred into thy Presence, and called loud unto thee for Vengeance upon this whole Nation: So that we might justly expect, that thou shouldst root us and our Posterity out of this Land, which is made an Abomination, stained and polluted with the Blood of thine anointed Servant and Martyr. But thou who art the Judge of all the Earth, will not destroy the Innocent with the Guilty; for though our Sins are many and grievous, yet in our Tears we will wash our Hands from this heinous Sin. And therefore when thou shalt make Inquisition for Blood, lay not (we beseech thee) this Blood to our Charge. Be merciful, O Lord, be merciful to thy People, whom thou hast redeemed, and let not this innocent Blood be required either of us or our Posterity; for we from our Hearts detest this *damnable Parricide*, and from our Souls renounce this abhorred Murder of thine anointed Servant, our late Sovereign King *Charles*.

Deal not therefore with us, O thou Preserver of Men, in thy Wrath and Indignation, but as thou hast already had Mercy upon us (notwithstanding this great Abomination) so we beseech thee to continue thy Mercy on these three Kingdoms, now happily again united under one Head, the excellent Son of that glorious Father. As thou hast now pleaded his Cause and asserted his Right, so stablish him we beseech thee in it, and turn the People wholly and heartily unto him. Double the Gifts and Graces of his Father upon him, as thou didst the Spirit of *Elijah* upon *Elisba*; cloath him with Majesty and Power, that he may restore the daily Sacrifice, thy publick Worship and Service. Hasten, O Lord, by him to return unto us Peace and Righteousness, Truth and Equity. Let them kiss each other under his Government. O Lord, let the Wickedness of the Wicked come to an End! But guide thou the Just. Look down, O Lord, from Heaven, and behold from the Habitation of thy Holiness and of thy Glory; Restrain not (we beseech thee) the Soundings of thy Bowels and of thy Mercies towards us. Hear us, O Lord! Thou King of Heaven, when we call upon thee, and grant our Requests, and that for *Jesus Christ's* Sake our only Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

At the End of the Litany is the first Collect at Morning Prayer (in our present Office) O most mighty God, terrible in thy Judgments &c. with some Variations. To which are added the following Words.

O Lord God, who out of thine infinite Mercy and Goodness hast brought back the Captivity of *Sion*, and in good Part restored this late afflicted Church, perfect (we beseech thee) this thy great Deliverance. Hedge it about with thy continual Protection, with the Custody of Angels, with the Patronage of Kings and Princes, with the Hearts
and

and Hands of Nobles, with the Defence of the whole secular Arm, and with the Affections of all good People. Reunite all our remaining Divisions, reconcile our Differences, and change all our Spirits into a sweet Christian Temper of Gentleness and Peace, that with one Heart and Voice we may serve and praise thee in thy holy Church, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, *Amen*.

Three Collects after the Litany in our present Office: And that after the Prayer for the Church militant, wanting in the first Office. In the second Service the Collect after the Prayer for the King is thus varied towards the End. Let his Memory, O Lord, be ever blessed among us, and his Example efficacious upon us, that we may follow him as he followed *Christ*. And O Lord, we beseech thee, let not his Blood outcry his Prayers, but let those that spilt the one obtain Benefit by the other; that by their Conviction and Repentance, his Innocency may receive the happiest Attestation, our Religion be vindicated from the Scandal of so horrid a Fact, our Nation secured from the Vengeance of that Blood, and thy Mercy glorified in the Conversion of so great Sinners. And all for *Jesus Christ* his Sake, *Amen*.

Evening Prayer.

Instead of the two first Collects in our present Office. Viz. O blessed Lord, who by thy Wisdom &c. (which is varied, and greatly enlarged) and blessed God just and powerful &c. are the two following ones.

The first Collect.

O Blessed Lord God, who by thy Wisdom guidest and orderest all Things most suitably to thy Justice, and performest thy Pleasure always in such Manner, that thou canst also appeal to us whether thy Ways be not equal; we thy poor wretched People fall down before thee, acknow-

ledging the Justice of thy Proceedings with us, and that the amazing Judgments which this Day beset us in permitting cruel Men, Sons of *Belial*, to execute the Fury of their Rebellion upon our late gracious Sovereign, and to imbrew their Hands in the Blood and Murder of the Lord's Anointed, was drawn down by the great and long Provocations of this Nation's Sins against thee. For all which and our own Parts, in which we sinful Wretches here met together desire to humble our selves before thee, and to tremble at thy Presence in this Day's sore Vengeance, the Effect as well as Desert of our Impieties, the Work of our own Hands upon ourselves, thy heavy Judgment, but our most horrid Sin. For which alone (did not Multitude of other Sins cry out against us) thou mightest justly descend down upon us all as thou didst on *Sodom*, and leave us no other Memorial than to be the frightful Monuments of thy Indignation and Fury to all Posterity. Gracious art thou, O Lord, and merciful, therefore it is that we are not consumed: O let thy long Suffering and Patience lead us to Repentance.

And now, Lord, looking on this particular signal Judgment as thy last Trump, warning us to flee from the Wrath to come; Wee come forth to meet thee our God, mourning in our Prayers before thee, and begging the Aversion of thy further Displeasure, and the withholding the Miseries due unto our Sins; for the all sufficient Merits of the Death and Sufferings of our blessed Saviour. O forgive our great and manifold Transgressions, and for his bloody Passion's Sake deliver this Nation from Blood-Guiltiness, that of this Day especially, O God of our Salvation. Let not our crying Sins intercept our Prayers or thy Blessings, but hear the Voice of our Tears, and hearing forgive us: And though thou sufferdest our Enemies to proceed to that high Pitch of

Violence

Violence against our late King, even to kill and take Possession of his Throne ; yet seeing thou hast now brought back his Son and set him on it, (for which we glorifie thy Goodness) let Peace and Happines be also to thy People under him.

But here, O Lord, we offer unto thee all possible Praise and Thanks for all the Glory of thy Grace which shined forth in thine Anointed, our late Sovereign, and that thou wert pleased to own him (this Day especially) in the Midst of his Enemies, and in the Hour of Death, and to endue him with such eminent Patience, Meekness, Humility and Charity, and all other *Christian* Virtues, according to the Example of thine own Son, suffering the Fury of his and thine Enemies for the Preservation of thy Church and People. And *we beseech thee to give us all Grace to remember and provide for our latter End, by a careful and studious Imitation of this thy blessed Saint and Martyr, and all other thy Saints and Martyrs that have gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive Benefit by their Prayers, which they in Communion with thy Church Catholick offer in Fight with, and Danger from the Flesh, that following the blessed Steps of their holy Lives and Deaths, we may shew forth the Light of a good Example: For the Glory of thy Name, the Conversion of our Enemies, and the Improvement of those Generations we shall shortly leave behind us; and then with all those that have born the Heat and Burden of the Day (thy Servant particularly whose Sufferings and Labours we this Day commemorate) receive the Reward of our Labours, the Harvest of our Hopes, even the Salvation of our Souls; and that for the Merits, and through the Mediation of thy Son our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.*

O Lord, this is a Day of Trouble, of Rebuke, and Blasphemy, a Day wherein a wonderful and horrible Thing was committed in our Land, the

most sacred and innocent Blood shed with more barbarous Aggravations, than we know how to parallel on this Side the Murder of thy dear Son. And because Sentence against this evil Work was not executed speedily, the Hearts of this People were wholly set in them to do Evil. This Respite which thou gavest us to work our Repentance hath served only to compleat our Sin, by adding an obstinate Impenitency to our former Guilt; and so fitting us for that final Excision which thou hast threatned to obdurate Sinners. And now (O Lord) this fearful Expectation of Judgment and fiery Indignation is all that remains unto us, who have thus despised the Riches of thy Mercy: Yet, O Lord, out of these Depths do we desire to call upon thee. Thou (O Lord) who breakest the Gates of Brass, and smitest the Bars of Iron in Sunder, be pleased to rend these unrelenting Hearts of ours to work in every one of us such a Sense of our horrid Abominations (especially that of this Day) as may cast us down in the lowest Degree of Humiliation and Contrition before thee, that so we may be capable of that Exaltation which thou hast promised to the Humble, that Comfort which thou hast assigned to Mourners, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

The Collect immediately before the Prayer of *St. Chrysostome* (*viz.* Almighty and Everlasting God, whose Righteousness, &c.) in our present Office, is not in the first.

N. p. 308. *The Works of the famous Mr. Milton, and J. Goodwin, writ in Defence of the Sentence of Death passed upon the late King, were called in by Proclamation; and upon the 27th of August (s) Milton's Defensio &c. were burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.* It

(s) *Milton's Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, was burnt at Paris, by Order of the Lieutenant Civil, and at Toulouse by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

It was ordered by *Proclamation*, (1) that these Books should be delivered to the *Mayor* or *Bailiffs* of every *Corporation*, or to some neighbouring *Justice of the Peace*, or to the *Vice-Chancellors* of the two *Universities*, and be delivered by them to the *Sheriffs* of the several *Counties*; and the *Sheriffs* required at the Time of holding the next *Assize*, to see them burnt by the Hands of the *Common Hangman*.

And how great soever this Indignity may appear to some Persons, yet ample Amends has been made to *Milton*, by the erecting of a Monument to his Memory in *Westminster Abbey*, by one ——— *Benson Esq;*

As to (u) *Goodwin*, he was not always consistent with himself, as appears from the following Passage. ‘As for offering Violence to the Person of a King, (says he) or attempting to take away his Life, we leave the Proof of the Lawfulness of this to those profound Disputers the *Jesuits*, who standing engaged by the Tenour of their professed Doctrine and Practice, either to make good the Lawfulness thereof, or else to leave themselves and their Religion an abhorring, and bissing unto the World. As for us, that never travelled with any Thoughts or Desires that Way, but abhor both Mother and Daughter, Doctrine and Practice together; we perceive it to be a just Prerogative to the Persons of Kings, in what Case soever, to be secure from the Violence of Men, and their Lives to be as consecrated Corn, meet to be reaped and ga-

Bireb's Life of Milton p. 29, *Milton* (as Mr. Long observes, compendious History of *Papish* and *Fanatical Plots* p. 9.) was by very many suspected to be a *Papist*; and if Dr. Oates may be believed, was a known Frequenter of the *Papish-Club*, though he were *Cromwell's Latin-Secretary*. And Mr. Walker (History of *Independency* Part 2. p. 199.) calls him a *Libertine*, who thinketh his Wife a *Manacle*, and his Garters to be *Shackles* and *Fetters* to him, one, that (after the *Independent Fashion*) will be tied to no Obligation to God or Man.

(1) *Proclamation. Mercurius Publicus* Num. 33. p. 533. penes me.

(u) *John Goodwin's Anticavalierism*, p. 7. penes me.

* thered only by God himself. *David's* Conscience
 * smote him, when he came but so near the Life
 * of a King, as the cutting off the Lap of his
 * Garment.

N. Ibid. *Milton had appeared so boldly, though with such Wit, and great Purity and Elegance of Style, upon the Argument of putting the King to Death, that it was thought a strange Omission not to except him out of the Act of Indemnity.*

And so indeed it was, he being the most pestilent Writer, that appeared at that Time in Defence of the *Regicides* (*Peyton* and *John Goodwin* excepted.)

A Writer of his Life pretends to account for it in the following Manner, (x) 'I have heard (says he) that Secretary *Morris* and Sir *Thomas Clarges* were his Friends, and managed Matters artfully in his Favour. Doubtless, they, or somebody else did; and they probably, as being very powerful Friends at that Time; but still how they came to put their Interest on such a Stretch, in Favour of a Man so notoriously obnoxious! perplexed and inquisitive as I was, (y) I at length found the Secret. It was Sir *William Davenant* obtained his *Remission* in Return to his own Life procured by *Milton's* Interest, when himself was under Condemnation 1650. A Life was owing to *Milton* (*Davenant's*) and it was paid (z) nobly, *Milton's* for *Davenant's*, at *Davenant's* Intercession. The Management of the Affair in the House of Commons, whether by

(x) Mr. *Richardson's* Life of *Milton* p. 86. &c. as quoted by Mr. *Birch* in his Life of *Milton* prefixed to the late Edition of his Works 1738. p. 36. In this Life by Mr. *Birch*, the Evidences for, and against the King's Right to the *ΕΙΛΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, are fairly stated.

(y) This Gentleman discovers great Joy at this trifling Incident, which it concerns no Body to know.

(z) Sir *W. Davenant's* Gratitude is to be commended, though the Cases are far from being parallel, Sir *W. Davenant* was condemned by a Pack of Blood-Hounds without Law; *Milton* had justly incurred a Forfeiture of his Life to the Law.

* signifying

signifying the King's Desire or otherwise, was perhaps by those Gentlemen named. This Account Mr. *Richardson* had from Mr. *Pope*, who was informed of it by Mr. *Thomas Betterton*, the celebrated Actor, who was first brought upon the Stage by Sir *William Davenant*.

Upon the Quaker's Declaration of the 21st Day of the eleventh Month, 1660, Mr. *Neal* informs us, p. 313. *That his Majesty promised them upon the Word of a King, that they should not suffer for their Opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his Promises were little regarded.*

This is but too common a Charge with him, against most of our *Monarchs*. *Sewell* (a Quaker) speaks more favourably. (a) 'The King about this Time (1660) shewed himself moderate; for being solicited by some, and more especially by *Margaret Fell*, he set at Liberty about seven hundred of the People called *Quakers*, who had been imprisoned under the Government of *Oli-ver* and *Richard Cromwell*.' Nay he observes farther, (b) 'that when some of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men* were put to Death, because of their Insurrection, they did the *Quakers* so called that Right, that they cleared them openly from having a Hand in or Knowledge of the Plot: This and other Evidences caused the King, being continually importuned thereto, to issue forth a Declaration, *that the Quakers should be set at Liberty without paying Fees.*

Speaking of *Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, with a Passage or two cited from it; he says,

N. p. 317. *That if the Doctor had kept to these Principles, he could hardly have subscribed the Act of Uniformity next Year, much less have writ so fiercely against the Dissenters as he did twenty Years after.*

(a) *Sewell's History of the People called Quakers.* p. 259.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 261.

If Mr. Neal would allow a Man to retract his Mistakes upon discovering them, he would not find Fault with Bishop *Stillingfleet*, who (in the Preface to his *Unreasonableness of Separation*) gives this Answer to one that upbraided him with his *Irenicum*. (c) ‘ If any Thing in the following Treatise
 ‘ be found different from the Sense of that Book, I
 ‘ intreat them to allow me that, which I heartily
 ‘ wish to them, that in *twenty Years Time* we may
 ‘ arrive to such Maturity of Thoughts, as to see
 ‘ Reason to change our Opinion of some Things,
 ‘ and I wish I had not Cause to add, of some
 ‘ Persons too.

N. Ibid. *This Year*, 1661, began with new Scenes of Pleasure and Diversion occasioned by the King’s Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which was consummated April 30. The Match was promoted by General Monk, and Lord Clarendon, if according to the Oxford Historian, the last was not the first Mover of it.

Mr. Neal antedates this Marriage somewhat above a Year, (d) ‘ The King met her at *Portsmouth* the 21st of May 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Bishop of London.

As to the Part that Lord *Clarendon* bore in this Match, Mr. *Ecbard* gives the following Account.

(e) ‘ One considerable Obstacle (says he) was
 ‘ the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, without whose
 ‘ Knowledge this Treaty was begun, and without
 ‘ his Approbation it was concluded ; therefore he

(c) Bishop *Stillingfleet*’s Works Vol. 2. p. 462.

(d) *Ecbard*’s History of England Vol. 3. p. 84. Bishop Kennet observes, (Complete History of England Vol. 3. p. 254. See likewise Mr. *Carter*’s Hist. of the Life of *James*, 1st Duke of *Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 256. and Mr. *Salmon*’s History of England Vol. 7. p. 259) that she embarked under the Conduct of the Earl of *Sandwich* April 23. 1662. and landed May 14. four or five Days before the Parliament broke up.

(e) *Ecbard* Vol. Ibid. p. 83. See Dr. *Colbatch*’s Examination of the late Archdeacon *Ecbard*’s Account of the Marriage Treaty &c. addressed to the right Honourable *George Granville Lord Lansdown*, Cambridge 1733. Bishop Kennet Vol. 3. p. 255. *Carter*’s Life of the D. of *Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 256.

endeavoured

endeavoured to overthrow it while it continued in any Ballance. It is true, he did for some Time come into the general Measures then on Foot, till he made some Discoveries of the probable Consequences of the Marriage. Therefore upon one Sunday he begged of his Majesty to call a secret or Cabinet-Council in the Red-Chamber at *Whitehall*, to which the King immediately consented. At this Council by the Chancellor's Management, none were present but the King himself, the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer *Southampton*, and the Duke of *Ormonde*. The Chancellor having acquainted the King with the Occasion of having desired this private Meeting, said, that he had hitherto in Obedience to his Majesty's Orders, chearfully gone on with the Marriage Treaty, without regarding what the *Spanish* Embassador had to object against it, which he considered as coming from an Enemy; but that now he had certain Information, that this Match (if concluded) would bring such a Calamity upon this Nation, as he was sure his Majesty would prevent if it were possible. (f) For he had now undoubted Proofs that the Infanta of *Portugal* was not capable of

(f) 'Whoever (says Mr. Salmon, History of England. Vol. 7. p. 242.) moved the thing, it is evident that the King had the unanimous Advice of his Privy Council, and the two Houses of Parliament, before he ratified the Contract, notwithstanding it was so heavily censured afterwards, on Account of the Queen's having no Children.

Monday 13 May 1661 Sir *Heneage Finch* reports from the Lords a Vote and Resolution which their Lordships had passed, to which they desired the Concurrence of this House, and it is as followeth.

"We the Lords and Commons do humbly tender our Acknowledgements and Thanks unto your Majesty, for that free and gracious Communication of your Resolution to marry with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which we conceive to be of so high Concernment to this Nation, as that we receive it with great Joy and Satisfaction, and do with all Earnestness beg a Blessing upon, and a speedy Accomplishment of it; and we cannot but express our own unanimous Resolutions, (which we are confident will have a general Influence upon the Hearts of all your Subjects:) That we shall upon all Occasions be ready to assist your Majesty in the Pursuance of those your Intentions against all Oppositions whatsoever.

[A true Collection of Messages and Addresses from the House of Commons &c. 1680, p. 1. penes me.]

having

• having Children. He then produced a List of six
 • Princesses all Protestants; out of which his Ma-
 • jesty might choose a fit and proper Wife. But the
 • King frowning and swelling, answered, *that this*
 • *was all a Lie of the Spanish Ambassador's*; adding,
 • My Lord, I command you to go on with this
 • Treaty, and so the Meeting broke up. This
 • Incapacity of having Children was publicly
 • talked of among the *English* Merchants at *Lif-*
 • *bon*, before the Princess left that Place, and
 • they remonstrated the same to the Earl of *Sand-*
 • *wich*, when he came to bring her to *England*:
 • Of this Incapacity Sir *Robert Southwell* was fully
 • assured afterwards by the Dutchess of *Guadilou-*
 • *pa*, at *Madrid*, a Lady, who had been acquainted
 • with her from her Infancy, and in her Nursery.
 • But this is not to be imputed either to her
 • (g) Age, or her Country, but to some peculiar
 • Infirmities of Body; and it is manifest from
 • some Ladies about her, that she was in a Child-
 • bearing Condition, till after the (b) King's Death,
 • which was 22 Years after her Marriage.'

N. p. 318. *It was reckoned very odd, that a*
Protestant Chancellor should advise the King to a

(g) • Queen *Katharine* (says the Writer of Lord *Clarendon's* Life: *Lives*
 • of Lord Chancellors. p. 157.) was much about three and twenty Years and
 • a half, when the Match was consummated, being born 14 Nov. 1638;
 • and the Royal Nuptials celebrated on the 21st of May 1662. As for Ex-
 • amples of this Kind, (viz. that the Women of *Portugal* were capable of
 • bearing Children after that Age) they are innumerable. Her own Mother
 • the Dutchess of *Braganza*, was older than she at the Time she was delivered
 • of her: *Ann* of *Austria* eldest Daughter to *Philip* the third of *Spain*;
 • (the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Women being much of the same Constitution,
 • as well as of the same Climate) had been married within a few Months as
 • many Years as Queen *Katharine* was old when married, before she had
 • *Lewis* the Fourteenth the *French* King, her first-born, and yet she was
 • at or very near Maturity when she married *Lewis* 13. Bishop *Burnet* says
 • (Hist. of his own time Vol. 1. p. 174.) that the King himself told him,
 • she had been with Child; and Dr. *Willis* the great Physician told Dr.
 • *Lloyd*, from whom he had it, that she had once miscarried of a Child;
 • which was so far advanced, that if it had been carefully looked to, the Sex
 • might have been distinguished.

(b) *Carte's* Life of the Duke of *Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 253.

See the King's Account of her (to Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*) upon the first
 Interview at *Portsmouth*. Appendix. No. 91.

Popish

Popish Princess, when the Catholic King proposed at the same Time a Protestant Consort.

This has been already disproved from Lord Clarendon's Advice, mentioned by Mr. Echard. The Spanish Ambassador first proposed one of the Princesses of *Parma*. 'To which the King was once inclined: But the Queen-Mother's Inclinations, and his strong Inclination to a perfect Friendship and Union with the King of *France*, made him alter his Mind, and resolve upon the *Portugal* Alliance; and after this, the Spanish Ambassador, to support his Cause with Reasons of State, which made it impolitick for his Majesty to marry a *Roman Catholick*, proposed to his Majesty, that he would marry either the Princess of *Denmark*, who was a very fine Woman, or the Princess of *Saxony* whose Beauty was celebrated all over *Europe*, and whose Understanding at nineteen and other rare Qualities made her universally admired: Offering with either of them the same Fortune as was offered with any one of the Princesses of *Parma*, that the Catholick King should adopt her as a Daughter of *Spain*, and give her the same Fortune as has been given with the Queen of *France*; would enter into a strict Alliance with *England*, and to remove all Occasions of Jealousy, should purchase of him *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*.' And that the King was not averse to the Marriage of a Protestant Princess, appears from the great Regard he had to the Princess *Henrietta*, Daughter to *Henry Frederick de Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*. (i) For conceiving a great Kindness for her (from the Opportunities he had of conversing with her at *Breda*, when he visited the Princess Royal his Sister there) entertained Thoughts of Marriage: She was as much inclined to be a Queen, and the King at this Time sent the Marquis of

(i) Carte's Life of James the first Duke of Ormonds. Vol. 2. p. 182.

* Ormonde to make the Proposition to the old
 * Princess Dowager of Orange; but it was civilly
 * declined (k). She, who saw little Hopes of his
 * Majesty's Change of Fortune, excusing the
 * Matter by Reason of her being wholly under the
 * Protection of the *States General*; and that all
 * Things of that public and Important Nature,
 * must be first moved to them, and not be pro-
 * ceeded in without their Approbation and Di-
 * rection.*

N. p. 318. *His Lordship had further Views:*
For it was generally talked amongst the Merchants
that the Infanta could have no Children, in which
Case, the Chancellor's Daughter, who had been pri-
vately married to the King's Brother must succeed,
and her Issue by the Duke of York fill the Throne,
which happened accordingly in the Persons of Queen
Mary II, and Queen Anne, such were the aspiring
Views of this great Man, which together with his
haughty Behaviour towards his Inferiors proved his
Ruine.

(l) * The Grounds of charging it upon Lord
 * Clarendon (says Mr. Carte) seem to be his great
 * Credit with the King, so that he seemed at that
 * Time to be a Kind of *First Minister* (to
 * whom Foreigners at least will ascribe every
 * Step that is taken by a Prince in public Affairs)
 * and the Malignity of certain People, who, ei-
 * ther distasted at some Effects of his Zeal for
 * the Church of *England*, or imagining that there
 * must be a selfish Reason for the Actions of Po-
 * liticians in every Part of their Conduct, have
 * endeavoured to hurt his Character by this

(A) This politick Princess was no great Friend to the Royal House of Stuart.
 If what *Aitzema* (in his notable *Revolutions of the United Provinces* printed
 1653. p. 368.) relates, be true: 'That the Princess Royal would gladly
 * have named her Son, *Charles William*, (instead of *William Henry*) but that
 * the Grandmother opposed it with that Eagerness, that she said, "if they
 * will call him *Charles*, I will not go along to see him christened."

(I) *Hist. of the Life of James first Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p. 250.

Charge. (m) But his confessed *Probity* and Love of his Country, in which few Ministers have ever exceeded him, are sufficient to correct the Conjectures of this latter Party of his Accusers; and the rather because it doth not appear, that at the Time when the *Portugal* Match was first proposed and entertained, *he so much as knew of his Daughter's Engagements with the Duke of York*; which, being soon after made publick, caused in him a great Surprise, attended with some vehement Expressions of his utter Dislike of that Affair, which otherwise would not have dropped from him, though he was too wise a Man not to see plainly, that Alliance with the Royal Family would bring upon him the Envy of the World, and give Credit and Strength to the Malice and Suggestions of his Enemies. And whatever Share in public Affairs, or Appearance of Power he then had at Court, yet it is seen on many Occasions, that the Favourite often gets the better of the Minister, and that there are private Reasons sometimes for a Prince's Conduct, which he does not care his Minister should know, and which all the Letters, Credit and Reasoning upon the general State of Affairs, without touching upon the secreted particular Motive, are not able to over-rule.

N. p. 318. *The Convention Parliament being dissolved, a new one was summoned to meet May the 8th. The House of Commons were made up of Representatives agreeable to the Wishes of the Courtiers, who had taken Care to recommend such Per-*

(m) A Writer, (Roger Coke Esq;) who was no great Friend to Courtiers, endeavours to justify Lord Clarendon in this particular. 'It is true (says he) I cannot prove negatively that my Lord Chancellor did not first propound the King's Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. Yet it seems to me reasonable that he did not for these Reasons, I never heard any Discourse of the Match before the Arrival of the Queen Mother in England; or if any were it is probable, that Monsieur Courtin had this in his Instructions as well as that of moving the King not to abandon Portugal. For both these tend to the same End. (Bishop Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 255.)

sons for Members as were zealous Enemies to the Presbyterians, and followed the Principles of Archbishop Laud; many of them had their Estates impaired in the late Wars, and having now their Fortunes to make, became Tools of doing infinite Mischief to the Nation. The Court kept above one hundred of them in constant Pay, who went by the Name of the Club-Voters, and had large Sums out of the Exchequer, till they had almost subverted the Constitution.

Mr. Echard observes, (n) ' that in the main and
' in general, this Parliament must be said to have
' been excellently well and wisely chosen, for the
' good and peaceable Establishment of the public Affairs: The House of Commons consisting
' of the most considerable and eminent Persons
' for Birth, Estates, Knowledge, and Experience,
' that were to be found in three Kingdoms; tho'
' by Length of Time, Changes upon Deaths, and
' other Accidents, several of the Members were
' thought to be too liable to Impressions from a
' degenerate and corrupted Court, for which
' Reason some afterwards gave it the opprobrious
' Name of the *Pensionary Parliament*, (o) a
' Name (says he elsewhere) much more easy to invent than to make out; especially if they are
' to be judged by their outward Actions. They
' had indeed been so vigorous against two opposite Parties, that seemed to threaten the Peace
' of the Nation, that it is no Wonder if each of
' them in their Turns, should be so ready to
' charge them with Corruption and Bribery. But
' the Knowledge as well as the Opinions of Sir
' William Temple, and the late Duke of Leeds are
' more to be regarded than a Multitude of private Conjectures. The former acknowledges

(n) Echard Vol. 3. p. 50.

(o) Echard's Introduction to (an intended) 4th Volume of the History of England Folio. p. 11. *per me.*

• buying

buying off of Persons had been practised the last
 six Years; and this Custom was introduced by
 the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, when they had sat
 near twelve Years without any Signs of Tempta-
 tion. But still he observes, that this was never
 sufficient to obtain a Majority; and in those
 Times, there were many noble Instances of Men
 rejecting the largest Offers without the least
 Hesitation. The Duke of *Leeds*, who knew
 as much as any Man, does not only declare this
 not to be a *Pensionary Parliament*, but likewise
 gives such convincing Reasons for it as seem
 unanswerable. However this is observable, that
 during the Time they were under the least
 Temptations of bribing, they were the most
 loyal and complying with the Court; but when
 they were under the greatest, they were the most
 opposite and contradictory: In the former
 Time they were ready to give Money by Mil-
 lions, in the latter they would scarce do it by
 thousands. And it is further observable, as
 what they did in the beginning was without
 the Influence of the Court, so the two Things
 which caused the greatest Complaint, the Laws
 against *Dissenters*, and those against *Resistance*,
 were all transacted according to their own In-
 clinations. The former was against the King's
 private Will and Desires; and the latter not
 very agreeable to the Minds of the three
 great Ministers, *Clarendon*, *Ormonde*, and
Southampton, who were ever ready to check
 the Forwardness of some, who were desirous
 to overload the Crown with *Prerogative* and
Revenue. In Sum, they made as wise, and as
 good Laws as any of their Predecessors, particu-
 larly that for *settling Intestates Estates*, and that
 against *Frauds* and *Perjuries*. They disabled
 the Enemies of the Government the *Papists*,
 and laid the Foundation for that noble Act, for

the Liberties of the People, that for *Habeas Corpus*. And if the King had shewn as much Steadiness in his Government at home, and as much Zeal for his Honour abroad as they did, they would not have parted so abruptly, but might have continued on to the general Good of the Nation, and perhaps without giving new Pain to any Party.

Mr. Neal, p. 325, says, *twelve Bishops were appointed to review the Common Prayer, amongst whom be reckoned Dr. Henry King Bishop of Chichester. Dr. Nichols indeed makes them twelve, but has left out the Bishop of Chichester, and named Edward Bishop of Norwich. Bishop Kennet (Register p. 398.) names thirteen Bishops, amongst whom are the Bishops of Chichester and Norwich.*

N. p. 338. *The Review of the Common Prayer Book took up the Convocation about a Month.—— The Alterations were these. 1. The Rubrick for singing of Lessons &c. was omitted, the distinct reading of them being thought more proper.*

The Words of the Rubrick in King James's Review.

“ Then shall bee read two Lessons distinctly
 “ with a loud Voice, that the People may hear.
 “ The first of the Old Testament, the second of
 “ the New, like as they be appointed in the *Kalender*, except there be proper Lessons assigned
 “ for that Day. The Minister that readeth the
 “ Lesson standing and turning him so, that hee
 “ may best be heard of all such as be present.
 “ And before every Lesson the Minister shall say
 “ thus, the first, second, third or fourth Chapter
 “ of *Genesis*, or *Exodus*, *Matthew*, *Mark*, or
 “ other like as is appointed in the *Kalender*. And
 “ in the End of every Chapter he shall say, heere
 “ endeth such a Chapter of such a Booke.

“ And to the End the People may the better
 “ heare; in such Places where they doe sing,
 “ there

“ there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain Tune
 “ after the Manner of distinct Reading, and like-
 “ wise the Epistle and Gospel.

N. p. 340. *Communicants at the Lord's Supper were enjoined to signify their Names to the Curate some Time the Day before.*

In King Edward's first Liturgy and Review, Queen Elizabeth's Review, and King James's, is the following Order, “ So many as intende to bee
 “ Partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify
 “ their Names to the Curate over Night, or els
 “ in the Morning, afore the Beginning of Mat-
 “ tins, or immediately after.

N. p. 340. 4. *The Preface to the Ten Commandments was restored.*

So indeed says Bishop Kennet (Register. p. 585.) But they are both mistaken. The Commandments were not in King Edward's first Liturgy; but in King Edward's Review 1552. Queen Elizabeth's and King James's are the following Words.
 “ Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the
 “ Ten Commaundements; and the People still
 “ kneeling, shall after everye Commaundements
 “ aske God's Mercy for their Transgression of
 “ the same after this Sorte.

“ Minister,

“ God spake these Woordes and sayde: *I am*
 “ *the Lorde thy God, Thou shalt have none other*
 “ *Goddess but me.*”

In the last Review.

“ Then shall the Priest turning to the People,
 “ rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments;
 “ and the People still kneeling shall after every
 “ Commandment ask God Mercy for their Tran-
 “ gression thereof for the Time past, and Grace
 “ to keepe the same for the Time to come as fol-
 “ loweth: Minister. *God spake these Words &c.*

N. p. 342. *There were several additional Forms of Prayer, as for the Thirtieth of January, and the*

Twenty ninth of May. Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, and a new Office for the Administration of Baptism to grown Persons.

And besides these the following Prayers were added. The Prayer for the (p) *High Court of Parliament: the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving.*

(p) The Prayer for the high Court of Parliament was not inserted in the Publick Liturgy before this Review, though I find one like it in some occasional Offices: Viz. *In a Form of Common Prayer, together with an Order of fasting for averting of God's heavy Visitation upon many Places of this Kingdom, and for the drawing down of his Blessings upon us, and our Armies by Sea and Land. To be read every Wednesday during the Visitation. Set forth by his Majesty's Authority. Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. Anno 1625. And in a Form of Prayer necessary to be used in the dangerous Time of Warre. Wherein was appointed a Fast, according to his Majesty's Proclamation for the Preservation of his Majesty and his Realms, and all reformed Churches, London printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most excellent Majesty 1628.*

In the Office 1625. is *A Prayer for the high Court of Parliament to be read during their Session, in such Place of these Prayers, after the Litanie, as the Minister shall thinke fit.*

"Most gracious God, we humbly beseech thee as for this Kingdom in general, so especially for the high Court of Parliament under our most Religious and Gracious King at this Time assembled: That thou wouldst be pleased to bless and direct all their Consultations to the Preservation of thy Glory, the Good of thy Church, the Safety Honour and Welfare of our Sovereign and his Kingdomes. Looke upon the Humility and Devotion with which they are come into thy Courts; and they are come into thy House with assured Confidence upon the Merits and Mercies of Christ (our Blessed Saviour) that thou wilt not deny them the Grace and Favour which they beg of thee. Therefore, O Lord, bless them with all that Wisdom which thou knowest necessary to speed and bring great Designs into Action, and to make the Maturity of his Majesty's and their Counsels the Happiness and Blessing of his Commonwealth. These and all other Necessarys for them &c. as in our present Liturgy."

It is probable that this Expression, *Religious King*, was now first inserted, and that very properly (in the Beginning of King Charles the first's Reign) but with what Propriety it was adopted into our *Liturgy* in the Review in the Reign of King Charles the 2d. I am at a loss to understand, unless applied to him, as *Defender of the Faith*. The King, it is well known, was not over religious: Nor was his Court too much so, which occasioned that notable Gird upon it, by James the first Duke of Ormonde (See his Life by Mr. Carte Vol. 2. p. 443.) "Who when Colonel Carey Dillon, afterwards Earl of Roscommon, (to whom the Duke, when in Power, had been very kind) came to him whilst he was in Disgrace, and pressed him to use his Interest in a Suit he had to the King, to secure the Benefit of a former Grant. To engage him more earnestly in his Service he told him, "That he had no Friend at Court but God and his Grace." "Alas poor Carey (replied the Duke) Pity thee, thou couldst not have two Friends, that have less Interest at Court, or less Respect shown them there."

N. p. 342. *Some new Corrections were made in the Kalendar, some new Holydays were added, as the Conversion of St. Paul and St. Barnabas.*

These two Holydays were not added to the Kalendar at that Time. For they stand in the Kalendar of King Edward VI's first Liturgy, printed by *Whitchurch* 1549. (*penes me.*) in King Edward's Review 1552, by *Whitchurch* (*penes me.*) In Queen Elizabeth's Review printed by *Barker* 4to. 1601 (*penes me.*) In King James's Review 4to. by *Rob. Barker.* 1609 (*penes me.*) And in the *Scotch Liturgy* printed at *Edinburgh* folio, by *Robert Young* 1637. (*penes me.*) In all which Liturgies, there is a distinct Collect, Epistle and Gospel for each Day. Had Mr. Neal only asserted, that these two Holydays were not appointed by Act of Parliament till King Charles the Second's Reign, he had not been guilty of a Mistake.

N. Ibid. *These were all the Concessions the Convocation would admit.*

There is one Alteration not mentioned by Mr. Neal. In the second Collect in the *Visitation of the Sick* are these Words (which were in King Edward's Review, Queen Elizabeth's, and King James's) which are left out in the last Review. (q) *Visite him O Lorde as thou didst visite Peter's Wive's Mother, and the Captain's Servant.*

Mr. Neal, speaking of the *Scotch Bishops* then promoted, says, p. 345. (from Bishop *Burnet*) *That there was a very bad Choice,—— Fairfoul was next akin to a Natural.—— Hamilton's Life was scarce free from Scandal; he had sworn to the Covenant, and that when one objected to him, that it went against his Conscience, he said,*

(q) In *Edward the sixth's Liturgy* 1549. the Words run thus. "Visite hym O Lorde; as thou diddest visite Peter's Wive's Mother, and the Capitaines seruaut. And as thou preservedest *Tobbie* and *Sara* by thy Aungel from Daunger. So restore unto this sicke Person his former Helth (if it be thy will) or else geue him Grace so to take thy Correction: That after this painfull Lyfe ended, he may dwell with thee in Lyfe everlasting, Amen."

Such Medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.

Here Mr. Neal has strangely confounded two Characters, and what Bishop Burnet has applied to Bishop Fairfoul he applies to Bishop Hamilton. (r) 'Two Men (says he) were brought to be consecrated in England, Fairfoul designed for the See of Glasgow, and Hamilton Brother to the Lord Belhaven to Galloway. The former of these was a pleasant facetious Man, insinuating and crafty; but he was a better Physician than Divine, *his Life was scarce free from Scandal, and he was eminent in nothing belonging to his Function. He had not only sworn the Covenant, but had persuaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went against his Conscience, he answered, there were some very good Medicines, that could not be chewed, but must be swallowed down &c.* Hamilton was a goodnatured Man but weak, he was always believed Episcopal, yet he had so far complied in the Time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar Expression of his counterfeit Zeal for their Cause, to secure himself from Suspicion. When he gave the Sacrament, he excommunicated all who were not true to the Covenant, using a Form in the Old Testament of shaking out of the Lap of his Gown, saying, so did he cast out of the Church and Communion all that dealt falsely with the Covenant.'

N. Ibid. Bishop Burnet who saw him (viz. Mr. James Guthrie) suffer, says that he expressed a Contempt of Death: That he spoke an Hour upon the Ladder with the Composedness of a Man that was delivering a Sermon.

It is true Bishop Burnet does say so, (Hist. of his own Time Vol. 1. p. 127.) and yet but two Pages before (p. 125.) he says, 'he spoke for half

(r) Hist. of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 133, 134.

' an

‘ an Hour with great Appearance of Serenity.’ So consistent was this great Man with himself in the Compass of two Pages.

N. p. 347. *The People had such a vast Degree of Knowledge, that the poor Cottagers could pray extempore.*

And Bishop Burnet adds, (s) ‘ I have often heard them at it ; and though there was a large Mixture of odd Stuff, yet I have been astonished to hear how copious and ready they were at it.

N. Ibid. *But for all this (viz. the pompous Character before given of their Teachers) they had but a narrow Compass of Learning, were very much affected in their Deportment, and were apt in their Sermons to make themselves popular, by preaching against the Sins of Princes and Courts, which the People delighted to hear because they had no Share in them.*

He has curtailed Bishop Burnet’s Words very much. (t) ‘ These Things, says he, had a grave Appearance, their Faults and Defects were not so conspicuous. They had a very scanty Measure of Learning, and a narrow Compass in it. They were little Men of a very indifferent Size of Capacity, and apt to fly out into great Excess of Passion and Indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn upon and flatter their Admirers. They were affected in their Deportment, and very apt to censure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatsoever they heard to their Prejudice, and they were superstitious and haughty. In their Sermons they were apt to enlarge on the State of the present Time, and to preach against the Sins of Princes and Courts. A Topick that naturally makes Men popular. It has an Appearance of Courage ; and the People are glad to hear those Sins insisted on, in which they per-

(s) Ibid. p. 156.

(t) Burnet. Ibid. p. 157.

* ceive they have no Share, and to believe that all
 * the Judgments of God come down by the Means
 * and Procurement of other Men's Sins. But their
 * Opinions about the Independencie of the Church
 * and Clergy on the Civil Power, and their Rea-
 * diness to stir up the People to Tumults and
 * Wars, was that which begot so ill an Opinion of
 * them at this Time in all Men, that very few, who
 * were not deeply engaged with them in these
 * Conceits, pitied them much under all the ill
 * Usage they now met with.

And is not Mr. Neal after all an excellent Re-
 tailer of History, who often takes the Liberty of
 cooking up Characters just to his own Taste?

Bishop Burnet observes in another Place, what
 is not much to the Credit of the Scots Presbytery.
 * (u) * That the Defence which Gutbry made sig-
 * nified Nothing to justify himself, but laid a great
 * Load on Presbytery; since he had made it out
 * beyond all Dispute, that he had acted upon their
 * Principles, which made them the more odious;
 * as having among them some of the worst Max-
 * ims of the Church of Rome, that in particular
 * to make the Pulpit a privileged Place, in
 * which a Man might safely vent Treason, and
 * be secure in doing it; if the Church Judicatory
 * should agree to acquit him. So upon this Occa-
 * sion great Advantage was taken, to shew how
 * near the Spirit that had reigned in Presbytery
 * came up to Popery.

N. p. 348. *The French Ministers, who had been
 Tools to persuade the English Presbyterians to restore
 the King without a Treaty, went along with the Tor-
 rent, and complimented the Church of England upon
 her Re-establishment.*

I find that the *English Presbyterians*, according
 to Mr. Neal, did not heartily come into the Resto-
 ration of the King, till persuaded to it by others.

(u) Burnet *Ibid.* p. 126.

Though, if I remember right, he has made Mention of their Zeal towards the King's Restoration elsewhere. So apt are we to forget our selves, when some darling *Hypothesis* is contradicted, which we have much at Heart; and to reflect, when the least Opposition is given to it from any Quarter. And the *French Ministers*, because they persuaded the *English Presbyterians* to do no more than their Duty, are represented by Mr. Neal as *Tools*.

N. p. 351. Towards the latter End of this Year, the Court and Bishops, not content with their Triumphs over the living Presbyterians, descended into the Grave, and dug up the Bodies of those that had been buried in Westminster Abbey in the late Times (x), lest their Dust should one Time or other mix with the Loyalists; for besides the Bodies of Cromwell, and others already mentioned, his Majesty's Warrant to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the Bodies of such Persons as had been unwarrantably buried in the Chappel of

(x) These Gentlemen have been more than once reflected on, for permitting all Sorts of People promiscuously to be buried in the Abbey of Westminster. And among the rest a *Modern Poet* has girded them severely in the following Lines.

'Tis charming reading in *Opbelia's* Life
So oft a Mother, and not once a Wife:
She could with just Propriety behave,
Alive with Peers, with Monarchs in her Grave.
Her Lot how oft have Envious Harlots wept,
By Prebends bury'd, and by Generals kept.

[Mrs Oldfield]

The Man of Taste. London printed 1733, p. 9.

I cannot think that the mixing of the Ashes of Regicides, Rebels, and Traytors, with those of the Kings and Queens of England was right, though I am far from carrying the Doctrine of Antipathies to that Height, that the learned Salmuth does, in his Notes upon *Pantirellus*. Who informs us, 'that if a Drum be headed at one End with the Skin of a Wolf, and the other covered with a Sheep's-Skin, if you beat the Wolf's Skin, the Sheep's Skin end will burst. Nay he tells us, that the Antipathy extends farther, (as if the Fear and Enmity between these two Creatures subsisted after Death) That if two distinct Drums are covered, the one with a Wolf's Skin, the other with a Sheep's, let them both be beat at once, and that covered with Sheep's Skin shall not sound.'

Illud non immerito mirari possis, quod si altera pars Tympani Lupina, altera Ovillâ pelle obducta fuerit: Tum pulso Tympano illico rumpatur Ovillâ. Et quid miris es, si duo fuerint Tympana, alterum Lupinâ Corio, & Ovillâ itidem obductum, Lupinâ enim illo separatim percusso, Ovillum plaud obmutescere.
Pantirelli Rer. Memorabil. 4to, Par 1. p. 285.

King

King Henry VII's and in other Chappels and Places within the Collegiate Church of Westminster, since the Year 1641, and buried in the Church Yard adjacent.

Pray, good Sir, do not make too many Words about it. The Times seem to be much changed, and some (y) few Members (I hope the Number is but small) of the Chapter of *Westminster* (to use your own Words) seem to be of a *different Stamp*, and may possibly upon a favourable Representation, (*without a Royal Command to the contrary*) be disposed to restore the Ashes of your *Fanatical* Friends to their former *burying Places*, or to permit *Monuments*, at least, to be erected to their Memory. Time was, (if the *Tradition* is true) when the *Name* of the most *celebrated Poet*, that ever *England* bred, [*Milton*] would not be permitted to be set upon the Monument of a *Brother Poet*, in the Way of Comparison, because he was a *Republican*, and wicked Defender of *Regicides*. But now the Times are more equitable, and it is not thought a *Discredit* to erect a public Monument to a Man, whose Remains were confessedly entitled to a Monument indeed, but in a Place less *honourable* and less *sacred*.

But before Mr. *Neal* had made this Complaint, he should have been sure, that what he takes to have been *barbarous* with Regard to his Friends, had never been practised by any of his *Republican Heroes*. One remarkable Instance is given us by Mr. *Styrie* in the following Words.

(z) 'Upon the Dissolution of Monarchy upon the barbarous Violence used upon the Body of King Charles I, *Lambeth House* fell to the Lot

(y) I am far from a Design of reflecting upon that *Reverend and Learned Body* in general, tho' I cannot but think, those *Members* to blame who were immediately concerned in allowing such a *Monument* to be erected, when they had an absolute Power of hindering it.

(z) *Life of Archbishop Parker* by Mr. *Styrie* p. 499.

of Colonel (a) *Scot*, one of the *Regicides*, he
 thought to turn the Chapel into a Hall or
 Dancing Room. The venerable Monument (of
 Archbishop *Parker*) standing in the Way, it
 was totally demolished. And out of Hatred to
Episcopacy, and perhaps to Archbishop *Parker*
 himself, (who indeed was no Friend to *Puritans*,
 and foretold that which was then come to pass
 by their Means) they caused his Body to be dug
 up, the Lead that enclosed it they plucked off
 and sold, and the Bones they buried not in the
 Church or Church-Yard, (that was too great a
 Favour) but in a *stinking Dunghill*, where
 they remained till some Years after the Restora-
 tion of King *Charles II.* When Sir *William*
Dugdale the *Antiquary*, hearing by Chance of
 this Transaction, repaired to Archbishop *San-*
croft, and acquainted him with it. By whose
 Diligence, together with an Order from the
 Lords to search for these Bones, they were at
 last found, and decently repositied again, tho'
 not exactly in the Place where the Monument
 stood; over which are these Words engraven.

Corpus MATTHÆI Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit.

The said Archbishop caused also the same Mo-
 nument to be erected again to his Memory.
 Which now stands in the *Vestibulum* of the Cha-
 pel at the Right Hand against the Wall, with
 an Inscription of the said most Reverend Father's

(a) *Scot* the *Regicide* was executed at *Charing Cross* with *Harrison*, [Bishop
Kenne's Complete History Vol. 3. p. 242. *Ecchard's* Hist. Vol. 3. &c.] 'He
 was originally a Brewer's Clerk of *London*, who being transplanted to *Ayles-*
bury, grew up to the Stature of a *Solicitor*, or *Attorney*; a little sneaking
 Fellow, but a great Lover of Mischief, one of the King's Judges, and most
 impudently glorying: That when he was dead, he desired no other Tomb
 or Inscription than this. Here lieth Tho. Scot one of the late King's Tryers.
 [The Names of those Members who held Offices contrary to the self denying Or-
 dinance. p. 52. See Hist. of Independency Part 3. p. 37. Tryals of the *Regi-*
cides printed 1660. p. 86.]

own composing, as I have been told, fastened
in a brass Plate, as in the (b) Note.

The Persons whose Bodies were taken up, were
Oliver's Mother and Daughter *Claypole*, the cele-
brated (c) *Blake*, who was indeed deserving of
a much better Fate; that vile Incendiary, (or Pa-
triot, in the modern Style) *Mr. John Pym*, that
wicked Solicitor and Regicide *Dr. Dorislaus*, (d) *Sir*
William Constable, one of the Regicides, (e) *Colo-*
nel Edward Popham, one of their Admirals; *Wil-*

(b) *MATTHÆI Archiepiscopi Cœnotaphium.*

Corpus enim (ne nescias Lector)
In adyto hujus Sacelli olim ritè conditum,
A Seditiosis Perduellibus Anno 1648.
Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso Tumulo,
Eklogis Sepulchrali impie refixo,
Direptis nefariè Exuviis Plumbeis,
Spoliatum, Violatum, eliminatum;
Etiam sub Sturquilinio (probr scelus) abstrusum.
Rege demum (plaudente Cœlo & terrâ) redeunte,
Et decreto Baronum ANGLIÆ sedulo requisitum,
Et Sacello postliminiò redditum,
In Ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit.
Et Quiescat utinam,
Non nisi Tabâ ultimâ Sollicitandum.

Qui denuo desecraverit, Sacer esto.

(c) It is recorded, says *Mr. Salmon* (*History of England* Vol. 7. p. 165.)
infinitely to his (*Blake's*) Honour 'that though he had met with such a
' Series of Success, and taken such a Number of rich Prizes, he had not in-
' creased his paternal Estate (which was about 200*l. per annum*) five hundred
' Pounds in Value when he died.'

(d) ' *Sir William Constable*, (says *Mr. Heath*, *Chronicle* p. 373.) one of
' the King's Judges the last of his Name, which rots in his Dust, died now
' (1655) and was buried in the military way in *Henry* the seventh's Chappel,
' lighted into his Tomb with a terrible Fire in the opposite Town of *Lam-*
' *beth*.'

(e) ' *Popham* was the Man who, 4 June 1649, (*Walker's Hist. of Inde-*
' *pendency* Part 2. p. 175.) gave a dismal Relation to the High and Mighty
' *Estates* at *Whitehall*, of his ill Success in tampering with the Governour of
' *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, who (being honestier than the *Saints* expected) took a
' Sum of Money of him to betray the Town, Fort, and Ships in the Road;
' but when *Popham* came into the Road to take Possession of his new Pur-
' chase, gave him such a Gun-powder Welcome, that he lost most of his Men
' landed to take *Livory* and *Saïsin*, and diverse Ships: He was commanded to
' conceal this ill News, and to make a different Report to the *Plebeians* of
' the *Common House*, of his Success &c. Which occasioned an Order (the 15th
' of June) That for this remarkable additional Mercy bestowed upon them, in
' the prosperous Success given to their Fleet at Sea; Upon Thursday next—the
' Day set apart for Thanksgiving, their Ministers should praise God." " Lord
' (says *Mr. Walker*) since these *Audacious Saints* are so thankfull to thee,
' for one Beating, bestow many more Beatings upon them, for they stand
' in Need of all thy Corrections."

liam

William Stroud Esq; one of the five impeached Members; Colonel *Humphrey Mackworth*, a vile Rebel; *Dennis Bond*, a Regicide; *Thomas May Esq;* a Defender of Rebels; Colonel *Meldrum*, a rebellious Scot; Colonel *Boscawen*, a Rebel; Dr. *William Twisse*, and Mr. *Stephen Marshall*, and Mr. *William Strong*, some of them deserving a worse Fate under *Tyburn*; and None of them worthy of a more honourable Funeral, (*Cromwell's Mother*, Daughter, Admiral. *Blake*, and Dr. *Twisse* excepted.)

N. p. 356. To procure ready Money for these Extravagances, it was resolved to sell the Town of *Dunkirk* to the French for 500000 l. The Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* was the Projector of this vile Bargain, as it appears from the Letters of Count *D'Estrades*, published since his Death.

Had the Count *D'Estrades* declared positively that the Lord *Clarendon* had no Concern therein, it is probable that his Authority would have been rejected or passed over in Silence. But Lord *Clarendon* was a great Friend to *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*; and therefore Lord *Clarendon's* Character must at all Adventures be run down. Had he been a Retainer to *Cromwell*, or the *Rump*, then the finest Epithets probably would have been bestowed upon him; and Mr. *Neal* would have stretched his Invention for *Panegyrick* upon so laudable an Occasion. But pray, how does the Count *D'Estrades* prove the Lord *Clarendon's* Concern in the Sale of *Dunkirk*? Other Authors speak differently of this Matter. Bishop *Kennet* says, (f) 'that the Suspicion of his Corruption in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, though groundless, or at least uncertain or improbable, lost him many Friends, and gave his Enemies a great Advantage. A late Author, (*Roger Coke Esq;*) who seldom spared the Character of Courtiers, gives us his

(f) Complete History of England. Vol. 3. p. 255.

“ Opinion of the Matter. “ Here I take Leave,
 “ (says he) so well as I can, to vindicate the Me-
 “ mory of my Lord Chancellor *Hyde* from an
 “ Aspersions cast upon him, that he was the Adviser
 “ of giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*.— I was
 “ assured by a credible Person (though a Confi-
 “ dent of my Lord Chancellor’s) that he was so
 “ far from the advising the King to give up *Dun-*
 “ *kirk* to the *French*, that only he and my Lord
 “ Treasurer *Southampton* (upon whose Honour
 “ my Lord Chancellor relied more than any other)
 “ of all the Council, entred their Proteftations
 “ against it. The Truth of this may be resolved
 “ by inspecting the Privy-Council Books.

N. p. 358. *The Act of Uniformity* ——— had
 been in Convocation three or four Months, and was
 brought into Parliament with their Alterations and
 Amendments before Christmas. It was read the first
 Time in the House of Commons Jan. 14, and past
 after sundry Debates but by six Voices, Yea’s 186;
 No’s 180.

I am at a Loss to understand how the *Act of*
Uniformity could come into the Convocation and
 continue there (as Mr. Neal asserts) for three or
 four Months. The two Houses never send their
 Bills *thither* for their Perusal and Approbation. So
 that Mr. Neal’s Mistake must be owing (it is
 likely) to their Review of the *Common Prayer*. Nor
 do I find in Bishop Kennet’s Register p. 604 and
 637 the Places referred to by Mr. Neal, that it
 met with so much Difficulty in the *House of Com-*
mons, as to pass but by six Voices. The Bill was
 read the first Time in the House of Lords (not
 Commons) the 14th of *January* 1661. (g) *Hodie*
die (Die Martis 14 Januarii 1661) *prima Vice lecta*
est Billa. An Act for Uniformity of Public Prayers,
and Administration of Sacraments. The late learn-

(g) Bishop Kennet’s Register &c. p. 604. Marg. ‘ First reading of the Bill of
 Uniformity in this House of Lords. *Journal of the House of the Lords.*’
 ed

ed Bishop Kennet observes, (b) ' that the Commons brought in the Bill, and agreed to it with all imaginable Zeal and Affection, sent it up to the Lords, and seemed impatient of any Delay in the Dispatch of it: And therefore on Tuesday the 13th, they ordered that a Message be sent to the Lords to desire them to give Dispatch to the *Bill of Uniformity*. Which probably occasioned their reading it the next Day, as is before observed. Nor did the Revival of the *Liturgy* in Convocation, take them up above a Month. (i) Their Progress therein, (says the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *London*) and the several Steps of it will best appear by the Acts of Convocation now printed, from the 25th (k) Session (*Nov. 21. 1661.*) in which they received the King's Letter of Direction to enter upon the Review, to the 48th Session (*December 20. 1661.*) in which the Bishops and Clergy subscribed the Book.

N. Ibid. *The Lords would have exempted Schoolmasters, Tutors and those who had the Education of Youth.*—— But the Commons, being supported by the Court, would abate Nothing, nor consent to any Provision for such as should be ejected.

(l) ' The Reason of this Addition was, in extending it so far as *Schoolmasters*, in that the Commons observed, the Force of Education was great; so as the Commons thought, they ought to take Care for the Education of Youth. For so many of the Gentry and Nobility found

(b) *Complete History of England*. Vol. 3. p. 260.

(i) *Synod. Anglican.* p. 95. *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglican.* p. 314. Though this admirable Prelate has been libelled for this his excellent Account, and Defence of our Ecclesiastical Constitution, by the Title of Dr. *Codex*; and for the brave Stand he made in favour of *Revealed Religion*, has been dressed up like the *Primitive Martyrs*, in Order to be devoured by the *Infidel Tribe*; yet I am persuaded, his Memory will be held in the highest Honour, when the very Names of such wicked (but weak) Revilers, will be sunk in Oblivion.

(k) Every single Meeting in Convocation (I think) is called a Session.

(l) Bishop Kennet's Register. p. 677.

in the Long Parliament differing from the Church of England, did (as was conceived) arise from this Root. — (m) It was an Oversight in the Usurped Powers, that they took no Care in this Particular, whereby many young Persons were well seasoned in their Judgment as to the King. This made the Commons take Care that School-masters as well as Ministers should subscribe, and rather more.

N. p. 362. *It was certainly unreasonable in the Legislature to limit the Time of Subscription to so short a Period, (as St. Bartholomew 1662.) It being next to impossible that the Clergy all over the Kingdom should read, and examine the Alterations (viz. in the Liturgy) within that Time. The Dean and Prebendarys of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain Copies before August 17. The Feast immediately preceding St. Bartholomew.*

Was Mr. Neal really as impartial as he pretends to be, he would not have made this Remark, when he knew very well, that his Objection is taken off by the very Act of Uniformity, which must stare him full in the Face, when he was making his Abstract of it.

“ And all and every such Person who shall,
 “ without some lawful Impediment to be allowed
 “ and approved by the Ordinary of the Place,
 “ neglect or refuse to do the same within the Time
 “ aforesaid, or (in Case of such Impediment) with-

(m) Dr. South (Sermons Vol. 5. p. 48.) gives the following Account of the Loyalty of *Wimbor School*. “ We really (says he) were King’s Scholars, as well as called so: Nay upon the very Day, that Black and Eternally infamous Day of the King’s Murder, I my self heard, and am now a Witness, that the King was publicly prayed for in this School, but an Hour or two at most before his Head was cut off; and this loyal Genius always continued among us, and grew up with us, which made that noted *Corypheus* of the Independent Faction, (*John Owen*) and some time after promoted by *Cromwell*’s Interest to the Deanery of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*, say, “ that it would never be well with the Nation, till this School was suppressed, for that it naturally bred Men up to an Opposition to the Government.” And so far he was in the right, for it did breed up People to an Opposition to that Government, which had opposed and destroyed all Governments besides itself.

“ in one Month after such Impediment is removed, shall *ipso facto* be deprived of all his spiritual Promotions,” and he knows very well, that even the Declaration by the *Dean* and *Prebendarys* of *Peterborough* was then obviated by the then Bishop, (Bishop *Laney*) who in Pursuance of this Clause of the Act, dispensed with the Dean and Chapter, as I have observed (n) elsewhere. And Bishop *Kennet* Register p. 813 to 820) has produced Abundance of Instances of the great Lenity and Charity of the Bishops shewn to the *Nonconformist Ministers* after their being ejected, or silenced, as set forth by Dr. *Calamy*.

N. 366. *It is fit the Authors and Promoters of this memorable Act, which broke the Peace of the Church, and established a Separation, should stand upon Record.*

Herein I readily agree with Mr. *Neal*, for it can never injure the Memory of the *Enactors*, but that of the obstinate *Noncompliers* may suffer by it.

N. Ibid. *Next to Chancellor Hyde was Dr. Sheldon Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. — He was a facetious Man, (says Bishop Burnet) but of no great (o) Religion: When the Earl of Manchester told the King, that he was afraid the Terms of Conformity were so hard, that many Ministers would not comply; the Bishop replied, he was afraid they would. But now we*

(n) Appendix, to impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal*: 2d Volume p. 422. from Bishop *Kennet*'s Register p. 743.

(o) He was a Man (says Bishop *Parker*, who was his Chaplain, and certainly knew him better than that Bishop could pretend to do) (History of his own Time p. 28.) of *manifest Piety*, he wisely placed the chief point of Religion in leading a good Life: In his daily Discourse it was his Custom to caution those about him, not to deceive themselves with a half Religion, nor to think that all the Form of divine Worship was restrained within the Walls and Ralls of the Church: If Men led an upright, sober, chaste Life, then, and not till then, they may look upon themselves to be religious: Otherwise it would signify nothing what Rule of Religion wicked Men followed, or what Church they belonged to. See further Account Ibid. p. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

know their Minds, (says he) we will make them all Knaves if they conform."

Where does Bishop Burnet say this? Not in p. 177. the Place referred to by Mr. Neal. In another Place I find the following Words.

(p) ' There was a great Debate in Council, a little before St. Bartholomew's Day, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed or not. Some moved to have the Execution of it delayed to the next Session of Parliament; others were for executing it in the Main, but to connive at some eminent Men, and to put Curates into the Churches to read and officiate according to the Common Prayer, but to leave them to preach on till they should die out. The Earl of Manchester laid all these Things before the King with much Zeal, but with no great Force. Sheldon, on the other Hand, pressed the Execution of the Law: England was accustomed to obey Laws; so while they stood on that Ground, they were safe, and needed fear none of the Dangers that seemed to be threatened: He also (q) undertook to fill all the vacant Pulpits that should be forsaken in London better, and more to the Satisfaction of the People than they had been before; and he seemed to apprehend, that a very small Number would fall under the Deprivation, and that the Gros of the Party would conform. On the other Hand, as he himself observed, those who led the Party took great Pains to have them all stick together; they infused it into them, that if great Numbers stood out, that would shew their Strength,

(p) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time Vol. 1. p. 191, 192.

(q) ' This most wise Prelate (says Bishop Parker Hist. of his own Time p. 23.) having calculated the number of the Faction, took care to have in Readiness, a like number of Orthodox Men, (and such as were eloquent, and good Scholars) who upon a Signal given, rising as it were out of an Ambush, seized upon all the Pulpits (in London).'

‘ and produce New Laws in their Favour, where-
 ‘ as they would be despised, if after so much
 ‘ Noise made, the greater Part of them should
 ‘ conform. So it was thought that many went out
 ‘ in the Crowd to keep their Friends Company.

N. p. 367. *Dr. Gunning Bishop of Ely, Henchman of London, Dolben of Rochester, Stern of York; Dr. Pierce, Sparrow, and Barwick, all Creatures of the Court and Tools of the Prerogative.*

Free Language this, but it's no more than what he has already (p. 348.) bestowed upon some of the most eminent Reformed Divines, who endeavour'd by their Letters to persuade the *Presbyterians* in England to restore the King.

N. p. 369. *At Length the fatal St. Bartholomew Day came: When about two thousand quitted their Preferments in the Church; or refused to accept of any upon the Terms of the Act of Uniformity: an Example hard to be parallel'd in the Christian World.*

Surely Mr. Neal does not consider what he says when he talks at this Rate. The barbarous Usage of the Clergy during the *Grand Rebellion* and *Usurpation*, cannot properly indeed be termed a Parallel, because they both exceeded in Numbers, and were all or most of them illegally dispossessed of their Freeholds: But this was not the Case at the Restoration; for though some valuable Men might quit their Preferments as (r) scrupling Conformity, yet a great Number of them were dispossessed to make Way for the lawful and right-

(r) I have heard of one who though he had his Scruples yet quickly got them over, and complied. His Wife a rigid *Presbyterian*, exhorted him to stand out, and as a Motive, told him, that she would rather beg her Bread with him, than he should conform, and added, that if he did conform, it would break her Heart. His Answer was, that she was indeed a good Wife, and that he should be sorry to lose her. But if she died, it was possible for him to get another good Wife. But if I quit my Living of 300*l.* per Annum to satisfy your Scruples, (says he) I am sure I shall never get another of equal Value, therefore I am determin'd to conform.

ful Incumbents, who were still alive, as appears from Dr. *Walker's* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy and other Writers.

(s) ' On *Tuesday Jan. 7. 13 Car. 2.* It was ordered by the House of Commons, that a Committee appointed for this Purpose, should call before them *Philip Nye* the Younger, who was Clerk to the late pretended *Triers*, and require and receive from him all Presentations to any Ecclesiastical Benefices or Promotions, made in the Time of the late Usurped Powers, and Entries of any Admissions, and Inductions thereupon now in his Custody. On *Monday January the 20th* it was ordered, " That the same Committee have Power to call before them, all other Persons, and to require and receive from them all Presentations &c." This was chiefly in Order to restore the *Episcopal* sequestered Clergy, and to eject those, who under the Violence of the Times had intruded upon them: But it likewise served to the good Design of coming to the Knowledge of the State of *Parochial Cures*, and so of being better able to judge of their Necessities, and a Relief of them: To this immediate Purpose a wholesome Bill was brought in, for *increasing the Maintenance of Ministers*. And on *Thursday April 3. 1662*, a Report was made from the Committee, to which the House agreed; " that the best Way to effect what is desired in the Bill for increasing the Maintenance of Ministers is, that the *Knights, Citizens*, and *Burgeses* do enquire the Value of all Livings in their several Precincts, contained in the Bill, and that they consider the best Expedients for the better Maintenance of the Ministers therein, and to inform the Committee thereof, at their next Meeting after their Recess."

(s) *Bishop Kennet's Complete History Vol. 3. p. 263.*

But

‘ But the King’s craving Wants of Aid and Supply, and the Jealousy and Avarice of some Lay Patrons and Impropriators, and the Prophaneness and Irreligion of many of the leading Courtiers, let this Design drop into a Forgetfulness of God and the Cure of Souls.

‘ (t) The *Presbyterians* who had continued in all Livings, unless they had been supplanted by the *Independent* Teachers, were now constrained to give Way to the surviving Incumbents, who had been ejected or sequestered from them. Yet they murmured at this Restitution of the rightful Owners, and had lately published their *Plea for Ministers in Sequestrations*. To which *Plea*, the Author of the *Third Part of the friendly Debate* 170. p. 147. hath given this short Answer. “ The *Episcopal* *sequestered Clergy* had been most grievously persecuted by the *Usurpers*. Not only stripped of their legal Maintenance, but made incapable to earn their Bread in any Way of their own Profession, by a Declaration of the late *Protector*, dated *November* the 24th 1655—A marvellous Honesty there is in some Men’s Principles, their Removal from other Men’s Freeholds they reckon for a Part of their hard Usage; and tell us they were cast out of that which they ought freely to have restored. Yet they writ a Book called *A Plea for Ministers Sequestrations An.* 1660. where they boast of their not wanting what they unjustly detained. It is well known (say they) many of us need not, nor did need their Estates for a Subsistence. The greater Number of us (through the Mercy of God) could boast of as great Birth, Estates, Friends, and Offers of Preferment, as they: We having many of our selves Livings and Preferments

(t) Dr. Edward Stanley’s Sermon in the Cathedral at Winchester August 19. 1660. Bishop Kennet’s Register. p. 234.

“ to bestow, and some bestowed upon deserving
“ Men, &c.”

And yet notwithstanding this boasting, some of them went out with great Reluctance.

(u) ‘ Upon reading of the Petition of *John Breton* Clerk, shewing, that *Henry Vernon* Esq; Patron of the Rectory of *Hodnett* in the County of *Salop*, presented the Petitioner to that Rectory, and heis legally instituted, but still kept out, and one (x) *Samuel Campion* receives the Profits thereof, contrary to the just Rights of Patronage : It is ordered, that if the present Incumbent can give good Security to the *Higb Sheriff* for that County, to be responsible for the Profits of the said Rectory, if the Tryal at Law goes against him, then he shall have Liberty to take this Summer’s Profits.’

(y) Bishop *Kennet* observes (from an authentick Transcript of Bishop *Wren*’s Register) ‘ that one Particular will appear, that there were but few of the Parochial Clergy deprived in this Diocese (*Ely*) in 1662, for not submitting to the Act of Uniformity, though more of the old legal Incumbents had been sequestered about the Year 1644, than in Proportion within any other Diocese.

‘ (z) Whereas, says Bishop *Kennet*, in Consequence of what they called the *Bartholo-*

‘ *mcw*

(u) Bishop *Kennet*’s Register (from the Journal of the Lords, MS.) p. 237.

(x) *Calamy*’s Abridgement, Vol. 2. p. 66. *Hodnet*. Mr. *Samuel Campion*.

His Parsonage House and Barns with his Books and Goods were burnt in 1658. and he built them up in 59. and yet in 60. the Patron Mr. *Henry Vernon* turned him out. He had a Wife and seven Children and little to live on, and God provided for him and them.

‘ Dr. *John Armitage* was driven from this Living of *Hodnet*, (says Dr. *Walker*, Sufferings of the Ep. Clergy Part. 2. p. 40.) by the Garrison of *Wem*; when he betook himself to the King at *Oxford*. Two of his Successors (but in what Order they came I know not) were one *Francis Bowy* and one *Peastree*, the latter of which is reported to have been a *Pedlar*, and probably *Campion* succeeded one of these.

(y) Register p. 385.

(z) Register p. 388. proves all those particulars from Dr. *Calamy* and *Wood*, from p. 389, to p. 937. inclusive. If (says Bishop *Sanderfon* see Appendix to

third

new Act, many Parochial Ministers and Curates chose rather to leave their Benefices and Cures than to comply with the Terms required by the Law: This Suffering, incurred in the Name of Conscience, did occasion great Complaints not only among the Sufferers themselves, but from the whole Parties who adhered to them; and did raise by Degrees a popular Cry of Persecution, and unmerciful Severities against conscientious Men. It may be therefore proper to rehearse Matters of Fact, that duly attended to may help to alleviate those Complaints, and shew the great Moderation and Tenderness of our Governours Civil and Ecclesiastical, towards those ejected and silenced Ministers, by representing them here upon the Authority of their own industrious Advocate.

1. That the Ministers, who by not conforming made themselves incapable of holding their Livings, had, after their Deprivation, many great Friends and Benefactors among the Nobility, on whose Protection and Countenance they seem to have depended in their declining to conform. 2. Besides the prime Nobility, there were many of the chief Gentry, who were ready to favour and support the Nonconforming Ministers. 3. They received (many of

third Part of Friendly Debate p. 173. from Pref. to *Clavi Trabales*) they would study Quietness more, and Parties less, bear a just Reverence to Antiquity and to their Betters; allow as favourable a Construction to Things established, as they are capable of; suspect their own Judgment wherein it differeth from the Publick, submit to Reason, and yield when they are convinced; obey cheerfully where they may, and where they dare not, suffer without Noise, a little saying and writing would serve the Turn. But when Men are once grown to this, to make it their Glory to head or hold up a Party; to study ways how to evade when they are called to obey; to resolve to err, because they have erred; and to hold their Conclusions in Despite of all Premises; to prefer their private Opinion, before wiser Men's Judgments; and their Reputation with the Vulgar, before their Obedience to Superiors; in a word, to suffer themselves to be swayed with Passions, Parties or Interests, all the writing and saying in the World as to such Men (until it shall please God to put their Hearts into another Frame) is to no more purpose, than if a Man should go about to fill a Sieve with Water, or wash a Blackamore white.

(them)

• them) great Kindness and Bounty from Ladies
 • of Quality, and other honourable Women. 4.
 • Several Patrons of those Livings, from whence
 • the *Nonconformists* stood ejected, were very
 • kind and indulgent to them, in letting them
 • name their Successors to their own Benefit &c.
 • 5. Not only the Patrons, but some of the con-
 • forming Successors in those vacated Livings were
 • very civil and charitable to their ejected Prede-
 • cessors. 6. Many other Ministers disabled by
 • not complying with the Terms of Conformity,
 • were taken as Chaplains into good Families,
 • where they lived in Peace and Comfort. 7. Se-
 • veral others of the unqualified Ministers were
 • well provided for as Chaplains to our *English*
 • Factories abroad. 8. Some of them after De-
 • privation or Silence were allowed to officiate
 • as Chaplains in Hospitals, in Prisons, in Cha-
 • pels of Ease, and other Places exempt from
 • ordinary Jurisdiction. 9. Some with a tolerable
 • Substance withdrew themselves to *Scotland* and
 • *Ireland*, and other foreign Plantations, where
 • they found a kind Reception, and sufficient
 • Maintenance. 10. Many others of the Dissent-
 • ing Ministers were indulged and connived at in
 • teaching Schools, in keeping Boarders, in being
 • Tutors to young Noblemen and Gentlemen's
 • Sons, in setting up private Academies &c. 11. Not
 • a few of the ejected Ministers turned their Course
 • of Life and Studies to the Practice of (a) Phy-

(a) Sir Roger L'Estrange (Fables 2d Part. 230 p. 213. 1st Edit. 1692)
 says, "That there was a Minister turned out of his Living for not conform-
 ing: "Well, says he, if they go on at this Rate, it shall cost five hundred
 Men's Lives, before I have done with them." "The Poor Man was ta-
 ken up by a Warrant, and carried before the Council, where he was strictly
 examined, and called upon to explain himself." "Why my Lords (says he)
 I have a Wife and Family to maintain, and if I may not be allowed to
 Preach for a Livelihood, I must practise Physick to keep Life and Soul toge-
 ther, and there may be more Danger perhaps in a Pill, than in a Text."
 Upon which Sir Roger L'Estrange observes, that "it may be a Question at last,
 whether the Empyrick, or Schismatick is the most dangerous Instrument in
 a State."

• sick,

sick, and thereby lived and died in greater Plenty and Credit, than if they had continued in their former Stations. 12. Some few renouncing their Function turned their Heads to the *Common Law*, and found great Advantage by it. 13. Several who refused or rather declined Conformity, applied themselves to other *secular Business* and Employments, and forced a Way of thriving in them. 14. Some of less Abilities and meaner Spirits made Choice of low Arts of getting a Livelihood. 15. Some of them seem to have returned to their *original* (b) *poor Trades and Occupations*. 16. Many of the Ministers who suffered Deprivation had good Estates of their own, which might induce them the rather to refrain from Conformity, whilst they had sufficient Temporals to live upon. 17. Many of the Nonconformist Ministers did much improve their Circumstances by marrying *Women*, and especially Widows of good Condition and Fortune, and thereby gained by their late Losses. 18. Some of them without visible Income, lived well upon occasional Contributions, Gifts, Legacies, and constant Collections

(b) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle p. 908. Mr. Edmund Ellis Preacher, silenced at Saint Phagens in South Wales, was a Skinner from London. Mr. Joshua Miller ejected from Saint Andrews in that Country, was a London Bookseller.—Mr. Morgan Jones cast out from Llanmadock was an honest Plowman.—Mr. Thomas Joseph ejected for Nonconformity at Llanymor, he spoiled an ingenious Husbandman to become an ignorant Preacher.—Mr. Edward Hancock ejected from the Parish of St. Philip in Bristol, is said by Dr. Walker, to have been Butler to Sir George Horner, and possibly he set up a Publick House, for it seems he bred his only Son at Oxford, and left him some thousands.—Mr. William Troughton Minister of Saint Martins in Salisbury, after the Restoration silenced, and put to trouble, had been by Trade a Glover.—Mr. John Bush Minister of Huish &c, first taught a Grammar School, while his Wife kept Shop, and then descended to teach. A. B. C. to Children.—

God keep this Land from such Transfators,
From preaching Coblers, Pulpit Praters,
Of Order, and Allegiance-Haters.
From martial Priests, and Priestly Buff,
From greasy Thumbs, and Kitchen Stuff,
Of which, we have more than enough.

[*Mercurius Insanus Insanissimus*, quoted in a Tract, intitled, 19th of May. p. 75. penes ms.]

made

' made for them and their Families. 19. Many
 ' of those who were put into the List of ejected
 ' and silenced Ministers were not *Puritans* or
 ' *Presbyterians*, or properly *Independents*, but were
 ' truly Phanaticks of such strange Principles and
 ' Notions as rendered them incapable of con-
 ' forming to any Established Church. 20. Some
 ' of the Ministers who refused Obedience to the
 ' Law, were hardly capable of judging a Reason
 ' for or against, being confessed to be then or
 ' soon after crazy and disordered in their Heads
 ' and Minds, and so became great Objects of Com-
 ' passion. 21. Some few of them were very
 ' scandalous in their Lives and Characters, and
 ' were at least no Credit to the Cause for which
 ' they were presumed to suffer. 22. Many of
 ' the King's Judges shewed a Tenderness to those
 ' Ministers of the Separation, who became after-
 ' wards obnoxious to the penal Laws. 23. The
 ' King himself above all was indulgent and fa-
 ' vourable to that Party. 24. The Archbishops
 ' and Bishops treated them with great Candour
 ' and Moderation. 25. Many of the suffering
 ' Ministers were self-condemned; and upon se-
 ' cond Thoughts did afterwards conform; and
 ' re-entred their first Places, or were admitted to
 ' better. 26. Many of those Scholars who had
 ' been bred up to the greatest Prejudices of the
 ' late unhappy Times, did, at or soon after the
 ' Restoration, espouse the Principles and Cause
 ' of the Church, and became eminent in our
 ' Communion. 27. Some who shewed themselves
 ' most averse to Conformity, did soon comply
 ' with shameful (c) Evasion and Prevarication

(c) ' I find it recorded (says the Writer of Appendix to the third Part of
 ' the Friendly Debate p. 126.) above 60 Years ago by Mr. Tho Bell, (Re-
 ' giment of the Church Chap. 5.) That he discoursing with a Preacher about
 ' the *Canons* just then made 1604. against which he could alledge nothing
 ' of Moment, was told by him that he would neither lose his Living, nor
 ' yet conform to these Orders. And when he demanded how that could be

by no Means consistent with Truth and a good Conscience. 28. Even some of the greatest (d) Bigots among the late Factions brought the same Spirit into the Church, and were the most forward to persecute their late Brethren. A Multitude of the moderate and peaceable *Presbyterians* made but little Scruple to conform, for Unity and brotherly Love, and surer Defence against the common Enemy the *Papist*. 30. And even of those who would not submit to a Ministerial Conformity, many of them were *Lay Conformists*, and did not at first think of forming separate Congregations, much less of ordaining Persons to keep up a perpetual Schism. 31. And lastly, many of the leading Nonconformist Ministers were so moderat and indifferent in the Education of their Children that many of their Sons conformed, and proved useful and eminent in the Church of *England*. In all these Particulars many Instances remain upon unsuspected Tradition, and some within Memory of many Witnesses: But the Examples written by themselves may be the more proper to remind them, that they do ill to charge the Church with Persecution, when the Civil

was answered, " that he would have one to do it, but not do it himself." And again, being told, " That he might as lawfully do it himself, as procure another to do it," uttered these Words, " How can I do that, against which I have so often preached." Which, saith Mr. *Bell*, I told him, " favoured of the Spirit of the proud *Pharisee*, not of the humble *Publican*: I thought indeed before that, all their Proceedings had been out of mere Conscience, which I now perceive to be of Pride in a great many of them: through which manner of dealing, the simpler sort become disobedient, and are deeply drowned in Error; and our Church pitifully tormented with Schisms and Dissention." " Honest *Bernard Gilpin* (*Life* p. 132, 133.) was of another Mind, who being called to Subscription in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, though dissatisfied in two Points of the Articles of smaller Consequence, yet subscribed to them, lest, thought he with himself, " If I shall refuse, I shall be a Means to make others refuse, and so consequently hinder the Course of the Word of God." (d) That excellent Prelate Bishop *Sanderson* observes, Preface to his Sermons 38. eighth Edition, " That such was the Obstinacy or Madness of the Rigid, *Scottish*, thorough paced *Presbyterian*, and giddy *Enthusiast*, that it is in vain to think of doing any good upon them by Argument, till it shall please God to mak them of more humble and teachable Spirits.

I Government

* Government ordained all the Laws against them,
 * as well of Prosecution as Incapacity, with a
 * View to the Peace and Safety of the State, ra-
 * ther than to any Honour or Interest of the
 * Church; and all the penal Laws were either
 * executed, suspended or repealed, accord-
 * ing to the Exigence of Times and Seasons,
 * when strict Conformity, or when full Liberty
 * were thought expedient for the public Peace
 * and Safety.

And after producing Instances in Proof of the
 abovementioned Particulars, (which Mr. Neal
 thought proper barely to hint at p. 374.) Bishop
 Kennet adds, (e) * These apparent and confessed
 * Instances of the Lenity and Charity of the
 * Bishops of the Church towards the ejected and
 * silenced Ministers, (some entred into Books and
 * Papers, and some retained in the Memory of
 * Persons yet living) are a Reproof to those, who
 * would represent the Bishops as generally ri-
 * gorous and severe to them; and are on the con-
 * trary a sure Evidence, that most of the Lords
 * the Bishops did commonly use all the tender
 * Ways and Means to win over and reconcile
 * them to Conformity: And when they run them-
 * selves into Difficulties and Penalties, the Bishops
 * did often interpose their Interest with the Civil
 * Magistrate to cover and deliver them from
 * Fines and Imprisonments.

(f) The Numbers of the ejected and silenced
 * Ministers upon the Act of Uniformity, have
 * been of late aggravated and misrepresented to
 * the World. The Account has been roundly
 * swelled to *two thousand*, and to about, or even
 * above *two thousand*: Out of which Calculation
 * it is certain great Abatements are to be made.

* The Word *silenced* among the *Sufferers* is
 * not so easy to be understood: It can hardly

(e) Bishop Kennet's Register p. 979.

(f) Id. ib.

be applied to those, who at the passing that Act had no antecedent Authority to preach and minister in holy Things: And many of those there were, who had no Ordination at all; nor any other Mission, but what *they* thought sufficient, their inward Call, and reputed Zeal of the Spirit. And such Teachers not sent, were no more silenced than any of the common People, who might have set up the like Pretensions to the Spirit. Nor were those properly *silenced*, who were unauthorized Lecturers, and Assistants, and Occasional Preachers in Parish Churches and Chapels, where upon the Return or Settlement of legal Ministers and Curates, there were no further Need of them. Some were silenced only for a short Time, and upon better Consideration took regular Licences to preach in the same or other Places. Many of them refused to be silent as the Act required, and would venture to preach beyond the Time allowed, exposing themselves to Pains and Troubles. And even among them who continued to be silent in our public Churches, many of them (some contrary to their own Principles) assumed the Liberty of praying or teaching in their own Houses or other separate Assemblies, where the Profits of their Labour were greater than in their former Stations. And at the Foot of the Account should be added, that many are there put into the List of *silenced Ministers*, by Virtue of the Act of Uniformity, who were not *actual Preachers* before that Time, but were only *Candidates* or *Students* designed for a separate Ministry in Opposition to the established Church: And how were these silenced by the Act, who had never before it opened their Mouths in publick.

(g) As to Ministers *ejected*, that indeed is a

(g) *Ibid* p. 920.

plainer

• plainer Case, and more to be lamented; be-
 • cause many of them were Men of great Piety
 • and Virtue, Sense and Learning, whose Charac-
 • ters and Labours would have been of Service
 • to the Church, if they would have come with-
 • in the Pale of it, and duly consulted the com-
 • mon Good of Peace and Unity, and Charity,
 • and *Protestant* Interest. But the Number of the
 • *ejected* likewise has been multiplied beyond the
 • true State, and great Allowances are to be
 • made. For many have been called *ejected*,
 • when they held only (b) sequestered Livings,
 • and were by Law and Conscience bound to
 • give Place to the old rightful Incumbents.
 • (i) Many others had been too active in the
 • Iniquity of the late Times, and not expecting
 • Forgiveness from the Powers they had so long
 • and lately opposed, they receded from their
 • Livings for fear and Consciousness of their past
 • Offences, and rather deserted their Cures, than
 • were *ejected* from them. Some were put into
 • the reputed Number of the *ejected*, who really
 • made a *Resignation* or *Cession* of their Livings,
 • and that often in Favour of their own Sons or

(b) • Have we not (says Dr. *Allington* Continuation of the grand Conspi-
 • racy p. 63. *penes me.*) who cannot find in their Hearts to pay a fifth, yet
 • can very well detain the four Parts from the lawful Owner? Yea have we
 • not too many, who even whilst the *Nabobs* are alive, not only make no
 • Scruple of invading their Possession, but have made it, Oh let Heaven and
 • Earth stand amazed! their Petition and their Work to obstruct all Laws
 • and legal Proceedings, lest the very Rule of Right, lest the Laws of the
 • Land should reinvest them. Ibid. p. 64. • If these Intruders can justify be-
 • fore God, the holding that, which themselves know neither in Law nor
 • Conscience they can defend, there might *Abab* justify his Iniquity, and be-
 • cause *Naboth* and his Sons were dead go down and take Possession.

(i) I fear that the following Character given by *Grotius* of such sort of Men
 (in his Book de *Antichristo*, as quoted by Mr. *Long* compendious History &c.
 p. 94.) is but too true of many of them. *Circumferamus oculos per omnia
 Historiam, quod unquam seculum vidit, tot subditorum in Principes bella se
 Religiosis titulos? Et horum Concitatores reperiuntur Ministri Evangelici,
 quidem se vocant; quod genus Hominum in quæ pericula etiam nunc optimos Ci-
 vitatis Amstelredamensis Magistratus coniecerit, vident si cui libet, de Presby-
 terum in Reges Audacia, librum Jacobi Britanniarum Regis cui Nomen Domini
 Regium: Videtis cum ut erat Magni Judicii et prædixisset, quæ nunc cum illis
 horis & Horrore conspiciamus.*

• Kinism

Kinsmen to succeed them; or for some other Consideration by Concert with their Patrons and Successors. Some had engaged themselves so far, by preaching and printing Books and Papers against the King and Church, that they were perfectly ashamed to conform for Fear of the Reproaches that would be on both Sides cast upon them by their old Friends, and by their new, if they should change Sides: And these Men, before the Law, had passed Sentence on themselves. Again, some suffered themselves to be ejected at one Place disagreeable to them, and afterwards qualified themselves to accept another more convenient Place; and this was not *Ejection* so properly, as it was Exchange for the better. Some willingly suffered the Loss of their Spirituals, as they had good Temporal Estates of their own; and could be content to withdraw from their Labours, and enjoy themselves in private. Nay, and many who were properly *ejected*, and did not afterwards conform, found so many Friends, Aids, and Contributions, that they lived in greater Plenty and Popularity, than if they had complied with the Terms of Church Communion.

(k) Some Representations have been likewise made, as if most or all the Ministers at the Restoration of the old *Puritan* Stamp, or of the *Presbyterian* Principles were ejected or silenced at once by the Act of Uniformity. Whereas many of them, who afterwards attained to the highest Dignities in the Church, and had been bred up to the *Puritan* Way, and most of them had gone into the Notions and Scheme

(k) Kenner Ibid. The principal Objection with many of them was, what they falsely called *Reordination*; and yet Mr. Neal (*History of New England* Vol. 1. p. 133.) gives us an Instance of one Mr. *Wilson* who had been *Episcopally* ordained in England, and yet when he was chosen *Paster* of *Charles Town*, he submitted to (what he as falsely calls) a *Reordination*, by the Imposition of such Hands as the Church (*viz.* the *Independents*) invited to pray for a Blessing on his Labours. And for this unauthorized and unwarranted Stretch of Power, he does not blame the *Independents*.

‘ of *Presbytery*; and yet upon mature Thoughts
 ‘ could judge it lawful or eligible to conform, for
 ‘ the Honour and Interests of the *Christian Religion*,
 ‘ and for the Peace and Happiness of this Church
 ‘ and Nation. —

‘ (1) It would be invidious to enquire how ma-
 ‘ ny of the ejected, and silenced Ministers were
 ‘ drawn in by the Advice of their Superiors, by
 ‘ the Example of their Brethren, by mutual Sti-
 ‘ pulations, by voluntary Promises, by the In-
 ‘ fluence of Domesticks and Relations, by the
 ‘ Hopes and Expectation of following Changes,
 ‘ and other Reasons that had some Mixture of
 ‘ the World in them. —

‘ Nor is it possible at this distance to examine,
 ‘ much less to determine, whether the Perseverance
 ‘ of many in their Nonconformity, was not much
 ‘ encouraged by the Favour of some of the Nobi-
 ‘ lity, by the secret Disposition of some Patrons, by
 ‘ the Voice of a great Part of the People, by the
 ‘ Glory imputed to Steadfastness, and by the *En-
 ‘ glish* Compassion always shewn to the Sufferers;
 ‘ but above all by a Reliance and Dependance
 ‘ on the King, who on all Occasions was ex-
 ‘ pressing an Inclination (and as far as he could
 ‘ carry it a Resolution) to indulge them, and dis-
 ‘ pense with the Laws against them.

Mr. Neal observes p. 371. (from Conformists
 Plea for Nonconformists) *that the allowing the se-
 questered Clergy a fifth Part was a Christian Act,
 and what the Author confessed he should have been
 glad to have seen imitated at the Restoration.*

But neither he nor his Author inform us, how
 the *Intruders* baffled the Clergy intitled by the Or-
 dinance to their *Fifths*.

(m) ‘ Many were the Evasions (says Dr. Fuller,
 ‘ Ch. Hist. Book xi. p. 230.) whereby such Cler-
 gymen

¶ (1) Ibid. p. 920.

(m) It appears from old Bishop Morton's Petition to Cromwell (communica-
 ted to me by the worthy Dr. Hunter of Durham) how badly the Allowances
 of the most peaceable Bishops were paid. “ To

gymen possessed of their Livings do frustrate and defeat the effectual Payment of the fifth Part to the aforesaid Wives and Children.

First, they plead that Taxes being first deducted, Tythes are so badly paid they cannot live and maintain themselves, if they must still pay a fifth Part out of the Remainder. Such consider not, if themselves cannot live on the whole Gift, how shall the Families of such sequestered Ministers subsist on the Toll,

Secondly, If the aforesaid Minister hath a Wife without Children, or Children without a Wife, or but one Child, they deny Payment; as not within the Letter (though the Equity) of the Order; though one Child is as unable to live on Nothing, as if there was many more.

Thirdly, if the sequestred Minister hath any Temporal Means of his own, or since his Sequestration hath acquired any Place where he officiateth (though short of a comfortable Subsistence) they deny Payment of a fifth Part unto him.

Fourthly, they affright the said sequestered Minister, threatening to new article against him for his former Faults. Whereas, had he not been reputed a *Malignant*; not a fifth Part, but all the five Parts were due unto him.

"To his Highness *Oliver* Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, the humble Petition of *Thomas Morton* late Bishop of *Durham* sheweth." "That by an Ordinance of Parliament bearing date 18th of May 1646, the Sum of 800*l.* per Annum was granted your Petitioner; out of the Rents and Revenues of his late Bishoprick, for his present Support, which was paid accordingly till the Sale of Bishops Lands, but since unduly detained; and whereas the Sum of 3200*l.* of the said Pension is still unpaid, your Petitioner having never been in Opposition to the present Government now aged 94 Years and in great Want, humbly prays your Highness to be graciously pleased to grant your Petitioner your Highness's Letters of Privy Seal to enable him to sue and implead in any of your Highness's Courts, such Persons as have, and do unjustly detain any Estate or Sum of Money due to your Highness, and the Commonwealth, and recover and receive the said Arrears, of 3200*l.* out of such concealed Estates and Moneys by him or any other, the 5th Part allowed to the Discoverers, have already been, or shall be hereafter discovered to belong to your Highness and the Commonwealth. And he shall not cease to Pray &c.

' Fifthly, many who have Livings in great
 ' Towns (especially Vicarages) disclaim the receiv-
 ' ing of any Benefits in the Nature of Tythes, and
 ' accept them only in the Notion of Benevolence.
 ' There they plead Nothing due to the sequestered
 ' Minister, out of the free Gratuities which on-
 ' ly are bestowed upon them.

' Sixthly, they plead, that nothing can be de-
 ' manded by Virtue of the said Ordinance, longer
 ' than the sitting of the said Parliament which
 ' made it, which is long since dissolved ; now
 ' though this being but a dilatory Plea (them-
 ' selves enjoying the four Parts by Virtue of the
 ' said Order) yet though it doth not finally blast,
 ' it doth much set back the fifth Part, and whilst
 ' the same groweth the Ministers Wives and
 ' Children starve.

' Lastly, of late, since the setting forth of the
 ' Proclamation, *That all who disquiet their peacea-
 ' ble Possession, who are put into Livings by the
 ' Parliament's Order, should be held as Enemies to
 ' the State,* such sequestered Ministers, who only
 ' sue the Refusers to pay the fifth Part, unblame-
 ' able in all Things else, are threatned, (though
 ' they humbly conceived contrary to the true In-
 ' tent of the Proclamation) with the foresaid Pe-
 ' nalty, if they desist not in their Suit. Many
 ' more are their Subterfuges (besides vexing their
 ' Wives with the tedious Attendance to get
 ' Orders on Orders.) So that as one truly and
 ' sadly said, the *Fifths* are even paid at *Sixes*
 ' and *Sevens*. By how much the more intolerable
 ' (says Dr. South Serm. Vol. 3. p. 137.) were our
 ' late *Zealots* in their Pretences to a more re-
 ' fined Strain of Purity and Converse with God ;
 ' while in the mean Time their Hearts could serve
 ' them to plunder, worry, and undo their poor
 ' Brethren, only for their loyal Adherence to their
 ' Sovereign ; sequestering and casting whole Fa-
 ' milies

‘ milies out of their Houses and Livings to starve
 ‘ abroad in the wide World, against all the
 ‘ Laws of God and Man; and who to this Day
 ‘ breathe the same Rage towards all *Dissenters*
 ‘ from them, should they once more get the re-
 ‘ forming Sword into their Hands.’

N. p. 391. *Mr. Calamy late Minister of Aldermanbury, being at his Parish Church December 28 (1662) the Preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the Importunity of the Parishioners, Mr. Calamy went into the Pulpit, and preached a Sermon upon Eli's Concern for the Ark of God: A Subject much upon their Thoughts at that Time, but this was so highly resented at Court, that he was sent to Newgate next Week for Sedition in breaking the King's Laws.—— But his Majesty thought fit to release him in a few Days.*

(n) ‘ Had he (says Bishop Kennet) taken a
 ‘ practical Subject, and kept to it, no Notice
 ‘ would have been taken of that one occasional
 ‘ Necessity, as it were, of preaching. But it looked
 ‘ like a Plot or formed Design, that he should
 ‘ choose a Subject of *Eli's Concern for the Ark of*
 ‘ *God*; and so applied the Danger of the Church
 ‘ and Religion to the present Times, that he
 ‘ could not be thought less a seditious, as well
 ‘ as disabled Preacher.’

(n) Complete History Vol. 3. p. 262. ‘ You have had (says *Mr. Calamy*
 ‘ Sermon at *Aldermanberry Church* Dec. 28. 1662. in the Forenoon. *Oxford*
 ‘ printed 1663. p. 12. *penes me.*) three famous Successors, *Dr. Taylor* for
 ‘ seven Years, and *Dr. Stoughton* for seven Years, and my self, I have been
 ‘ with you almost four and twenty Years, and may not God now Unchurch
 ‘ you, by suffering you to want a faithful Minister to go in and out before you.
 ‘ This is one Reason, upon which Account I may safely say the Ark of God
 ‘ is in Danger; and *Aldermanberry* may truly fear the Loss of the Ark.’

Ibid p. 14. ‘ I read that among the *Romans* when any Man was accused
 ‘ for his Life, all his Relations put on mourning Apparel, and they follow-
 ‘ ed him to his Tryal in Mourning thereby to shew their Love to their Party
 ‘ in Danger. Now did you love the Gospel, the Ministers of the Gospel,
 ‘ and the Ordinances of Christ, you would all put on Mourning, and lament
 ‘ for the Gospel, the Ark of God, that is in Danger; and because you do
 ‘ not, it is a Sign you have no Love for the Gospel.

N. p. 397. *The next Judgment which befell th Nation was the most dreadful Plague that had ever been known within the (a) Memory of Man.—— It increased in the City and Suburbs of London, till (p) eight or ten thousand died in a Week.*

Curious is the Account given by Mr. Thomas Vincent a dissenting Clergyman, who charitably gave his Assistance at that Time, as copied by Dr. Calamy in the following Words.

(q) ' His Account of the Plague in his Treatise called *God's terrible Voice in the City*, is very affecting.

(a) ' In the Year 1656. the Plague raged so at Naples, that sometimes 6000 Men died in a Day of the Plague. [*Mercurius Politicus* Num. 327. p. 7245. *penes me.*] In the City of Genoa there died of the Plague in the Year 1657. seventy Thousand. Among them six hundred secular Priests, six hundred and forty nine Religious of all Orders, and four hundred of the Nobility. *Mercurius Polit.* Num. 385. p. 29. *penes me.*]

Mr. Graunt in a Table at the End of his *Natural and Political Observations* made upon the Bills of Mortality 3d Edit. 1665. (*penes me.*) gives the following Account of the Numbers that died of the Plague in the Year 1625. March 17. four, 24th eight, 31st eleven. April the 7th ten, 14th twenty four, 21st twenty five, 28th twenty six. May 5. thirty, 12th forty five, 19th seventy one, 26th seventy eight. June the 2d sixty nine, 9th ninety one, 16th one hundred and sixty one, 23d two hundred and thirty nine, 30th three hundred and ninety. July the 7th five hundred and ninety three, 14th one thousand and four, 21st one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, 28th two thousand four hundred and seventy one. August the 4th three thousand six hundred and fifty nine, 11th four thousand one hundred and fifteen, 18th four thousand four hundred and sixty three, 25th four thousand two hundred and eighteen. September 1st three thousand three hundred and forty four, 8th two thousand five hundred and fifty, 15th one thousand six hundred and twelve, 22d one thousand five hundred and fifty one, 29th eight hundred and fifty two. October 6th five hundred and thirty eight, 13th five hundred and eleven, 20th three hundred and thirty one, 27th one hundred and thirty four. November 3d eighty nine, 10th ninety two, 17th forty eight, 24th twenty seven. December 1st fifteen, 8th fifteen, 15th six, 22d one. Total of the Plague 35403.

(p) *Menſibus Auguſti & Septembris non ut prius cunctantèr, & languidè proceſſit Lues, ſed rerum potita, & velut ſui juris facta excidionem oppido fecit, quibus labentibus, tria, quatuor, quinque immo & octo millia Hominum hebdomadatim ſatis ceſſere.* Hodges de peſta, p. 20.

(q) Dr. Calamy's Continuation p. 33.

Dr. Hodges gives a remarkable Account of the Barbarity and Wickedneſs of the Nurſes that attended the infected Perſons: He mentions one who when all the Family were dead, loaded herſelf with the richeſt Spoils, and broke out of the Houſe, but had not gone far with her Booty before ſhe fell down dead. [*Nonnullæ autem legem Talionis patiebantur, una & multis inſigniter doctæ erant, hæc enim domo effractâ, in quâ omnes nuper extincti erant, ſpoliis ſe opimis oneraverat, ſed interim fuit brevi abreptum, ſiquidem non multos memento paſſus (tanquam Cali dexira Barbaram rapacitatem vindicante) Sarcinam h. e. comparatam improbiſſimâ prædam, pariter ac vitam depoſuit.* Hodges de Peſ-

affecting. He there tells us, that it was in
 Holland in 1664, and the same Year began in
 some remote Parts of this Land, though the
 weekly Bills of the City took Notice but of
 three that then died there of that Disease. In
 the Beginning of *May* 1665, (r) nine died of it
 in the Heart of the City, and eight in the Sub-
 urbs. The next Week the Bill fell from nine
 to three. In the next Week it mounted from
 three to fourteen, in the next to seventeen, in
 the next to forty three. In *June* the Number
 increased from forty three to one hundred and
 twelve; the next Week to one hundred and
 sixty eight; the next to two hundred and sixty
 seven; the next to four hundred and seventy.
 In the first Week of *July* the Number arose to
 seven hundred and twenty five; the next Week
 to one thousand and eighty nine; the next to
 one thousand eight hundred and forty three;
 the next to two thousand and ten. In the first
 Week in *August* the Number amounted to two

tis nuperie ortu, & progressu p. 10.] And of another unfortunate Citizen,
 whom those wicked Women thinking to be dead, stript of his Clothes and
 household Goods. And the Day after the poor Man, supposed to be dead,
 came to Life, and recovered. [*Memorable etiam fuit Civis cujusdam Infortu-*
nium, quem Nefarie istæ Mulieres, (an feræ dicam) fato cessisse suspicantes,
vestitu pariter ac suppellectili penitus nudarunt, prob inaudita Crudelitas! pridie
enim vir bonus pro deplorato habitus, mox convalescit, & quasi renatus Mundi
Theatrum denuo ingressus est, profecto (nè plura conscriber) tot, & tam fatales
erant Nutricum technæ, ut utinam, & utinam tanti, Criminis artifices (quod ipsam
superat Barbariem) formidando Posteris supplicio plecterentur, nè forsan impu-
nitas futura fiat peccandi Illecebra. Hodges. Id. ib.] And remarkable is the
 Incident mentioned by Sir *John Reresby* (Memoirs printed 1735. p. 10, 11.)
 1665. 'A dreadful Plague raged this Summer in London, and swept away
 97309 Persons. It was usual for People to drop down in the Streets as
 they went about their Business; and a Story is reported as a certain Truth;
 that a *Bag-piper* being excessively overcome with Liquor, fell down in the
 Street, and there lay asleep in this Condition. He was taken up and thrown
 into a Cart betimes next Morning, and carried away with some dead Bodies.
 Mean while he awoke from his Sleep, it being now about Day's Break, and
 rising up began to play a Tune, which so surprized the Fellows that drove
 the Cart, who could not see distinctly, that in a Fright they betook them
 to their Heels, and would have it, that they had taken up the Devil in
 the Disguise of a dead Man.'

(r) Mr. *Grant* in his Tables 1665. proceeds no further than July 4. as
 follows. Of the Plague April 25. 2. May 9th 9. 16th 3. 23d 14. 30th 17.
June 6th 43. 13th 112. 20th 168. 27th 267. *July* 4th 470.

' thousand eight hundred and seventeen ; the
 ' next to three thousand eight hundred and eighty ;
 ' the next to four thousand two hundred and
 ' thirty seven ; the next to six thousand one hun-
 ' dred and two. In *September* a Decrease of the Dis-
 ' temper was hoped for ; but it was not yet come to
 ' its Height. In the first Week there died of it
 ' (s) six thousand nine hundred and eighty eight ;
 ' though in the second Week the Number abated
 ' to six thousand nine hundred and forty four ;
 ' yet in the third Week it arose to seven thou-
 ' sand one hundred and sixty five, *which was*
 ' *the biggest* : And then of the one hundred and
 ' thirty Parishes in and about the City, there
 ' were but four which were not infected ; and in
 ' those there were but few People remaining that
 ' were not gone into the Country. In the House
 ' where he lived, there were eight in Family,
 ' three Men, three Youths, an old Woman, and
 ' a Maid. It was the latter End of *September*
 ' before any of them were touched, The Maid
 ' was first seized with the Distemper, which be-
 ' gan with a shivering and trembling in her Flesh,
 ' and quickly seized on her Spirits. This was on
 ' *Monday*, and she died on *Thursday* full of Tokens.
 ' On Friday one of the Youths had a Swelling
 ' in his Groin, and on the Lord's Day died with
 ' the Marks of the Distemper upon him. On
 ' the same Day another of the Youths sickned,
 ' and on the Wednesday following he died : On the
 ' *Thursday* Night, the Master of the House fell
 ' sick, and within a Day or two was full of Spots,
 ' but was strangely recovered beyond his own or
 ' others Expectations. In the fourth Week in
 ' *September* there was a Decrease to five thou-
 ' sand five hundred and thirty eight. In the first
 ' Week of *October*, there was a farther Decrease

(s) Diseases and Casualties 1st Week of Sept. Plague 6544, from 5 of
 September to the 12th.

to (i) four thousand nine hundred and twenty nine. In the next to four thousand three hundred and twenty seven. The next to two thousand six hundred and sixty five. The next to one thousand four hundred and twenty one; and the next to one thousand and thirty one. The first Week in *November* there was an Increase to one thousand four hundred and fourteen: But it fell the Week after to one thousand and fifty, and the Week after to six hundred and fifty two, and so (u) lessened more and more to the End of the Year. And the whole Number of those that were reckoned to die of the *Plague* in *London* this Year, was (x) sixty eight thousand five hundred and ninety six. But God was pleased to take a particular Care of this good Man. He continued in perfect Health all the while, and survived this sad Providence, and was useful by his unwearied Labours to a numerous Congregation till the Year 1678. (y) Several Ministers in this sad Time of Trial (says Mr. *Echard*) deserted their Flocks, whose empty Pulpits were sometimes charitably filled by those of other Persuasions, whose seasonable Fervour is said to have had good Effects upon a wicked People. Yet there were many noble Instances of the Courage, Piety, and Charity of the Church of *England* Divines at this Time, who ventured all in the Service of God, and the poor miserable People. The King himself manifested a

(i) Diseases and Casualties from 17th of *October* to the 24th. *Plague* 1421.

(u) Diseases and Casualties from the 28th of *November* to the fifth of *December*. *Plague* 210.

Diseases and Casualties from the 12th of *December* to the 19th *Plague* 231.

(x) Bishop *Kennet* (*Complete History* Vol. 3. p. 277.) makes the Number to be 97306. But he must be mistaken, for according to Dr. *Hodges*, in a Table prefixed to his Book, *De Peste*, the Number was not so great. *Numerus Funerum Tot. 97306. Peste interfec. 68596.*

(y) *Echard* Vol. 3. p. 142. *Philips's* Continuation of *Heatb's* Chronicle. p. 593. *Hodges de Peste* p. 22. *A congeri Pests furor, nullus Civium ordo, nulla atas, sexusve immunis, Theologi quidem graviter Sacerdotali fungentes officio, in Caesitium albo conscripti.*

paternal Regard to his Subjects, and though he retired first to *Hampton Court*, and then to *Salisbury*, he left the City to the affectionate Care of the brave Duke of *Albemarle*, who in the Height of the Contagion continued at *Whitehall*, and gave Orders and Relief to the distressed, with such an unshaken Courage, as if he had been born to triumph over Diseases and Death. (2) Archbishop *Sheldon* firmly continued all the Time of the greatest Danger, and with his diffusive Charity, preserved great Numbers alive, that would have perished in their Necessities, and by his affecting Letters to all the Bishops, procured great Sums to be returned out of all the Parts of his Province. Nor must we forget the glorious Behaviour of *William* Earl of *Craven*, who freely chose to venture his Life upon a thousand Occasions, in the Middle of the infected, provided Nurses and Physicians for the Sick, and out of his own Purse expended vast Sums to supply the Necessities of many that were ready to perish; an Honour beyond all his gallant and noble Exploits performed in *Germany*, and elsewhere.

N. p. 404. *We have already remembered Dr. Cheynel among the Oxford Professors, a Man of great Abilities &c.*

And we have already shewn in more Instances than one, what a horrid Incendiary he was, and how he treated the learned *Chillingworth* at his Funeral; and I shall take the Liberty of adding some other Remarkables upon that Occasion, taken by my (a) Author from his own Account.

(2) *Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* p. 183. *Salmon's Hist. of England* Vol. 7. p. 291.

(a) *Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution*, p. 32, 33. 'It was a common saying in the University of Oxford, (See *Essex's* Vol. 2. p. 512.) That *Chillingworth* and the Lord *Falkland* had such extraordinary clear Reason, that if the Great Turk or Devil were to be converted, they were able to do it.'

' Touching the Burial of his Corpse (says he) I
 ' need say no more than this; it will be most
 ' proper for the Men of his Persuasion to commit
 ' the Body of their deceased Friend, Brother,
 ' Master to the Dust; and will be most proper
 ' for me to hearken to that Counsel of my Sa-
 ' viour *Luke ix. 60. Let the Dead bury the*
 ' *Dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of*
 ' *God.* And so I went from the Grave to the
 ' Pulpit, and preached on that Text to the Con-
 ' gregation. And I dare boldly say, that I have
 ' been more sorrowful for Mr. *Chillingworth*, and
 ' merciful to him than his Friends at *Oxford*;
 ' his Sickness and Obstinacy cost me many a
 ' Prayer, and many a Tear. I did heartily be-
 ' wail the Loss of such strong Parts and eminent
 ' Gifts; the Loss of so much Learning and Dili-
 ' gence. Never did I observe more Acuteness and
 ' Eloquence so exactly tempered in the same Per-
 ' son: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat:* For he had
 ' Eloquence enough to set a fair Varnish upon
 ' the foulest Design. He was Master of his Learn-
 ' ing. Howl ye Fir-trees, for a Cedar is fallen.
 ' Lament ye *Sophisters*, for the Master of Sen-
 ' tences (shall I say) or *Fallacies* is vanished?
 ' Wring your Hands, and beat your Breasts ye
 ' *Antichristian Engineers*, for your *Arch-Engineer*
 ' is dead, and all his Engines buried with him.
 ' Ye Daughters of *Oxford* weep over *Chilling-*
 ' *worth*, for he had a considerable and hopeful
 ' Project how to cloath you and himself in Scarlet,
 ' and other Delights. I am distressed for thee, my
 ' Brother *Chillingworth* (may his Executrix say)
 ' very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy Love
 ' to me was wonderful, passing the Love of Fa-
 ' ther, Husband, Brother. O how are the
 ' Mighty fallen, and the Weapons nay Engines
 ' of War perished! O tell it not in *Gath*, that he
 ' who raised a Battery against the Pope's Chair,
 ' instead

‘ instead of *Antichrist* is dead and gone. Publish it
 ‘ not in the Streets of *Askalon*, that he who did
 ‘ once batter *Rome*, and undermine *England*, the
 ‘ reforming Church of *England*, that he might
 ‘ prevent a Reformation, is dead; lest if you
 ‘ publish it, you puzzle all the *Conclave*, and put
 ‘ them to consider whether they should mourn or
 ‘ triumph.’

N. Ibid. *He quitted his preferments in the University for refusing to take the Engagement: and was ejected from the rich Living of Petworth at the Restoration.*

It is observed (by the Author of the Tract, intitled *Presbyterian Unmasked*. p. 127.) ‘ That a
 ‘ certain *Presbyterian* Doctor, who rather than he
 ‘ would subscribe the *Engagement* publickly at *Oxford*, parted with a Headship of about 80*l.* per
 ‘ *Annum*: Yet the same Man was so providently
 ‘ politick, as to subscribe in the Country, rather
 ‘ than have a Living of 600*l.* or 700*l.* a Year taken from him.’

N. p. Ibid. *The Authors of the Fire of London were said to be the Papists, as appears by the Inscription upon the (b) Monument—none suffered but one Hubert a Frenchman by his own Confession.*

After

(b) The Duke of *Buckingham* (as I have been told) upon a Visit from Bishop *Sprat*, told the Bishop, that he had just been thinking of two Lines proper to be inscribed upon the *Monument*.

Here stand I,
 I know not why.

The Bishop desired to add the two following ones.

But if I fall
 Have at you all.

I cannot find more reason to charge the *Papists*, than the *Quakers* with the Fire of *London* (in which I am persuaded they had no Hand) though Mr. *Setwell* informs us, (*History of the Quakers* p. 462.) ‘ That one *Thomas*, ‘ *Ibitt* of *Huntingtonshire* came to *London*, a few Days before the Burning of
 ‘ that City, (and as has been related by Eye-witnesses) did upon his coming
 ‘ thither alight from his Horse, and unbuttoning his Clothes in so loose a
 ‘ Manner as if they had been put on in Haste just out of his Bed: In this
 ‘ manner he went about the City on the sixth, being the Day that he came thither, and also on the seventh Day of the Week pronouncing a Judgment by
 ‘ Fire which should lay waste the City. On the Evenings of these Days some
 ‘ of his Friends had meetings with him to enquire concerning his Message
 ‘ and Call to pronounce that impending Judgment. In his Account thereof
 ‘ he was not more particular and clear, than that he said, he for some time

lastly

After all Examinations (says Mr. *Echard* Vol. 3. p. 168.) ' There was but one Man tried for the being the *Incendiary*, who confessing the Fact, was executed for it. This was *Robert Hubert* a *French* *Hugonot* of *Roban* in *Normandy*, a Person falsely said to be a *Papist*, but really a Sort of *Lunatick*, who by meer Accident was brought into *England* just before the Breaking out of the Fire, but not landed till two Days after, as afterwards appeared by the Evidence of *Lawrence Paterfon* the Master of the Ship who had him on Board. So that after weighing the Circumstances, we can still make no exact Determination, but to judge on the charitable and perhaps probable Side, we may say, that the Beginning of this dreadful Fire was the Judgment, and the End of it the Mercy of Heaven, for neither of them seem to have been the Effects of human Means or Counsels.

(c) ' Among all the Proofs and Conjectures (says Bishop *Kennet*) nothing is more certain than this, that in the Beginning of this very Year, *John Rathbone*, *William Sanders*, and six others, for-

had the Vision thereof, but delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt, as he expressed it, the Fire in his own Bosom: Which Message or Vision was very suddenly proved to be sadly true, as the foregoing brief Account doth in part declare. The Fire began on the second of September 1666 on the first Day of the Week, which did immediately follow those two Days the said *Thomas Ibbitt* had gone about the City declaring the Judgment, having gone up and down the City as has been said. When afterwards he saw the Fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his Prediction, a spiritual Pride seized on him, which if others had not been wiser than he, might have tended to his utter Destruction. For the Fire being come as far as the East end of *Cheapside*, he placed himself before the Flame, and spread his Arms forth, as if to stop the Progress of it; and if one *Thomas Matthews* with others had not pulled him (who now seemed altogether distracted) from thence, it is likely he had perished by the Fire, yet in Process of Time, as I have been told, he came to some Recovery, and confessed his Error."

In the Year 1653. (says Bishop *Parker* Hist. of his own Time p. 79.) *Zeigler* of *Leipsick* wrote a Book against the *Regicides*, particularly against *Milton*, wherein the *Prophet* with some warmth thus spake to that rebellious City. "Thou that art now proud *London*, in a little time shall be no more: Nay if all my Notions, and all the Maxims of Policy deceive me not, you are near your Destruction."

In the Year 1660, there was a Fire at *Constantinople* (*Mercurius Publicus* tom 43. p. 683.) 70000 (qu. 7000) Houses were burnt, and 20000 *Turks* lost their Lives.

(d) Bishop *Kennet*'s Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 284.

merly

* merly Officers or Soldiers in the great Rebellion,
 * were tried, convicted and executed for conspiring
 * the Death of his Majesty, and the Subversion of
 * the Government, in order whereunto the City of
 * London was to be set on Fire by them on Septem-
 * ber 3. which by some *Astrological* Scheme they
 * pitched upon as a lucky Day for such an Enter-
 * prize, so that the Fire being at the Height on
 * that very Day, made People call the late Tryal
 * to remembrance, and sent them back to the Pub-
 * lick Gazette of April 30. 1666. (d) Numb. 48,
 * wherein a notorious Account of that Discovery,
 * and Evidence of that Plot to fire the City is dis-
 * covered in Print.

(d) The Bishop is mistaken as to the Date of the Gazette. Which was copied for me in Mr. Pepys's Library, by my worthy Friend Mr. Foulkes President of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and is as follows.

The London Gazette Numb. 48.

April. 26. 1666.

Published by Authority.

* At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, John Ratbone an old Army Colonel,
 * William Sanders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles,
 * Wil. Wescot, and John Cole, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebell-
 * lion, were indicted for conspiring the Death of his Majesty, and the Over-
 * throw of the Government, having laid their Plot and Contrivance for the
 * Surprizal of the Tower, the killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir John
 * Robinson Lieutenant of his Majesty's Tower of London, and Sir Richard
 * Brown, and then to have declared for an equal Division of Lands &c. The
 * better to effect this hellish Design, the City was to have been fired, and the
 * Portcullis to have been let down to keep out all Assistance; the Horse-Guard
 * to have been surprized in the Inns where they were quartered; several Off-
 * lers having been gained for that Purpose. The Tower was accordingly
 * viewed, and its Surprize ordered by Boats over the Moat, and from thence
 * to scale the Wall. One Alexander, who is not yet taken, had likewise dis-
 * tributed Sums of Money to these Conspirators, and for the carrying the
 * Design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the great ones that
 * sat frequently in London, from whom issued all Orders; which Council re-
 * ceived their Directions from another in Holland, who sat with the States,
 * and that the third of September was pitched on for the Attempt, as being
 * found by Lilly's Almanack, and a Scheme erected for that Purpose, to be
 * a lucky Day, a Planet then ruling, which prognosticated the Downfall of
 * Monarchy. The Evidence against these Persons was very full and clear
 * and they accordingly found Guilty of High Treason.

See Phillips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle p. 549, 550. Bishop Parker's History of his own time 1730. p. 62, 63. Bishop Parker observes, that Alexander obtained a Pardon; and did not scruple to give a Detail of the whole Matter to his Friends in private Conversation, and over a Bottle, from which he himself received his Account. Hist. of his own Time. p. 63.

* Bishop

• Bishop Burnet observes, (e) when the *English*
 • Fleet had landed on the *Uly*, an Island lying
 • near the *Texel*, and had burnt it, upon which
 • some came to *de Witt* and offered a Revenge, that
 • if they were assisted, they would set *London* on
 • Fire; he rejected the Proposition, for he said, he
 • would not make the Breach wider, nor the Quar-
 • rel irreconcilable. He said it was brought him
 • by one of the (f) *Labadists*, as sent to them by
 • some others. He made no farther Reflections on
 • the Matter till the City was burnt, then he began
 • to suspect there had been a Design, and that they
 • had intended to draw him into it: and lay the O-
 • dium of it upon the *Dutch*. But he could hear no
 • News of those who had sent that Proposition to
 • him. In the April before some Commonwealths-
 • men were found in a Plot and hanged, who at
 • their Execution confessed, that they had been spo-
 • ken to, to assist in a Design of burning *Lon-*
 • *don* on the second (it should be third) of *Septem-*
 • *ber*, this was printed in the Gazette of that Week
 • which I my self read, now the Fire breaking out
 • on the Second, made all People conclude that
 • there was a Design some Time before on Foot
 • for doing it.

N. p. 405. *This Year put an End to the Life of*
Dr. Cornelius Burgefs, he was of the Puritan Stamp.

If all the *Puritans* had been of his rebellious Stamp,
 they had certainly been a wicked Crew, but there
 was great Difference in *Puritans*, some very good,
 and some very bad, as is justly observed by Mr. (g)
Feltham. The character of *Burgefs* the Reader may
 meet with in the Authors cited in the (h) *Margin*.

(e) Hist. of his own Time Vol. 1. p. 299.

(f) The *Labadists*, a Sect much like our *Quakers*, so called from J. de
Labadie a famous Teacher in *Holland*. The famous *Anna Maria Schurman*
 of this Sect. *Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers*. p. 560.

(g) *Resolves* Folio p. 7.

(h) *Ecbard* Vol. 3. p. 154. *Wood's Athena Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 347, 48,
 p. 50. where he gives an Account of his bequeathing several Common Pray-
 Books to the Publick Library at *Oxford*. Though he was a great Oppo-
 sitor of *Liturgies* during the *Grand Rebellion* and *Usurpation*.

N. p. 407. *This Year (1667) was memorable for the Fall of the great Earl of Clarendon.—The twelfth of November Sir Edward Seymour impeached him at the Bar of the House of Lords in the Name of all the Commons of England for high Treason, and sundry arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings contrary to Law: for corresponding with Cromwell in his Exile.*

Mr. Neal could not but know, that Lord Clarendon had fully cleared himself from this last Part of the Charge, to the King's Satisfaction, during his Exile (i) who declared, ' that he was sorry that he ' was not in a Condition to do him more Justice ' than to declare him innocent; which he did, and ' commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up ' a full order for his Justification: which his Majesty himself would sign.'

Id. ib. *For procuring grants of the Kings Lands to his Relations contrary to Law, for issuing two Warrants to obtain great Summs of Money from the Corporations, for determining Peoples Titles to their Lands at the Council Table, and stopping Proceedings at Law &c.*

(k) *He was grown very unpopular by his stately Palace at St. James's, built in the Time of War and Pestilence which cost him fifty thousand Pounds: some called it Dunkirk House, as being built with his Share of the Price of that Fortrefs; and others Holland House, as if he had received Money from the King's Enemies in time of War.*

(l) ' Concerning my Estate (says he) your Lordships will not believe, that after Malice and Envy

(i) Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 402, 403. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Mr. Whitelock (See Memorials p. 679.) were charged by Scots the Regicide with corresponding with Sir Edward Hyde, but they both absolutely denied it.

(k) ' This House (says Mr. Echard Vol. 3. p. 192.) was built in the Chancellor's Absence in the Plague Year, principally at the Charge of the Vintners Company, who designing to monopolize his Favour, made it abundantly more large and magnificent than he ever intended or desired: And I have been assured by an unquestionable Hand, that when he came to see the Case of that House, he rather submitted than consented, and with a Sigh said, *This House will one Day be my Ruine.*

(l) Petition to the House of Peers, December 6. 1667. Life of Lord Clarendon. Lives of the Lord Chancellors. p. 233. Bishop Kennet's Compleat Hist. Vol. 3. p. 290.

' have been so inquisitive, so sharp sighted, I will
 ' offer any thing to your Lordships, but what is
 ' exactly true. And I do assure your Lordships
 ' in the first Place, that excepting the King's Boun-
 ' ty, I have never received or taken one Penny,
 ' but what was generally understood to be the just
 ' and lawful Perquisites of my Office; by the con-
 ' stant Practice of the best of Times, which I do
 ' in my own Judgment conceive to be that of my
 ' Lord *Coventry*, and my Lord *Ellesmere*, the Prac-
 ' tice of which I constantly observed; although
 ' the Office in both their Times was lawfully worth
 ' double, what it was to me, and I believe now is.
 ' That all the Courtesies and Favours which I have
 ' been able to obtain from the King or other Per-
 ' sons in Church, State, or *Westminster Hall*, have
 ' never been worth to me five Pounds: So that your
 ' Lordships may be confident I am as innocent from
 ' Corruption, as from any disloyal Thoughts,
 ' which after thirty Years Service of the Crown in
 ' some Difficulties and Distress, I did not suspect
 ' would have been objected to me in mine Age.
 ' And I do assure your Lordships, and will make
 ' it manifest, that the several Sums of Money, and
 ' some Parcels of Land which his Majesty has
 ' bountifully bestowed upon me, since his Return
 ' to *England*, are worth more than all I am worth
 ' amounts to: So far I am from advancing my Es-
 ' tate by any indirect Means. And though this
 ' Bounty of his Majesty's has far exceeded my Me-
 ' rits, or my Expectations: Yet some others have
 ' been as fortunate at least in the same Bounty,
 ' who had as small Pretences to it, and have no
 ' great Reason to envy my Condition.'

' (m) Nor have I ever in the least Degree been
 ' concerned in Point of Profit, in the letting of
 ' any Part of his Majesty's Revenue, nor have I

(m) Lives of the Lord Chancellors p. 294. Bishop *Kenner's* Compleat Hist.
 Vol. 3. p. 292. Bishop *Burnes's* Hist. of his own Time Vol. 1. p. 254.

‘ ever treated or debated it, but in his Majesty’s
 ‘ Presence. In which my Opinion concurred al-
 ‘ ways with the major Part of the Counsellors
 ‘ who were present. Nor have I in my Life,
 ‘ upon all the Treaties or otherwise received to
 ‘ the Value of one Shilling from all the Kings
 ‘ and Princes of the World, (except the Books
 ‘ of the *Louvre* Print sent me by the Chancellor
 ‘ of (n) *France*, by that King’s Direction) but
 ‘ from my own Master, to whose entire Service,
 ‘ and the Good and Welfare of my Country, no
 ‘ Man’s Heart was ever more devoted.

N. Ibid. *The Earl made himself obnoxious at Court, by his magisterial Air towards the King.*

(o) Upon all the Reflection I can make with
 my self (says he in a Letter to the Duke of Or-
monde Sept. 24. 1667.) ‘ I am not conscious of
 ‘ having done or said any Thing in Discharge of
 ‘ my publick Trust, which I would not have
 ‘ done or said if I had been that Minute to ex-
 ‘ pire. I am accused of Insolence and Sauciness
 ‘ in Debates; in which it is said, you had long
 ‘ since Direction to advertise me. In Truth, I
 ‘ think I have been frequently bold enough; in
 ‘ which I am sure my Intentions were always full
 ‘ of Duty; and I am confident you will swear for

(n) Bishop Burnet observes (Hist. of his own Time Vol. 1. p. 167.) ‘ when
 ‘ Monsieur Fouquet in 1662. sent one over with a Project of an Alliance
 ‘ between *France* and *England*, he addressed first to the Earl of *Clarendon* to
 ‘ whom he enlarged all the Heads of the Scheme he had brought, of which
 ‘ the Match with *Portugal* was a main Article, and to make all go down the
 ‘ better *Fouquet* desired to enter into a particular Friendship with the Earl of
 ‘ *Clarendon*, and sent him the Offer of 10000*l.* and assured him of renewing
 ‘ the same Present every Year. The Lord *Clarendon* told him, he would lay
 ‘ all that related to the King faithfully before him, and give him his Answer
 ‘ in a little Time, but for what related to himself, he said, he served a great
 ‘ and bountiful Master, who knew well how to support and reward his Servants;
 ‘ he would ever serve him faithfully, and because he knew he must serve those
 ‘ from whom he accepted the Hire, therefore he rejected the Offer with great
 ‘ Indignation.—He told the King and Duke of the Offer, and how he had
 ‘ rejected it, and seriously warned the King of the Danger, he might fall in-
 ‘ to, if he ever suffered those who served him to be Pensioners to other Princes.

(o) Appendix to the 2d Volume of Mr. *Carter*’s History of the Life of *James*
 the first Duke of *Ormonde*, No. 52. p. 38.

‘ me,

me, that Duty shall never decline. If I know myself, I shall never be less warm in all the King's Concernments than I have ever been; and it is not impossible that I may yet do him more Service under his Displeasure, than I have been able to do in his Favour.

N. p. 408. *The Earl did not think fit to abide the Storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a Paper behind him, in which he denies almost every Article of his Charge, but the Parliament voted it scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.*

(p) I make no Doubt (says Lord Cornbury in a Letter to the Duke of Ormonde, the 8th of Dec. 1667.) but your Grace has been fully informed of the several Steps, that have been made towards my Father's Ruine, since the Time that the Seals were taken from him. Therefore I will not trouble you with any Repetitions; the Narrative of that Affair being too long for a Letter, and not fit to be undertaken by me, who may be too partial in a Case that so nearly concerns my self. All I shall presume to tell your Grace is, that he never stirred, as long as he saw any Probability of being brought to his Trial in Parliament; though all his Friends from the first opening of this Session persuaded him to leave the Kingdom, fearing his Innocence, (though never so great) would not be able to protect him against the Fury and Malice of his Adversaries. He hath had all other Baits imaginable to be gone; the King himself having often intimated, as if he would be glad my Father were out of the Way; and some of his very Enemies did not stick to undertake (as much as in them lay) that if he were once gone, there should be no further Proceeding against him.

(p) Appendix to the 2d Vol. of Mr. Carte's Hist. of the Life of the Duke of Ormonde. No. 53. p. 39.

' But all this moved him not, till it was too evi-
 ' dent that the House of (q) Commons aimed at
 ' Nothing so much as to break with the Lords,
 ' upon their Refusal to commit him, without spe-
 ' cial Matter alledged; which the Commons posi-
 ' tively resolved not to alledge till he was commit-
 ' ted. To this *Dilemma* Things were brought, so that
 ' it was impossible to avoid a Rupture between
 ' the two Houses; which that my Father might
 ' not be the Cause of, and to prevent to the ut-
 ' most of his Power a Breach that might be of
 ' so ill Consequence to the Peace of the King-
 ' dom; and to shew his Readiness to comply with
 ' any Thing, that might be in any Degree ac-
 ' ceptable to his Majesty, though even by aban-
 ' doning his own Innocence; and being informed
 ' from very credible Hands, that there was a De-
 ' sign to prorogue the Parliament on Purpose to
 ' try him by a *Jury of Peers*, (by which Means
 ' he might fall into the Hands of the *Protesting*
 ' *Lords*) he resolved, and accordingly found an
 ' Opportunity of transporting himself to *Calais*,
 ' where he arrived on *Wednesday* last. He left
 ' behind him an Address to the House of Lords,
 ' of which I suppose your Grace has had an Ac-
 ' count, and of the severe Censures that have been
 ' passed upon it. A Copy whereof I send here
 ' inclosed, as likewise a Copy of the Articles
 ' against him, and of the Protestation of the Dis-
 ' senting Lords.

' Thus your Grace sees the inevitable Ruin and
 ' Destruction of a Person who hath spent near

(q) Mr. Carte observes (*Life of the Duke of Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 354.)
 That the Commons passed a very extraordinary Vote. " That the Lords not
 " complying with the House of Commons in committing the Earl of *Claren-*
 " *don*, upon their Impeachment of Treason, is an Obstruction to publick Jus-
 " tice in the Proceedings of both Houses, and of evil and dangerous Conse-
 " quence in the Future." " And that the Debate which ended in this Vote
 " was ushered in by the Duke of *Albemarle's* Son, a Youth of fourteen or
 " fifteen Years of Age, (for such were then allowed to sit in the House of
 " Commons.)

‘ thirty Years in the Service of the Crown ; for
 ‘ Part of which Time your Grace is able to give
 ‘ him some Testimony. If this Storm proceeded
 ‘ only from the Power and Malice of a particu-
 ‘ lar Faction it were to be struggled with ; but
 ‘ being from the Anger and Displeasure of the
 ‘ King (the Ground whereof he could never yet
 ‘ by any Means discover) makes his Misfortunes
 ‘ insupportable.’

I shall conclude the Account of this great Man,
 with the Character given of him by Mr. *Carte*,
 and Bishop *Burnet* ; in which the Reader will find
 every ill natured Reflection cast upon him by Mr.
Neal in this Volume, (for no other Reason, it is
 plain, but because he adhered to the Interest of
 his King and Country, and would not give up
 the Church Established into the Hands of un-
 reasonable Fanaticks) fully obviated. ‘ (r) The
 ‘ Chancellor (says Mr. *Carte*) was certainly a Mi-
 ‘ nister of as great Probity, Disinterestedness and
 ‘ Integrity as hath been known in any Age. His
 ‘ whole Conduct, and his Letters to the Duke of
 ‘ *Ormonde* (to a Friend towards whom he had no
 ‘ Reserve) are an irrefragable Proof of this Part
 ‘ of his Character ; but he seems to have fallen
 ‘ into that very Mistake (which he remarks in

(r) History of the Life of *James*, the first Duke of *Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p.
 350. Mr. *Eccard* observes (Vol. 3. p. 192.) That that great and excellent
 Man, the Lord Treasurer *Southampton*, ‘ who had always testified an invio-
 ‘ lable Friendship to the Chancellor, and no Man was more sensible of his real
 ‘ Worth ; and at the last Time he appeared at the Council Board, when
 ‘ Age and Infirmities would hardly permit him to speak, he bravely exerted
 ‘ himself in the Chancellor’s Behalf, stood up and spoke with all his Power
 ‘ to this Effect. *This Man is a true Protestant and an honest Englishman,*
 ‘ *and while he is in Place, we are secure of our Laws, Liberties, and Religion.*
 ‘ *But whenever he shall be removed, England will feel the ill Effects of it.* And
 ‘ he farther observes, (Vol. 3. p. 198.) that Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had a
 ‘ particular Place in the King’s Household, as well as in the Commons,
 ‘ always voted in Favour of the Earl. For which he was reprimanded by the
 ‘ King himself, who seeing him one Day said, *How now Fox how came you*
 ‘ *to vote against my Inclinations?* Sir *Stephen* bravely answered to this Ef-
 ‘ fect. “ Sir, I have known this Gentleman many Years, and have lived
 ‘ under the same Roof with him, and I am sure he is an honest Man, and
 ‘ can never be guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge.” —

the Character of Archbishop *Laud*) of imagin-
 ing, that a Man's own Integrity will support
 him in all Times in all Circumstances of Affairs,
 in the Measures which he takes for the publick
 Good: He was passionate, and, though solemn
 and cool in Debate, did not bear an unreason-
 able Contradiction with that Temper, which
selfish, artful, and designing Men always take
 Care to preserve. He was not without the Pride
 of a conscious Virtue, and knowing well the
 just Reasons upon which he gave his Advice on
 any Occasion, when he found it rejected, he
 thought himself less concerned to prevent the ill
 Consequences of Measures taken by others Coun-
 sels, in Opposition to his own, which were dic-
 tated purely by his Zeal for the King's Service,
 and his Regard to the Good of the Kingdom.
 From the Time the Lord *Arlington* was made
 Secretary of State, he was apt on Occasion to
 complain, that he had no Credit at Court,
 which disoblged the King, and to clear him-
 self from having any Hand in certain Resolu-
 tions, which perhaps would otherwise not have
 been approved in the Event; and yet his Dislike
 thereof was still represented as the Reason of
 their Miscarriage, and served the Advisers for
 an Excuse. He always gave the King prudent
 and honest Advice; but if it was over-ruled (as
 was too often the Case) he did not care to inter-
 meddle, but left it to wiser Men (as he stiled
 them) to follow their own Measures, and to
 perform what they had confidently undertaken
 for the King's Service. This Manner of Con-
 duct made him neglect his Interest, (of which
 few Ministers have ever had a greater, and yet
 founded upon Virtue) in the House of Com-
 mons, till at last it was utterly ruined. Arch-
 bishop *Sheldon* saw early what would be the
 Issue of this Way of proceeding, and did not
 fail

fail to represent it to the Chancellor; but he was
 not to be removed from the Plan of Conduct
 which he had laid down to himself: So that
Sheldon could not forbear complaining in his
 Letters to the Duke of *Ormonde*, that *Clarendon*
 had by that Means ruined himself; and suffered
 the Church to fall into that Danger, wherein it
 was at the Time that the Seals were taken from
 him. Bishop *Burnet* says, (s) 'that he resolved not
 to stretch the Prerogative beyond what it was
 before the Wars, and would neither set aside the
 Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raise the
 Courts of Star-Chamber, or the High Com-
 mission again; which would have been easily
 done if he had set about it: Nor did he think fit
 to move for the Repeal of the Act for Trien-
 nial Parliaments, till other Matters were well
 settled. He took Care indeed to have all that
 were extorted by the Long Parliament from
 King *Charles I* to be repealed, and since the Dis-
 pute of the Power of the *Militia* was the most
 important, and the most insisted on, he was
 very earnest to have that clearly determined for
 the Future. But as to all the Acts relating to
 Property, or the just Limitation of the Prero-
 gative, such as the Matter of the *Ship-money*,
 the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and the *Habeas Cor-*
pus Act, he did not touch on these. And as for
 the standing Revenue 1200000 *l.* a Year was all
 that was asked; and though it was much more
 than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it
 was readily granted; this was to answer all
 the ordinary Expence of the Government. It
 was believed, that if two Millions had been
 asked, he could have carried it; but he had no

(s) History of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 159, 160. See a further Defence
 Ibid. p. 254, 255. He is styled by a learned Writer (Mr. *Warburton*'s divine
 Legation of *Moses* p. 17.) 'The best of Men, of *Patriots*, and of *Writers*.

' Mind to put the King out of the Necessity of
 ' having Recourse to the Parliament. The King
 ' came afterwards to believe, that he could have
 ' raised both his Authority and Revenue much
 ' higher, but that he had no Mind to carry it
 ' farther, or to trust him too much: Whether all
 ' these Things could have been got at that Time
 ' or not, is above my Conjecture. But this I
 ' know, that all the Earl of *Clarendon's* Enemies
 ' after his Fall said, these Things had been easily
 ' obtained, if he had taken any Pains in the
 ' Matter, but that he himself had no Mind to it:
 ' And they infused this into the King, so that he
 ' believed it, and hated him mortally upon that
 ' Account. And in his Difficulties afterwards, he
 ' said often, all those Things might have been
 ' prevented, if the Earl of *Clarendon* had been
 ' true to him.

N. p. 425. *Mr. Joseph Allein the ejected Minister of Taunton.*

He was only Assistant to Mr. (u) *George Newton*
 Minister of *Taunton*, and as such cannot, with any
 Propriety, be called the *ejected Minister* of that
 Place.

Mr. *Neal* speaking of the Acts against seditious
 Conventicles says, p. 429. *That the Preamble of*
the Act does not charge the Dissenters with Disloyalty,
but only says, "That for the providing speedy Re-
medies against the Practice of seditious Sectaries,
" and others, who under Pretence of tender Con-
sciences, have or may at their Meetings contrive In-
surrections, [These Words, as late Experience
" has shewn, sily omitted by him.] Be it enacted
" &c." Here he injuriously lays the Blame upon
 the Bishops, as if the King and the two Houses

(u) *Wood's Athenæ*; Vol. 2. p. 426. *Dr. Calamy's Account* p. 574. Says
 he was Assistant to Mr. *Newton*: and yet with the same Impropriety says
 he was ejected with him.

were wholly under their Direction and Influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* not over civilly for being of a contrary Opinion.

N. p. 440. *The Duke of York, the King's Brother, having lost his Dutcheſs Lord Clarendon's Daughter, who died a Papist, made a formal Abjuration of the Protestant Religion at this Time, before Father Simon an English Jeſuit.*

It does not fully appear that the Dutcheſs of York died a *Papist*: It is true it was currently reported before her Death, that ſhe was going off from her Religion, which occaſioned her Father the Earl of *Clarendon* to write to her, to diſſuade her from embracing the *Romiſh* Religion. And *Monſieur Maimbourg* publiſhed, in *French*, her Declaration for renouncing the *Proteſtant* Religion, [*Declaration de Madame la Princeſs D'York.*] Yet Dr. *Richard Watſon* a celebrated *Engliſh* Divine, who publiſhed an Answer to it, gives probable Reaſons in Proof that this Declaration was not genuine.

(x) ' The firſt Tender I make (ſays he) is this, ' which you will I hope allow me to adventure ' upon my own Reputation, if I add in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, which I ſafely can; that toward the ' End of my laſt Quarter's Waiting in Courſe ' at *Whitehall*, her R. H. having been long decumbent in her Sickneſs, and many Times in ' great Extremity of Torture (perhaps as much ' in Mind, in that Diſtraction or Convulſion of ' Thoughts, as of Body) from the violent Affaults ' and Paroxyſms of her Fever, both yielding ' alike ſad Accents, if not articulate Complaints, ' and much aſtoniſhing us, whoſe Attendance in ' our Stations drew us within Notice of it, there

(x) A fuller Answer to *Elimas the Sorcerer &c.* In a Letter addreſſed to Mr. *Thomas Jones* by Dr. *Richard Watſon* Chaplain to his R. Highneſs, London: printed 1683. Folio. p. 2. *penes me.* See a bad Character of *Jones*. *Wood's Athena* Vol. 2. p. 711. And an Account of Dr. *Watſon*, and his Works. *Wood's Faſti* Vol. 2. p. 149, 150.

' being,

being, as it were, an absolute Desertion of her
Little Oratory, which before, whether her H.
 were there or not, used to be well frequented by a
 comfortable Audience, that assisted at our *Mat-*
tins, and *Even-Song*, which, beside, that it
 pleased God, gave Countenance to the *Chaplain*
 in the Performance of his Offices at the House
 appointed, I calling to Mind the Strictness of
 her Command formerly, and the Steadiness of
 her personal Example in Time of Health, found
 it necessary for her R. H. to have Knowledge
 of it in some seasonable Interval of her Griefs,
 assuring myself her Goodness would not take
 amiss such a dutiful and devout Expression of
 a religious Desire, she should be daily prayed
 for by us, when in that weak Condition she
 could not present herself before the little Altar
 she had erected to pray there with us. This
 I did with that Caution as became me in
 the present Circumstances, and committed the
 Care of it to a discreet Lady of her Cham-
 ber, who was seldom absent from her Bed-
 side, desiring her in the Sum of all, to say
 plainly, that the Chaplain was in this Streight,
 without her H. suddenly found some Expe-
 dient, either to set open the Doors of her Oratory,
 and read Common Prayer to the painted Wain-
 scot, or keep them shut and read none at all.
 Whereof what Sense the Court and City would
 have, must be left at Adventure. The very
 next Day when I went into the Privy Chamber
 at the wonted Hour, I saw no Cause at all either
 of Complaint or Enquiry after her H.'s Pleasure,
 and new Order, it being appointed before my
 Coming, that the Reading Desk and Books
 should be made ready; and when the Bed-
 Chamber Door should be opened, our Common
 Prayer should be read at the very Entrance
 thereinto, whither assembled not only a con-
 siderable

siderable Number without the Door, and within
 such Ladies as were in immediate Attendance,
 or others priviledged to be there. But her H.
 personally as she lay in Bed found, I hope, some
 Comfort and Benefit by our Prayers read in her
 hearing, wherein I doubt not but she at that
 Time joined in Communion with us, or else
 would have ordered it otherwise: This Course,
 for ought I remember, continued, while her
 infirm Condition could comply with it, through-
 out my Time. After my Dismission, what
 Method therein was observed, my Reverend
 Successor in that Employment can best report:
 But this on all Hands, I believe, will easily be
 yielded; that her Highness's Sicknes, more
 and more every Day prevailing, and conse-
 quently the Strength of Nature as much decay-
 ing, little Abatement in that Anxiety she had of
 Mind, and little better Satisfaction of Doubts
 and Scruples, or Settlement in Religion, con-
 sidering her sad Condition, can reasonably be sup-
 posed; whether in this deplorable Estate she might
 send for her *Spiritual Physician*, the *Ecclesiastick*
 Person mentioned by her, or some other, I can
 with Assurance neither affirm nor deny. Nor
 will I doubt more, if he came, of her High-
 ness's patient Attention and Submission to all he
 said, (at a Time when she wanted somewhat to
 allay or charm the Tumult of her Spirits) than
 I do of what a learned and well practised Civi-
 lian has told me, that many *Testaments* are
 brought in Court, truly signed by the *Testators*
 in a dying Condition, but of no other Account
 of Will or Consent, than to be rid of their impor-
 tunate Kindred, Allies, or Friends, that they may
 be free to dispose their Souls to a calm and se-
 rene Departure out of this unquiet World: And
 whether the *good Father* were sent for or no,
 very well known it is, how the *Ecclesiasticks* of
 that

‘ that Communion, use not to be over-modest,
 ‘ as Opportunity may serve, in offering their
 ‘ Assistance to expiring Persons, of what Church,
 ‘ or what Quality soever, where they may have
 ‘ Admission.——

‘ (y) To make good my Word and produce
 ‘ my second Particular, upon better Credit than
 ‘ my own, (as having it from a Person twenty
 ‘ Times more interested in the Court than myself,
 ‘ and far better acquainted with private Passages
 ‘ of Moment there) when not only the Reports
 ‘ were warm of her Royal Highness’s Defection
 ‘ from the Religion professed by the Church of
 ‘ *England*, but that her Father the Earl of *Clarendon*
 ‘ had taken Notice of it by Letter (the
 ‘ written Copy whereof passed from Hand to
 ‘ Hand) in Discharge of his paternal Duty, I be-
 ‘ ing not over credulous of such a sudden
 ‘ Change, upon popular Rumour, in a Person so
 ‘ (z) judicious and deliberate in all her Actions,
 ‘ to obtain a Certainty of the Truth, for my
 ‘ private Satisfaction (if no more) writ a Letter
 ‘ upon that Subject, to a very sage and grave
 ‘ Person, my most worthy Friend at Court, from
 ‘ whom I received this in Answer, or to this
 ‘ Effect.

‘ That her R. H. (when this fierce Conflict of
 ‘ Soul and Body was almost finished) when she
 ‘ must needs be sensible of the few Hours or Mi-
 ‘ nutes she had to live, and fewer Hopes but by
 ‘ some extraordinary Assistance, to hold the En-
 ‘ counter unto the End, like a good *Christian*
 ‘ Lady, desired to have her last *Viaticum* prepared
 ‘ for her, and like a persevering Member of au-

(y) Ibid p. 3.

(z) ‘ The Dutchess of York (says Bishop Burnet Hist. of his own Time
 ‘ Vol. 1. p. 170.) was a very extraordinary Woman, she had great Know-
 ‘ ledge and a lively Sense of things—he was bred to great Strictness in Re-
 ‘ ligion, and practised secret Confession. *Morley* told me he was her Confessor
 ‘ —She was generous and friendly, but too severe an Enemy.

‘ Church

Church, appointed it to be administred expressly by the Hand of the Bishop of (a) Oxford, that then was, who, by what Impediment or unhappy Accident was not expressly writ me, came too late, when if the Doors were not shut, the Keepers of the House were trembling, the Grinders ceasing, and those that had been looking out of the Windows were darkned; and this Daughter of Musick being brought low, her Desire failed, because she was going to her long Home, where I hope her divine *Manna* hath never failed, and her *celestial* instead of her *sacramental* Cup hath overflowed, beyond the Satisfaction of her thirsty Soul, to her eternal Joy, and ineffable Delight in the God of her Salvation.

The Testimony of my courteous Correspondent would be unquestionable, were his Name known, which I will not publish, having not asked his Leave, but take any Censure to be made of what he writes upon my self. The Truth of all, or high Probability (without the Credit and Veracity of which Witness) will, I doubt not, be rationally argued from what here I mean shall follow.

Now Mr. Jones, after two such unexceptionable Evidences, in your own Expression, let you and I consider, laying aside all Prejudice against Directors or Confessors, what is reasonable for us to believe of our deceased *Dutchess*; was all this think you a Piece of *Pageantry* her R. H. acted, or exposed to the View of the World in the very last Scene of Life? But Monsieur *Maimbourg* prints it, as is supposed, from her own Hand; I will believe it so far, when I see and know the Original: But I will

(a) Walter Blandford S. T. P. Bishop of Oxford, when she died, March 31. 1671. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 229. *Survey of Cathedrals* by Brown Willis Esq; Vol. 3. p. 434.

' not then believe, her Royal Highness persisted
 ' in the Sense of it to her last Hour, inferring ra-
 ' ther from what I have here related, that she re-
 ' tracted the said Writing in Fact, which per-
 ' haps for Reasons best known to herself, if not
 ' because of her Infirmary, her Highness neither
 ' declared it by Word of Mouth, nor signed any
 ' such Retraction with her Hand; so that Mon-
 ' sieur *Maimbourg* may boast, as you say, of a
 ' Proselyte in gilded Paper, and you charge me
 ' with the Party you mean to little Purpose, if
 ' no final Change were resolved on as you surmise.
 ' Toward the Discovery of which Truth, if
 ' what I have already writ be not enough demon-
 ' strative, let us with all due Regard to the
 ' pious Memory of that excellent Princess take
 ' a summary Review of the (b) *Declaration* itself.
 ' Which he does from p. 4. to p. the 29th inclu-
 ' sive, to which I refer the Reader.

Upon the King's Declaration of Indulgence
 Mr. Neal observes, p. 446. *That a moderate*
Address of Thanks was presented to the King, for
their Liberty, but all were afraid of the Consequences.

Mr. Baxter says, (c) ' that the *London Noncon-*
 ' *formable* Ministers were incited to return his
 ' Majesty their Thanks, at their meeting, Dr.
 ' *Seaman* and Mr. *Jenkins* (who had been till then
 ' most distant from the Court) were for a Thankf-
 ' giving in such high applauding Terms, as Dr.
 ' *Manton*, and almost all the rest dissented from.
 And Bishop *Burnet* observes, (d) ' that the *Pres-*
 ' *byterians* came in a Body; and Dr. *Manton* in
 ' their Name thanked the King for it, which
 ' offended many of their best Friends; there
 ' was also an Order to pay a yearly Pension of

(b) The Declaration printed. Bishop *Kennet's* Collections Vol. 3. p. 319-
 320. dated August 20. 1670. In which she ascribes her Conversion to the
 Reading Dr. *Heylin's* History of the Reformation. The Improbability of which
 is discovered by Dr. *Watson*, in the Book referred to.

(c) *Baxter's* Life, Part 3. p. 99. (d) Hist. of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 308.

fifty Pounds to most of them, and of a hundred Pounds a Year to the Chief of the Party : *Baxter* sent back his Pension, and would not touch it ; but most of them took it. All this I say upon *Dr. Stillingfleet's* Word, who assured me, he knew the Truth of it ; and in particular he told me, that *Pool* who wrote the *Synopsis* of the Criticks confessed to him, that he had had fifty Pounds for two years.' Bishop *Burnet* adds, ' Thus the Court hired them to be silent ; and the greatest Part of them were so.' This *Mr. Neal* attacks, and says, that *Dr. Owen* declares it is such a frontless malicious Lye as Impudence itself would blush at. Though it is plain from *Dr. Owen's* Words (if fairly cited) that he answers only for himself, " That neither Papist or Protestant did ever advise with him about any Indulgence or Toleration granted to Papists." He is far from denying (in the Words quoted by *Mr. Neal*) that the Dissenters had Pensions from the Government for a Time.

N. p. 447. This Year died *Dr. Edmund Stanton* the ejected Minister of *Kingston upon Thames* : He was educated in *Wadham College*, of which he was Fellow.

(e) ' He became a Commoner of *Wadham College* in the Beginning of the Year 1615. was admitted Scholar of *Corpus Christi College* on the 4th of *October* the same Year ; and afterwards Fellow 22 March 1616. and M. of A. *Mr. Richard Mayo*, the Writer of his Life, says, (f) That he was

(e) *Athena Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 484.

(f) *Athena Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 473. The Author of the Friendly Debate (Preface to the Appendix to the third Part) speaking of this Man, has the following Words. ' I apply this to such vain glorious Challenges as I have seen from these Barbarians and Savages, who imagine roaring and being furious, is far more noble than speaking and reasoning. *Mr. Vavasor* Powell I remember made a Challenge (June 11. 1652.) to any Minister or Scholar of ours to dispute publicly or privately on this Question, (and another) whether our mixed Way, or their Way, of Separation was nearest to the Word of God ? But it was drawn up in such *Kickin Latin* as never, I think, saw the Light, since the *Goths* sack'd *Rome* ; and as evidently demonstrated, that he thought his Sufficiency greater than it was.'

sent

' sent to *Oxford* and admitted into C. C. C. where
 ' he so plied his Study, and got such Applause;
 ' that whilest he was yet an Undergraduate he was
 ' chosen a Probationer Fellow of that College, be-
 ' fore 18 of his Seniors, (a *Bedfordshire* Place fal-
 ' ling void by the Death of Mr. *Andrews* a Fellow
 ' of the House.)

N. p. 448. Mr. *Vavasor Powell* was educated in
Jesus College Oxon. When he left that University,
 he preached up and down in *Wales*, till being driven
 from thence for want of *Presbyterial* Ordination which
 he scrupled, he came to *London* and soon after settled
 at *Dartford* in *Kent*.

He was not always so scrupulous, as appears from
 the following Account given of him by Mr. *Wood*.
 ' Be it known (says he) that this Person (*Vava-*
 ' *for Powell*) who was famous in his Generation for
 ' his ill Name among those that were not of his
 ' Opinion, was born in the Borough of *Knucklafs*
 ' in *Radnorshire*, son of *Richard Powell* an Ale-
 ' keeper there, he was brought up a Scholar (says
 ' the Publisher of his Life (*Alexander Griffith*) but
 ' the Writer of *Strena Vavasoriensis* (*Edward Bay-*
 ' *shaw* as is reported) tells us, " that his Employ-
 " ment was to walk Guests Horses, by which find-
 " ing no great Gain at such a petty Alehouse,
 " he was elevated in his Thoughts for higher Pre-
 " ferment, and so became an *Hofler* (I would say
 " *Groom*) to Mr. *Isaac Thomas* an Inn-keeper, and
 " Mercer in *Bishops Castle Shropshire* &c." ' The
 ' time that he came to the said College, (*Jesus Col-*
 ' *lege Oxon.*) must be, if true, about 1634, at which
 ' time he was 17 Years of Age, being then encou-
 ' raged in his Studies, and exhibited to by his Un-
 ' cle *Erasmus Powell*, but whether he was matri-
 ' culated, or avoided it to save a little Money, as
 ' many have done, that intended to take no Degree,
 ' I know not; nor what Stay and Progress he made
 ' in his Studies in the same College. Sure it is,
 ' that

* that soon after his said Uncle got him to be set-
 * tled at *Clun* in *Shropshire*, where he taught School
 * first, and then was Curate, or as *Strena* saith,
 * took upon him the Habit of Sir *John*, and lest
 * without *Ordination* (under the *Episcopal Govern-*
 * *ment*) he might incur the Danger of Suspension,
 * borrowed of an old decayed Minister (his near
 * Kinsman) his *Letters of Orders*, *raseth out the*
 * *other, and inserts his own Name*, and under Co-
 * lour of these *Counterfeit Letters*, he goes unsent,
 * and begins to thunder out of the Pulpits, as if
 * he had been a *Fiery Spirit raised out of Hell*. But
 * by Reason of his Nonconformity, and the ma-
 * ny Errors he had broached, his *Calling* was ques-
 * tioned, and the *Orders* being well scanned, were
 * found *spurious and counterfeit*, and he bound to
 * appear at the next great Sessions to be held for
 * the County of *Radnor*, (where he frequently
 * preached after he had left *Clun*) so that upon his
 * Appearance and Indictment for Nonconformity,
 * *forging of Orders*, and *seditious Doctrine*, he was
 * with much ado reprieved from the Gallows."--
 Such was the *Conscience* of this good Man, who *scrupled*
Presbyterian Ordination.

Mr. *Echard* says (g) ' that he was a bold, dan-
 * gerous, and pestilent Man, a pragmatistical, and
 * indefatigable Enemy to Monarchy and Episco-
 * pacy, who did a world of Mischief as some say,
 * or a world of Good as others say in his own
 * Country. This restless Man, having been an
 * Opposer of all higher Powers, met with Impri-
 * sonment from different Parties, to whom he shew-
 * ed an invincible Spirit: And last of all died a
 * Prisoner in the Fleet.'

N. p. 453. Mr. Philip Nye M. A. was educated in
 Magdalen College Oxford, where he took his Degrees.

(g) History of England. Vol. 3. p. 264. See a farther Account of him,
Wood's Athena Vol. 2. p. 474. &c. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. 2. Book
 13. p. 26. *Walker's* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy.

Philip Nye (says Mr. *Wood, Athene Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 502.) was entred a Commoner of *Bra-sen Nose* July 1615, aged nineteen Years, or thereabouts, but making no long Stay there, he removed to *Magdalen Hall*, (not *Magdalen College*.) Where being put under the Tuition of a *Puritanical* Tutor, continued till he had taken the Degrees in Arts. Nye (says *Bishop Kennet Register* p. 932.) before his Death, (he having been, I may venture to say, a *red hot* (b) *Zealot* of the (i) *Independent Tribe*) lived to write the *Lawfulness*, of hearing the *Publick Ministers* in the *Church of England*.

Mr. *Neal's* Reasoning upon the *Test Act*, p. 460. is remarkable: But is fully answered, (as are all the *Objections* of the *Dissenters* upon that Head) by the present Right Reverend and admirably Learned, the Lord Bishop of (k) *Salisbury*; who has exhausted the Subject.

N. p. 643. Mr. James Janeway *M. A.* was Student of *Christ's College* in Oxford.

He became Student (says Mr. *Wood Athene Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 525.) of *Christ Church*, in 1655, and took one Degree in Arts.

N. p. 468. When twelve or thirteen Bishops came into the City to dine with Sir Nathaniel Herne, Sheriff of London, and exhorted him to put the Laws in Execution against the Nonconformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with them one Day, and put them in Prison the next.

(b) Nye had been so active a Rebel, that by the *Act of Indemnity*, 12. *Carol. 2.* Cap. 1. he was excepted for Life, 'if after the first Day of September 1660. he should accept any Office Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military within the Kingdom of England &c.'

(i) An Independent Teacher who came to subscribe the Declaration, and Articles enjoined to be subscribed by the *Act of Toleration*, (not long after that *Act* was passed) at the Sessions held for the County of Cambridge, being asked by one of the Justices, of what *Sect* he was? he replied, that he was an Independent. Why an Independent, says the Justice? I am called an Independent, says the Dissenter, because I depend upon my Bible.

(k) Dr. *Sherlock's* Vindication of the *Corporation and Test Acts*, against the Bishop of *Bangor's* Reasons for the Repeal of them.

Bishop

Bishop Kennet in the Place referred to, (viz. *Complete Hist.* p. 338.) introduces his Account in the following Manner. " Their own History has " little to Boast of, but the Prosecution of some " of their *Teachers*, and a History of (1) *Judgments* " upon some of the *Informers*: To which they add " that about this Time, twelve or thirteen Bishops " dining with Sir Nathaniel Herne &c."

N. p. 473. Sir Roger L'Estrange observed no Measures with his Adversaries, in his *Weekly Observators, Foxes and Firebrands &c.*

(1) The *Dissenters* were great Interpreters of Judgments upon their Adversaries, as appears even from Dr. Calamy in his Abridgment of *Baxter's Life*. And the Author of *Mercurius Publicus* (Num. 33. 1660.) makes mention of an impudent, dull, and senseless, Pamphlet published by *Livewell Chapman* &c. telling of tragical Stories of Frogs, Dogs, Toads, Men, some suddenly dead, and yet alive, for reading Common Prayer at *Oxford*.

Bishop Parker (Bishop of *Oxford*, History of his own Time, p. 16, 17.) has the following Words. ' Among the vast Number of Books which they published for the Space of two Years, those chiefly teem'd with *Sedition*, which treated of *Prodigies*. In all these you might see daily the Wonders of *Liby*. Two Suns. Ships swimming in the Air. A bloody Rainbow, it rains Stones. A Lamb with two Heads. All the Cathedral Churches singled with Lightning. A Bull speaks. A Hen is changed into a Cock. When the *Parricides* were put to Death, five young Boys were seen to stand by them: A bright Star shone round about the Quarters of those that were affixed upon the City Gates. The Apparition of a *Bishop*, in his *lawn Sleeves* and *Robet*, was seen at *Oxford*. Two monstrous large Hogs came into the Church of *Canterbury* in the Time of Divine Service: This (they say) happened in the Year 1641, before the Destruction of the *Hierarchy*. When the Effigy of a *Presbyterian Parson* was to be burned, the Straw would not take Fire. Many Ministers died suddenly, as they were reading the *Liturgy*. One that rejoiced at the Execution of *Harrison the Parricide*, was struck with a *Palsy*. Another railing against *Peters* as he was going to the Gallows, was very much wounded, and almost torn to Pieces by a Dog, which he had made tame and familiar to him. A Woman at *Chichester* was delivered of a Child, not from the *Womb*, but from her Mouth: Besides these, there were an infinite Number of other *lying Wonders*, I do not make one of them my self, and it would grieve me to recite the hundredth Part of their Folly.'

Nor did they write these Fables only, but made Parallels with the Punishments imposed by Heaven upon the wicked Men of the past Times. Nor is this all; the *Blasphemers*, in the Beginning of their Books, called God to witness, as he is the Searcher of our Hearts, the Truth of all their Fables: and with bitter Imprecations asserted them to be true. These Stories their *Ringleaders* would tell, and the People swallowed them greedily. I was a young Man in those Days, but very well remember, they read these Books as diligently as they did the Bible. —

(m) Sir Roger L'Estrange was not the Author of *Foxes and Firebrands*. Dr. Nalson was Author of the first Part, and Mr. Ware (Son of Sir James Ware) if I mistake not, of the other Parts.

N. p. 474. But in Answer to the *Invectives* of this mercenary Writer (Sir Roger L'Estrange) and others, a Pamphlet was published with the Approbation of several Ministers, entitled, *the Principles of several Nonconformists, shewing their Religion is no other than what is professed in the Church of England*. The Authors declare that—they hold it unlawful by the Constitution and Laws of the Kingdom, for Subjects to take Arms against the King, his Office, Authority, or Person, or those legally commissioned or authorized by him.

And pray who can think the Author (Mr. Corbet) spoke the Truth; if Mr. Wood's Account of him is to be credited. (n) ' That he preached seditiously, (at the Beginning of the Rebellion) vilified the King and his Party in a base Manner, and would often say in common Discourse, and in the Pulpit sometimes, *that nothing hath so much deceived the World as the Name of a King,*

(m) Sir Roger L'Estrange was now and then censured without Reason, as appears from Mr. Echard's following Account. (Appendix to the three Volumes of the History of England. p. 21.) ' Miles Prance acknowledged in a printed Letter to his Antagonist Sir Roger L'Estrange, the villainous Practices upon him in *Newgate*, which made him yield basely to forswear himself against those innocent Persons, *Green, Berry, and Hill*, that died upon his wicked Evidence. I shall dismiss the unhappy Man, with a Story told me by the late Archbishop of York, [Dr. Sharp] who, when Minister of *Saint Giles Westminster*, happened to administer the Sacrament to Mr. Baxter, L'Estrange, and this Prance at the same time; the two latter at the opposite Part, and the other at the middle of the Rails. Here L'Estrange who received the last of the three, having the Bread in his Hand, asked the Doctor whether he knew that Man on the other side of the Rails? Upon answering no, he said thus. " That is Miles Prance, I challenge him, and solemnly declare before God, and this Congregation, that whatever that Man has sworn or published concerning me, is totally and absolutely false: And may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if all this Declaration be not true." Prance was silent, Mr. Baxter took particular Notice of it, and the Doctor declared, that he would have refused him the Sacrament, if the Declaration had been made in Time.

(n) *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 673.

which

which was the Ground of all Mischief to the Church of Christ.

Mr. Neal in his Account of the Informers of those times, who certainly (as in all other Reigns) are bad enough: Says from Sewel, p. 493. N. p. 476. *That they were generally poor, as were many of the Justices, so that they shared the Booty belonging to the King: as well as the Poor among themselves; by which Means, the King and Poor got but little.*

But Sewell adds in the very next Words (what Mr. Neal with his usual Dexterity thought proper to leave out). (o) ' Nevertheless it so happened sometimes, that those who were fineable were freed by the Justices. For they knew very well that those Informers, who, were also Witnesses, were Cunning Shurkers, who were only concerned to get their thirds of the Booty, and therefore found out a Way, by which they shewed that they were knavish and unjust in their Office, therefore not fit to give Evidence; so that it hath sometimes fallen out, that an honest Justice hath cleared those informed against, when the Informer misled in his Evidence, either in the Day of the Month or the like, in the Complaints.' And then

(i) Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers. p. 494. one would imagine that nothing of this Kind had been practised by the pretended Saints during the Usurpation. Lamentable is the Account given by the Author of the Hist. of Independency Part 3. p. 27. It is well known (says he) the Counsel of State have hundreds of Spies, and Intelligencers, Affidavit-Men, and Knights of the Post, swarming over all England, as Lice and Frogs did in Egypt: And have both Pensions and set Rates for every Pole brought in: So that now the whole Nation is proscribed, and every Man's Head set to Sale, and made a Staple Commodity. These Sons of Belial are sent forth to compass the Earth, seeking whom they may devour. These (with the Liberty of Privileged Spies) speak bold Language, to draw other Men into Danger, and plot Conspiracies, which themselves detect, and are rewarded like decoy Ducks for their Pains. Of this Sort are Bernard, and Pitts, set on work to betray Gell and Andrews, for which Bernard had 300l. and a Troop of Horse: Johnson that falsely accused Sir Robert Skirley and Colonel Egerton for their Charity in relieving his Wants is another: Varney is a fourth. So well are they fitted with these Sons of Belial, that no Naboth can keep his Vineyard, if a Grandee cast a covetous Eye upon it, they can prove what they list. — To say nothing of their Menaces, to torture Men, if they will not confess, what they impudently pretend is already discovered by other Means.

adds an Account of the Defeat of an impudent Informer by the Lord Mayor of London, sitting at a Court of Aldermen.

N. p. 479. *When the Parliament met, they addressed the King to enter into an Alliance with the Dutch and other Confederates for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as the only Means to save Great Britain from Popery and Slavery: But his Majesty said, he would not suffer his Prerogative of making War and Peace to be invaded: Nor be directed what Alliances it was proper for him to enter into.*

The King's Words uncurtailed, are as follow.
(p) ' Could I have been silent, I would rather
' have chosen to be so, than to call to Mind things
' so unfit for you to meddle with, as are contain-
' ed in some Parts of your last Address: Wherein
' you have intrenched upon so undoubted a Right
' of the Crown, that I am confident that it will
' appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn)
' that the Prerogative of making Peace and War
' hath been so dangerously invaded.

' You do not content your selves with desiring
' me to enter into such Leagues, as may be for
' the Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell me what
' Sort of Leagues they must be, and with whom.
' And as your Address is worded, it is more liable
' to be understood to be by your Leave, than at
' your Request, that I should make such other
' Alliances as I please, with other of the Confede-
' rates.'

' Should I suffer this fundamental Power of ma-
' king Peace or War to be so far invaded (though
' but once) as to have the Manner and Circumstan-
' ces of Leagues prescribed to me by Parliament,
' it is plain, that no Prince or State would any
' longer believe that the Sovereignty of England
' rests in the Crown, nor could I think my self to
' signify any more to foreign Princes than the emp-

(p) King's Speech May 28, 1677. *London Gazette* Num. 1203.

ty Sound of a King. Wherefore you may rest assured, that no Condition shall make me depart from, or lessen so essential a Part of the *Monarchy*, and I am willing to believe so well of this House of Commons, that I am confident these ill Consequences are not intended by you.'

These are in short the Reasons why I can by no Means approve of your Address, and though you have declined to grant me that supply which is so necessary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, that as I have done all that lay in my Power since your last Meeting, so I will still apply my self by all the Means I can, to let the World see my Care both for the Security and Satisfaction of my People, although it may not be with those Advantages to them, which by your Assistances I might have procured.'

N. p. 480. *This Year (1677) died Archbishop Sheldon one of the most inveterate Enemies of the Non-conformists, a Man of high persecuting Principles, and the Tool of the Prerogative: who made a Jest of Religion any further than it was a political Engine of State.*

I scarce believe, that the *Moderate, the Impartial, the Peaceable Mr. Neal* could write down so many Untruths in one Paragraph without blushing. Mr. *Echard* says, (q) that having been Chaplain to the late King, and run through many Difficulties, after the Restoration, he was first made Bishop of *London*, and lastly Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which *See* he filled with great Honour and Reputation about 14 Years, when he died at seventy nine Years of Age: Beside his *Learning* and *Piety*, he is particularly distinguished by his munificent Benefactions, in which no Man more readily signalized himself. Bishop *Kennet* observes (r) that he had for some Years retired

(q) *History of England* Vol. 3. p. 436.

(r) *Complete Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 348. See Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d Vol. p. 320. His Character upon his Monument (*Wood's Asbenæ* Vol. 2. p. 1163.

‘ from Court, and from a Concern from all State Affairs, and lived for the most Part in a Retirement at *Croydon*.’ (And yet Mr. *Neal* makes him all the while, a *Tool* to the Court, and active in persecuting *Dissenters*.)

N. p. 480. *He was succeeded by Dr. Sancroft, who was deprived for Jacobitism at the Revolution.*

The bare Mention of this is sufficient to expose Mr. *Neal*’s Sneer upon one of the greatest, the best and most conscientious Prelates.

N. Ib. *Dr. Compton was promoted to the See of London in the Room of Dr. Henchman, a Man of weak but arbitrary Principles till it came to his own Turn to be pinched.*

Whether he designs this Character for Bishop *Henchman*, or Bishop *Compton* I am at a Loss to understand: But let him mean which he will the Reflection will rebound upon himself. (s) ‘ Bishop *Henchman* (as Mr. *Echard* observes) was for his Wisdom and Prudence highly esteemed by his Majesty, whose happy Escape after the Battle of *Worcester*, this pious Prelate did admirably well manage. (And this alone is sufficient to blast his Reputation with Mr. *Neal*.) And of Bishop *Compton* the same Author gives the following Account. (t) ‘ To this worthy Prelate was, in a great Measure, owing the happy Education of the two young Princesses, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Anne*, who by his Means were brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, and were this Year (1675) solemnly confirmed by him, in the King’s Chapel, being thirteen and eleven Years old, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all who had any Fears and Apprehensions of *Popery*. (Circumstances these sufficient, I should think, to engage so celebrated

(s) *Echard*’s Hist. of *England*. Vol. 3. p. 401.

(t) Id. ib. He had not only the Honour of educating, and confirming, but likewise of marrying of these two glorious Princesses, and was always valued by them.

a Champion for the *Protestant* Cause to think more favourably of Bishop Compton's Memory).

N. p. 480. *This Year (1677) died the Reverend Dr. Thomas Manton, educated in Tiverton School, and from thence placed in Wadham College Oxon.*

‘ He translated himself (says Mr. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 600.) to *Hartball*, being then accounted by those (yet living) who well knew him a hot headed Person, and as Member thereof he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.’

N. Ibid. *He was ordained by Dr. Hall Bishop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty Years of Age.*

The Truth of this I very much question, as he gives us no Authority for it. And Bishop Hall was too *Canonical* a Man to admit any Person into Deacon's Orders at that (u) Age.

Mr. Wood observes (*Id. ib.*) ‘ that (after his first Degree) upon the Turn of the Times, he became Preacher, though not in Holy Orders, at *Culliton* in *Devonshire*—— and that in the Beginning of the Year 1660. he took Holy Orders at *Westminster* from *Thomas* Bishop of *Galoway*. Which, though but (x) Deacon's Orders, were sufficient to enable him to hold Preferment before the last Act of Uniformity.’

N. p. 481. *He was offered the Deanery of Rochester, but refused it.*

‘ (y) This fat Doctor (says Mr. Wood *ib.* p. 601.) had a fat Deanery designed by his Majesty, upon a Supposal that he would conform; and it was verily thought he would have taken it, (as *Reynolds* had the Bishoprick of *Norwich*) could he have been ascertained, that the King's De-

(u) ‘ And none shall be admitted a Deacon unless he be one and twenty Years of Age at least. 3 and 5 *Edward* 6. Bishop *Gibson's* Codex p. 167.

(x) ‘ And that no Person shall hereafter be admitted to any Benefice with Cure, except he be then of the Age of three and twenty Years at the least, and a Deacon. 13. *Elizabeth* Cap. 12. Bishop *Gibson's* Codex p. 848.

(y) Letter to a Friend concerning Dr. *Owen's* Principles and Practices &c. Quarto 1670. p. 37. *pene me.*

• clamation about ecclesiastical Affairs (published
 • at his Restoration) would have indulged him
 • while he was Dean, as then, while he was a pa-
 • rochial Minister. Or, as it is said, had not a
 • Female-Saint, who had read many of his Books,
 • and wrote much of his Sermons, extracted from
 • them every Sentence that made for the Covenant,
 • for the Government by *Presbytery*, for the Honour
 • of *Smeđymnuus*, or that made against the Bishops
 • and Liturgy of the Church, all put in a Letter,
 • and sent by her to him. Which of these two
 • was the Reason I am not certain. —

Mr. Neal's Account of the *Popish Plot* p. 483,
 &c. the Reader will find fully discredited: And
Bedloe, Tongue, and Dr. (z) *Oates* proved to be Villains
 of the first Magnitude, by Mr. (a) *Echard*, and

(z) ' I knew *Oates* (says Mr. *Oldmixon*, *Hist. of England* during the
 • Reign of the *Stuarts* p. 612, 613.) he was dull enough, and as impudent
 • as dull, not capable of forming the Plot——was a passionate, rash, half-
 • witted Fellow: His Want of Judgment might run him a little too far &c.
 See a farther Character of him, *Salmon's Hist. of England* Vol. 7. p. 419,
 420.

It is probable that this wretched Man died an *Anabaptist*, from the follow-
 ing Subscription in his own hand Writing, to a *Confession of Faith*, put forth
 by the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations of *Christians*, baptized upon
 the Profession of their Faith. In London and the Country, with an Appendix
 concerning Baptism, licensed August 15. 1688. 12mo. perus Reverend. Amic.
 T: Baker S. T. B. Every Chapter of which is signed by *Oates*, and at the
 Conclusion the following Words under his own Hand.

" I do declare to all the World, especially to those that are *Believers* bap-
 " tized in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I do unfeignedly and
 " from the Bottom of my Heart believe every one of these Articles contain-
 " ed in this Book, intituled, a *Confession of Faith* put forth by the Elders
 " and Brethren of many Congregations of *Christians* baptized upon the Pro-
 " fession of Faith, and printed for *John Harris*, admitting my own Expla-
 " nation upon the sixth and eighth Particulars of the eighth Chapter, and in
 " the sixth Particular of the eleventh Chapter, and of the Word *Sabot* in
 " the eighth Particular in the twenty second Chapter, and I do further declare,
 " that although I have excepted against those Particulars, yet I can freely hold
 " Communion with those *Christians* that do hold and maintain them: And
 " do further declare that through the Strength of Christ, I will maintain
 " and defend every one of these Articles to the best of my Skill and Power,
 " to the last Day of my Life, and do further declare, that I renounce both
 " the Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches that shall teach for Doctrines
 " of God and Christ, the Traditions of Men. But as for those that dissent
 " from the Church of *England*, let them be *Pædobaptists*, or *Antipædobap-*
 " tists, I declare them my Brethren, the first holding the Faith, and the
 " last the Faith and Order of the Gospel."

TITUS OATES.

(a) *Echard's Hist. of England* Vol. 3. p. 458. &c.

Bishop

Bishop (b) Burnet. Mr. Carte makes Mention of the remarkable Evidence cooked up in Ireland on Occasion of this Plot, and concludes with the following Remarks. (c) ' There is something odd enough (says he) in the sending for such Numbers of miserable *Wretches* from Ireland to serve in England for Witnesses of a Plot, of which they knew Nothing, till they were instructed by Mr. *Hetherington*, Lord *Sbastisbury's* Chief Agent in managing, and providing for them. When the Earl of *Sbastisbury* first moved the Thing, and produced his Informer, who would also get three more that were in Ireland, all good *Roman Catholicks*, and who would die for their Religion, though they hated the bloody Counsels of the *Jesuites*, Secretary *Conventry* pressed that the Examination of them might be left to the Lord Lieutenant: But those of the Council, who were of the Earl's Party, after a warm Debate, (which the Attorney General and the Clerks were not suffered to hear, being turned out as soon as it began) carried it for their being sent for over. Something of their Character and their Condition may be seen in the Duke of *Ormonde's* Letters in the *Appendix* from p. 99 to p. 110, and I could have added a great deal more would it not have been tedious. It is still more odd, that when these Fellows who went out of their own Country poor and half naked, returned thither again well equipped in Cloaths and full of Money, having

(b) Bishop Burnet's Hist. &c. Vol. 1. 464. &c.

(c) Carte's Hist. of the Life of the Duke of *Ormonde* Vol. 2. p. 517. Sir William Temple observes, (*Memoirs* part 3. Works. p. 332.) ' That though it was generally believed by both Houses, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity: Yet when he talked with some in private, who ought best to have known the bottom of it; they only concluded, it was yet mysterious, and they could not say the King believed it; but however, that the Parliament and Nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of Necessity be pursued, as if it was true, whether it was so or not: And that without the King's uniting with his People upon this Point, he would never grow either into Ease at home, or Consideration abroad.

met with plentiful Contributions, and ample
 Rewards for what they had been taught there
 to depose, they should yet have no Contribu-
 tions made, no Rewards given them, nor be at all
 considered by the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, who
 were particularly interested in the Matter of
 those Men's Depositions, and whose Throats (it
 was pretended) were by their Discoveries saved
 from being cut by the *Papists*. It is very strange
 that this Multitude of *Irish* Witnesses, which
 made so terrible a Noise in *England*, could not
 serve to convict so much as one Man in their
 own Country. But it is still more strange, that
 after such notorious Perjuries as plainly appeared
 in this Affair of the *Popish* Plot, no Law should
 yet pass in *England* for the severer Punishment
 of Persons guilty of that Crime, in Cases where
 the Lives of others are taken away, their Estates
 forfeited, their Blood tainted, their Families
 ruined, and their Names conveyed down as
 Traytors to the Execration of all Posterity.
 The taking a Purse, and putting a Man in Fear
 of his Life upon the Highway is punishable
 with Death; though far a less Crime than
 swearing it away falsely in a Court of Judica-
 ture. Our Ancestors possibly had no Expe-
 rience of so flagitious a Crime to make it need-
 ful to provide against it; but their Descendants,
 who see the Sacredness of an Oath daily less (by
 what Methods may be worthy perhaps of En-
 quiry and Consideration) and who know that all
 the Security they have for their own Lives and
 Fortunes, as well as those of their Families, de-
 pends at present on the Sacredness of such Oaths,
 should methinks deem it reasonable, to provide
 by human Terrors against a Crime so impious
 in its Nature, and so mischievous in its Conse-
 quences. The *Jewish* Law of old, the Civil
 Law of the *Romans*, and the Common Law of

‘ almost all other Countries in *Europe*, have in
 ‘ such Case established the *Lex Talionis, nec Lex est*
 ‘ *justior ulla.*’ —

N. p. 491. *His Majesty falling sick in the Sum-*
mer (1679) the Duke of York returned immediately
to Court, without the (d) King's Leave, which alarmed
the People, and made them eager for the sitting of
the Parliament to regulate the Succession. This gave
Rise to sundry Petitions signed by great Number of
Hands both in City and Country, which the King re-
ceived with great Displeasure, telling the Petitioners,
that he was sole Judge of what was fit to be done.—
After this the King declared them to be contrary to
Law.

(e) ‘ The King's Resolution (says the ingenious
 ‘ Mr. *Hornby*) made the Faction very uneasy;
 ‘ they had Men as they said to their Heart's Con-
 ‘ tent, and having Tools to their Purpose wanted
 ‘ nothing but to fall to work. They were hasty to
 ‘ come together, for the same Reason which the
 ‘ King gave for keeping them apart: So that
 ‘ before this Meeting they had renewed their
 ‘ old Practices of petitioning, divers Petitions
 ‘ were framed for the sitting of the Parliament on
 ‘ that Day, and Messengers sent about to procure
 ‘ Subscriptions to them at 5 s. per Cent. of all
 ‘ Sorts, Ages, and Degrees, not caring what but
 ‘ how many. The following Story my Author
 ‘ (Address to *English Freeholders* Part 3.) says, he
 ‘ had from credible Hands. One of these *Pro-*
 ‘ *curers* coming to a godly *Weaver* in *Essex* for his
 ‘ Hand to a *Petition*, bethought himself the

(d) ‘ Sir *William Temple* says (Memoirs part 3. Works p. 344.) That the
 ‘ Fright of the King's first Fit (of a Fever) had so affected the Lords *Essex*,
 ‘ and *Hallifax*, and *Sunderland*, that not staying to see what the King's second
 ‘ Fit would be, they proposed to the King the sending immediately for the
 ‘ Duke; which being resolved, and the Dispatch made with all the Secrecy
 ‘ and Speed imaginable; the Duke came over: But finding the King recovered,
 ‘ it was agreed to pass for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it should
 ‘ be received by his Majesty and the three Lords with all Signs of Surprise.’

(e) *Caveat against the Whigs.* 2d. Edit. 1711. First part. p. 71, 72.

‘ *Weaver*

' *Weaver* had a Boy to his Son, and asked, if he
 ' would not subscribe too; yes, said the Father,
 ' *but he's now gone with a Cow to a Neighbour's*
 ' *Bull*, that's Nothing, said the *Petition-Monger*,
 ' *I can set his Hand*, which he did, and so the
 ' poor Boy became an humble *Petitioner* to the
 ' King, when he thought nothing of the Matter.'

N. p. 502. *The King in his Speech at the opening*
the Session March 21. 1681. reflected severely on the
last Parliament.—

And the King might have his Reasons for so
 doing. (f) ' The unwarrantable Proceedings of
 ' the last House of Commons (says the King in
 ' his Speech) were the Occasion of my parting
 ' with the last Parliament: For I, who never
 ' will use *arbitrary Government* my self, am re-
 ' solved not to suffer it in others. I am unwilling
 ' to mention Particulars, because I am desirous to
 ' forget Faults.— It is much my Interest, and it
 ' shall be as much my Care as yours to preserve
 ' the Liberty of the Subject: Because the Crown
 ' can never be safe when that is in Danger: And
 ' I would have you likewise be convinced, that
 ' neither your *Liberties and Properties* can sub-
 ' sist long, when the *just Rights and Preroga-*
 ' *tives* of the Crown are invaded, or the Ho-
 ' nour of the Government brought low and into
 ' Disreputation.

' I let you see, by my calling this Parliament
 ' so soon, that no Irregularity of Parliament
 ' shall make me out of Love with them: And
 ' by this Means offer you another Opportunity
 ' of providing for our Security here, by giv-
 ' ing that Countenance and Protection to our
 ' Neighbours and Allies, which you cannot but
 ' know they expect from us, and extremely stand
 ' in Need of at this Instant; and at the same

(f) *Echard's Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 616. *Bishop Kennet's Complete*
History Vol. 3. p. 384, 385.

Time give one Evidence more, that I have not neglected my Part, to give that general Satisfaction and Security, which by the Blessing of God may be attained, if you on your Parts bring suitable Dispositions towards it; and that the just Care you ought to have of Religion be not so managed and improved into *unnecessary Fears*, as may be made a Pretence for changing the Foundation of the Government. I hope the Example of the ill Success of former Heats, will dispose you to a better Temper, and not so much inveigh against what is past, as to consider what is best to be done in the present Conjunction.——

But I must needs desire you not to lay so much Weight upon any one Expedient against Popery, as to determine that all other are ineffectual; and among all your Cares for Religion, remember, that without the *Safety* and *Dignity* of the *Monarchy*, neither Religion nor Property can be preserved.—— I must earnestly recommend to you, to provide for the Religion and Government together; with Regard to one another, because they support each other: And let us be united at Home, that we may recover the Esteem and Consideration we used to have abroad. I conclude with this one Advice to you, *that the Rules and Measures of all your Votes may be the known and established Laws of the Land*; which neither can, nor ought to be departed from, nor changed but by Act of Parliament: And I may the more reasonably require, that you make the *Laws of the Land* your Rule, because *I am resolved to make them mine*.

After a very faulty (if not false) Account of the *Rye House Plot*, as appears from the very best of our (g) Historians, and the Confessions of several

(g) Bishop Sprat's History of the Rye House Plot, Echard, Kennet &c.

that

that suffered for it: He makes this candid Remark.

N. p. 516. *The Earl of Essex's Throat was cut in the Tower whilst Lord Russel was upon his Trial.*

(b) 'The Fate of the Earl of *Essex* (says Mr. *Carte*) was more melancholy than any of the rest: he was his own Executioner. His Lady's Grandfather the Earl of *Northumberland*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, being imprisoned for Treason, pistoled himself in the Tower, and left a Note on the Table, expressing, "that the *Whore* should never have his Honour and Estate." 'The Son of that Earl, looking on his Father's Picture, would often say, "that he adored that Man, and would do the like himself if in his Condition, and would disinherit any Child that would not do the like, if he could foresee it." 'The Earl of *Essex* had imbibed too much of these Sentiments, and had on former Occasions declared them to be his own. He had a great Disposition to Melancholly (since he was put into the Tower) by the Reflection of Lord *Russel's* Danger, whom he had teased into an Acquaintance with Lord *Howard*; an Acquaintance which Lord *Russel* had, since his Imprisonment, said, he entertained with Difficulty enough, and which was now like to prove fatal to his Life; and when he saw Lord *Russel* walking under his Window out of the Tower to the Coach that carried him to his Trial, all his Grief and melancholy Thoughts flowed in upon him like a Torrent, and not allowing Time for Reason to do her Office, he cut his own Throat. The Coroner's Inquest sat upon him; their Verdict was, that he was

(b) Mr. *Carte's* History of the Life of *James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*. Vol. 2. p. 528.

(i) *Felo*

(i) *Felo de se*, and besides the Deposition of *Bo-
menes*, his Gentleman of the Chamber who at-
tended him, the Circumstances were such, that
there was not the least Room for a Surmise to
the contrary.

(k) 'As to the Truth and Circumstances of
the Murder (says Mr. *Echard*) which then made
a mighty Noise, there gradually arose innu-
merable Conjectures, and several Murmurings
and scandalous Reports, as if it proceeded from
the Treachery and Designs of the Court, and
not from the Earl's own Hands, and more es-
pecially, because the King and the Duke of
York were at that very Time within the Tower,
where they had not been for several Years be-
fore. But the *Coroner's Inquest*, which consisted
of considerable Men, after a full Examination
of the Earl's Chief Servant, and the Warder,
unanimously found him *Felo de se*. And I have
been assured from two eminent Divines, who
saw the Body soon after the Fact, that there
was not the least Appearance of Violence of-
fered by any other Person, no Marks of Strug-
gling, nor any Signs of Villainy. And that
the Circumstances appeared so plain, that his
Lady, his brother Sir *Henry Capel*, and his
nearest Relations, were satisfied and acquiesced
in the Jury's Verdict: And this they did the
more readily, because it was well known, that
the Earl used frequently to justify *Self-murder*:
Which I have been further assured by ano-
ther Divine, an Ear Witness, and an intimate

(i) It will be difficult for any one to clear this *unhappy Earl* from the
Charge of being *Felo de se*, who is less subtle in Distinctions, than that fa-
mous *Cambridge Barber*, and *B——r*, who was upon the *Coroner's Inquest*
in a Case of the like Nature. 'Well Mr. *W——y* says his Neighbour to
him, how did you find the Case of Mr. *B——n*? Find it, says he, why
we found him *Non Compos*. What is that, says his Neighbour? To which
he replied; why, *Non Compos* is *Non Compos*, that is, *he did not bang*
himself.

(k) *Echard's History of England*. Vol. 3. p. 683. *Salmon's History of Eng-
land* Vol. 8. p. 169.

B b

Acquaintance.

Acquaintance. It is very remarkable, that the
 Fact was committed just by the Place where he
 took his last Leave of his Father, the Lord Ca-
 pel, when he went to his Execution ; and where
 he had received so solemn a Charge from him to
 adhere to the Royal Cause ; the Memory of which
 being revived by the coming of the King and
 the Duke, from whom he had received so many
 Favours, was thought to have thrown him into
 his fatal Fit of Despair. — It is certain that the
 King was most sensibly affected at the first Account
 of this tragical Accident, and with a Sigh said,
 “ my Lord of *Essex* needed not to have despaired
 “ of Mercy, for I owed him a Life.” And he
 afterwards declared thus in Print. “ As for the
 “ deplorable End of the said *Earl*, his Majesty
 “ freely owns, that there was no Man in his Do-
 “ minions more deeply afflicted with it than him-
 “ self ; his Majesty having been thereby deprived
 “ of an extraordinary Opportunity to exercise his
 “ Royal Clemency, and to testify to all his loyal
 “ Subjects and old Friends, how highly he valued
 “ the Memory of the Lord *Capel*.” Accordingly,
 “ when the *Earl*’s Son, a young Lad, was brought
 “ or appeared before him, his Majesty received
 “ him with peculiar Tenderness and good Nature,
 “ and advised him to preserve the Principles, and
 “ follow the Example of his glorious *Grandfather*.”

Nay Mr. *Echard* adds this following new Pa-
 ragraph in another Place. (1) “ Since the Mat-
 “ ter of the *Earl*’s Death hath been made a Ques-
 “ tion, I here subjoin an Extract of two Letters
 “ sent me, in the Months of *September* and *Octo-*
 “ *ber* 1719, from a Person of full Credit and
 “ Worth, who had the truest Honour and Res-
 “ pect for that noble Lord, which says, “ I was
 “ then one of the Family of that very worthy,

(1) Mr. *Echard*’s Appendix to his three Volumes of the History of Eng-
 land published 1720. p. 17.

“ but

“ but unhappy Earl of *Essex*, who died in the
 “ Tower by his own Hands &c. He was really
 “ an excellent Person, but happened by Lies and
 “ false Suggestions to be exasperated against the
 “ King, by a very ill designing Man, (the Earl of
 “ *Shaftsbury*.) There were two or three Pamphlets
 “ published, especially one large one by (m) *Speke*
 “ and *Braddon*, to prove that he was murdered
 “ in the Tower; but I do believe, and I think I
 “ am sure, as I can be of any Thing I did not
 “ see, that the Earl in a sudden Transport of
 “ Passion, was the Author of his own Death.
 “ As soon as his Lady the Countess heard there
 “ was a Report of his being murdered, (for none
 “ of the Pamphlets were then published) about four
 “ Days after his Death, she sent me with Letters
 “ to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who married the Earl
 “ of *Essex*’s Sister, to Sir *Henry Capel*, afterwards
 “ Lord *Capel*, the Earl’s only Brother, and to Dr.
 “ *Walter Needham* their Physician and Friend,
 “ and desired and empowered us four to take all
 “ the Care we could, and to spare no Charge to
 “ enquire fully into that Matter. Accordingly
 “ we four met at *Essex* House in *St. James’s* Square,
 “ and sent for the Coroner and several of the
 “ Jury; and I my self went to the Tower to see
 “ the Room, and to consider how what they said
 “ corresponded; and I must truly say, that every
 “ one of us was fully satisfied, *that it could be done*
 “ *by nobody but himself*. And so I dare say was the
 “ Countess satisfied, and so was Dr. (n) *Burnet*,
 “ though

(m) *Speke* and *Braddon* were the first Persons who, to make the Thing
 look a little more suspicious on the Court side, suborn’d Children to bear false
 Witness (*Long’s* Compendious History p. 195, 196. Bishop *Sprat’s* Account of
 the Conspiracy Folio p. 145.) and upon full Proof of the Matter, they were
 fined, *Braddon* 2000*l.* and *Speke* 1000*l.* (State Trials Folio Vol. 3. p. 312.)
 and the Fact is so notorious, that I could scarce have thought, any Historian
 Pretender to it (Mr. *Oldmixon* always excepted) could have repeated the Cal-
 unimies of *Ferguson* and *Danvers*, which have so often, and so fully been confuted.

(n) Bishop *Burnet* (Hist. of his own Time, Vol. 1. p. 553.) says, ‘ that
 when the Earl of *Essex*’s Body was brought Home: to his own House, and

“ though he was the Person who gave the Countess
 “ the first Notice of the Report of his being mur-
 “ dered, which gave Beginning to the Enquiry.
 “ ——— We all four loved and honoured him so
 “ entirely, that if we had found any just Ground
 “ of thinking otherwise, we should not have con-
 “ cealed it. ——— I could say Abundance more
 “ if I had Time, and if you should be at *London*
 “ in *November*, I should be glad to see you.— Be
 “ sure not to misdate the Time of his Death, as
 “ some have done : The Earl was by an Order of
 “ Council seized at *Cashibury* on *Monday* Afternoon
 “ *July* the 9th, he was brought to *Whitehall* that
 “ Night, and lodged in the Lord *Feverham’s*
 “ Lodgings. On *Tuesday July* the 10th he was
 “ sent to the Tower. On Friday Morning next,
 “ *July* the 13th, he died about eight o’ Clock,
 “ just after the Lord *Russel* was carried out of
 “ the Tower to be tried, by Means of the Lord
 “ *Howard of Epsrick*, whom the Earl of *Essex*
 “ against Lord *Russel’s* Mind had brought into
 “ their Acquaintance. ——— I assure you the
 “ most solemnly that can be, that what I say is
 “ true according to the best of my Judgment.
 “ To all which (says Mr. *Echard*) may be added
 “ by Way of Circumstance, what the *Warder* de-
 “ clared to another sure Hand, that when the Lord
 “ *Russel* was going to his Trial, the Earl looked
 “ out of his Window, and wished his Lordship good
 “ Success: At which Time the *Warder* saw the
 “ very *Razor* in the Earl’s own Hand, seeming to
 “ use it as a Penknife for his Nails.

“ the Wound was examined by his own Surgeon, he said to him, it was im-
 “ possible that the Wound could be as it was, if given by any Hand but his
 “ own : For except he had cast his Head back, and stretched up his Neck all
 “ he could, the *Aspera Arteria* must have been cut. And the Reverend Dr.
 “ *Goodman* (as Bishop *Kennet* observes Complete Hist. of *England* Vol. 3. p.
 “ 400.) had been Chaplain, and Confident of the Earl of *Essex*; and when
 “ seriously asked his Opinion of the Death of his Lordship in the Tower,
 “ he answered, he would give all he had in the World to believe, that the
 “ Earl had not killed himself.

N. p. 517. Others have called it (the Rye-House Plot) with more Justice a Piece of State Policy, and no better than an Imposture, for there was nothing more in it than the rash and imprudent Discourse of some warm Whigs, which in so critical and dangerous a Conjunction was very hazardous; but no Scheme of a Plot was agreed upon, no Preparations were made, no Arms nor Horses bought, no Persons appointed to execute any Design against the King or Government.

Mr. Neal must think his Readers very easy of Belief to swallow down such gross Untruths as these, which the smallest Dabler in the History of those Times can easily confute.

With equal Truth he might affirm, that there was no Rebellion in 1641, no Arms nor Horses bought, no Leaders to conduct an Army, no King's Head taken off in 1648, no Usurpation, and consequently no Restoration of King Charles II; and that there was nothing more in it than the rash and imprudent Discourses of some warm Round-heads (or let him call them by what other Name he pleases) in the two Houses, and that all this came to Nothing.

Mr. Echard informs us, (o) ' that about a Week after the Trial, the 20th of July (1683) the

(o) Echard's History of England, Vol. 3. p. 691. Long's Compendious Hist. p. 190. Bishop Kennet informs us Compleat Hist. Vol. 3. p. 267. That so impudent were the Republicans in 1663. ' that the *Intelligencer*, No. 6. 4to. writes thus: London October 7. ' Here was this Morning seized in the ' Press a Libel not only affirming *in terminis*, " That the People may put " their King to Death, and that the Law of God exempts the King no more " than any other Person, the Lord commanding his Saints to take a two edged " Sword in their Hands, to execute his Judgments written in his Word " against wicked Kings." But this horrid Libel does expressly advise and encourage an Attempt upon the Life of his most sacred Majesty, telling the " People, " that if ever there were a Season that required the Lord's People " to sell their Garments, and to buy Swords it was now. This Man (meaning our most gracious Sovereign) had his Authority from the People of " England, or else he had none: That we are none of this Tyrant's Servants, " but he ours: And exhorting the People to cast off the Yoke of this present Tyrant."

‘ three ordinary Criminals, (p) *Walcot, Hone,*
 ‘ and *Rouse*, were drawn upon Sledges to their
 ‘ Execution at *Tyburn*, where they all had Speeches,
 ‘ Confessions, and Prayers, being attended, be-
 ‘ sides the Sheriffs, by Dr. *Cartwright* Dean of
 ‘ *Rippon*, and Mr. *Smith* Ordinary of Newgate.
 ‘ *Walcot* acknowledged what he had told the
 ‘ King, and writ to the Secretary of State,
 ‘ that the *Business* was laid very deep, and he
 ‘ said, an Act of Indulgence would do well, be-
 ‘ cause the King had a great many Men to take
 ‘ Judgment of. He said, he did not blame the
 ‘ Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King’s Coun-
 ‘ sel, but some Men, that came as Witnesses
 ‘ against him, who were deeper concerned, and
 ‘ more engaged than himself. He persisted he
 ‘ was to have no Hand in the King’s Death,
 ‘ though he confessed, it was proposed when he
 ‘ was present, therefore the King might justly
 ‘ make him suffer. He declared, that he did
 ‘ not know that this Conspiracy was older than
 ‘ last *August* or *September*, but so old he owned
 ‘ it was. The next was *Hone*, who more “ ex-
 ‘ pressly owned himself guilty of the Crime for
 ‘ which he stood condemned, according to the
 ‘ Laws of God and Man. He again alledged,
 ‘ that he was drawn in; and confessed he did say,
 ‘ he was for killing the King, and saving the Duke
 ‘ of York; and in his Prayer he particularly beg-
 ‘ ged Pardon for that Sin.” Lastly, *Rouse*, a-
 ‘ mongst other Things, ingenuously confessed,
 ‘ he had deserved the Sentence passed against
 ‘ him; that he had heard and understood too
 ‘ much in several Kinds of Meetings, especially
 ‘ of some, who though they called themselves

(p) Mr. *Neal*, expressly contrary to the Confessions of these three Men,
 takes the Liberty of asserting, p. 516. That *Walcot, Rouse* and the Rest, de-
 clared they never knew of any Design against the King. See *Walcot’s* Confes-
 sion in a Letter to the Principal Secretary of State. *Salmon’s Hist.* Vol. 8.
 p. 154. See the Confessions of the others. *Salmon Ibid.* p. 171.

“ true Protestants were ten thousand Times worse
 “ than any others.”—— In his Prayer he has
 “ these Words. *Dwell and reign in the Heart of*
 “ *the King, give him a long and prosperous and*
 “ *happy Reign.*—— *Bless him in his Royal Family*
 “ *and Relations, in his Royal Brother.*—— *Give*
 “ *Loyalty towards our Dread Sovereign, who is a*
 “ *merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou hast set*
 “ *as thy Vicegerent to reign over us.*—— *We must*
 “ *needs acknowledge and smite upon our Thighs,*
 “ *that we in Justice are brought hither : That we*
 “ *have nothing to do but to condemn ourselves, and*
 “ *justify the Justice of the Land, and to pray to God*
 “ *to bless his Majesty to reign in these Nations, and*
 “ *those that shall succeed him upon the Throne.*”

Besides, the Duke of Monmouth's Letter to the King is, in my Opinion, sufficient to destroy the Main of Mr. Neal's unwarranted Assertions.

(g) “ I have heard (says he) of some Reports of
 “ me, as if I should have lessened the late Plot,
 “ and gone about to discredit the Evidence against
 “ those who died by Justice ; your Majesty and
 “ the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned
 “ the late Conspiracy ; and though I was not con-
 “ scious of any Design against your Majesty's
 “ Life, yet I lament my having a Share in the
 “ other Part of the Conspiracy. Sir, I have taken
 “ the Liberty of putting this in Writing for my
 “ own Vindication, and I beseech you to look
 “ forward, and endeavour to forget the Faults you
 “ have forgiven me, and I will take Care never
 “ to commit any more against you, or come with-
 “ in the Danger of being again misled from my
 “ Duty, but make it the Business of my Life to
 “ deserve the Pardon your Majesty has granted to
 “ your dutiful
 “ *Monmouth.*”

(g) Bishop Sprat's Account of the horrid Conspiracy. Folio. Copy of Informations p. 141. See Bishop Kenner's Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 406. Long's Compendious Hist. of Popish and Fanatical Plots. p. 190. 192. Life of Sir Laune Jenkins p. 43.

Nay, some Part of Mr. Neal's Assertion, that no Arms were bought, no Persons appointed to execute any Design against the King are directly contradicted by the King's Declaration.

(r) ' That they might be the better prepared, when there should be Occasion, by having a certain Number of Arms, lying always ready for that Purpose: Arms for forty Men were bestowed in all Haste, viz. thirty Carbines, with Belts and Swivels, thirty Cases of Pistols, and ten Blunderbusses, which were accordingly made and paid for.

(s) ' And to the End the Forces they should raise might be the sooner modelled, into the Form of an Army, there were one hundred old Officers, who had been engaged in the late Rebellion, ready in Town to take the Command of them. In the Pursuit of which Project they continued, till they knew that a Discovery had been made unto us.

N. p. 517. *Great Industry was used by the Court to bring the Body of the Nonconformists into the Plot: it was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith were acquainted with it: But Mr. Mead was summoned before the Council, and gave such satisfactory Answers to all Questions, that the King himself ordered him to be discharged.* Burnet 583, 584.

Bishop Burnet in the Place referred to mentions nothing of Mr. Mead, Dr. Owen or Mr. Griffith. And in a Deposition signed by Mr. Carstares it is said (t) ' the Deponent did communicate the Design on Foot to Dr. (u) Owen, Mr. Griffith,

(r) His Majesty's Declaration—concerning the treasonable Conspiracy &c. London printed by the Assigns of John Bill &c—1683. p. 13.

(s) Ibid. p. 14.

(t) Copies of Informations. Appendix to Bishop Sprat's true Account of the horrid Conspiracy. p. 129.

(u) Indeed (says the Writer of a Letter to a Friend concerning Dr. Owen's Principles and Practices 1670. p. 29) ' Dr. Owen is furnished with Principles

' fitted

‘ *Griffith*, and *Mr. Mead* at *Stepney*, who all concurred in the promoting of it, and desired it might take Effect.’

And in the Information of *Robert West* of the *Middle Temple*, Barrister at Law, he says, (x) ‘ that upon farther Recollection, *Ferguson* formerly, viz. soon after his Return from *Holland*, told this Examinant, that *Dr. Owen*, and one *Mr. Collins*, either an *Anabaptist* or *Independent Preacher*, — were both of Opinion, that the intended Assassination and Insurrection were both lawful and necessary ; and that *Colonel Owen*, *Dr. Owen’s* Brother, was privy to them, and joined with *Colonel Sidney*, and *Major Wildman* in the Management of the Treaty with the *Scots*, and that one *Mr. Mead* a *Nonconformist* Minister, was zealous in the Business of an Insurrection, but was not for beginning in *London* : And *Mr. Nelthrop* told this Examinant the same Thing of *Mr. Mead*, and that he was able to raise a thousand Men or more.

N. Ibid. *The Reverend Mr. Castaires*, who was put to the Torture of the *Tbummikins*, — made a Declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose Discourse of what might be fit to be done to preserve their Liberties and the Protestant Religion : If there should be a Crisis. But he vindicated himself and his Brethren in England from all assassinating Designs.

His Charge against *Dr. Owen*, *Mr. Mead*, and *Mr. Griffith* has been already mentioned. And in his Deposition upon Oath 22 Dec. 1684. he observes, (y) ‘ that *Mr. Ferguson* was much con-

‘ fitted as directly for such a Feat (viz cutting the King’s Throat) as any of those Regicides that were exalted at Charing-Cross — *Wood* says (*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 747.) That he knew of, and was consenting to the *Presbyterian Plot*.’

(x) Copies of the Informations. p. 63.

(y) Ibid. p. 127. Nay in his Deposition. Ibid. p. 128. ‘ He heard the Design of killing the King and Duke from *Mr. Shephard*, who told the Deponent some were full upon it.’

cerned in the Affair ; and zealous for the promoting it. And had in *October* or *November* before, as he remembers in a Conversation with him in *Cheapside*, or the Street somewhere thereabouts said, that for the saving of innocent Blood it would be necessary to cut off a few, insinuating the King and the Duke, to which the Deponent said, that's Work for our wild People in *Scotland*: My Conscience does not serve me for such Things ; after which the Deponent had never any particular Discourse with *Ferguson* as to that Matter: But as to the other Affair (the soliciting for Money for raising Forces under the Earl of *Argile* in *Holland*.) *Ferguson* told him, that he was doing what he could to get it effectuate. And Bishop (z) *Burnet* says, he confessed all he knew, which amounted to little more than some Discourses of taking off the Duke: To which he answered, his Principles could not come up to that ; yet in this he, who was a Preacher among them, was highly to blame for not revealing such black Propositions ; though it cannot be denied but that it is a hard Thing to discover any Thing that is said in Confidence.

N. p. 523, 524. *This Year died Dr. John Owen, one of the most learned of the Independent Divines.—He often preached before the Long Parliament, even about the Time the King was beheaded, but always kept himself upon the Reserve.*

Or in other Words, that he always acted the Part of a *hypocritical Republican*. (a) For I have already proved what wicked Stuff he vented before the *Rump* the very Day after the King was beheaded. And that he was steady to his wicked Principles afterwards appears from the following

(*) History of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 584.

(*) Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's third Volume, p. 358.

Passages of a Sermon before the *Rump*. (c) ' There
' are (says he) great and mighty Works in Hand
' in this Nation; Tyrants are punished, the Jawes
' of Oppressors are broken, bloody revengeful
' Persecutors disappointed, and we hope Go-
' vernors set up that may be just, *ruling in the*
' *Fear of the Lord: That may be as the Light of*
' *the Morning*.

(d) ' Perhaps you will think it strange, that a
' mighty Monarchy, a triumphing Prelacy, a
' thriving Conformity should all be brought down,
' but so it shall be, *every Mountain shall be made*
' *a Plain*.

(e) Such is the Folly and Blindness of most
' Men, that they think their greatest Interest lies,
' in holding that fast which *Christ* will take from
' them: *Pharaoh* like, that thought it to be the
' great Advantage of his Kingdom not to let the
' People go, when it proved the Ruin of him and
' his Land. This I dare say will in the Issue be
' the Ruin of all or most of the tall Trees in
' *Europe*: They have grasped much of the Power
' of *Christ*, and have endeavoured to impose on
' the Consciences of his in the Worship of God,
' or otherwise oppress them in what he has pur-
' chased for them; and by a dreadful Mistake
' they suppose their own Interest lyes therein,
' which makes them hold fast, until *Christ* hath
' shaken them all to Pieces; and taken away even
' that also which was their own. The late *King*
' had learned a Saying from his Predecessor, *no*
' *Bishop no King*; hence he supposes his main In-
' terest to lye in holding fast *Prelacy*: Whatever

(c) *John Owen's* Thanksgiving Sermon before the Parliament (alias *Rump*)
October 24. 1651. p. 5. *penes me*.

(d) *Ibid*. p. 7.

(e) *Ibid*. p. 12. It is observed by Mr. *Petyt* (*Visions of the Reformation*.
p. 166.) ' That *John Owen* learnt from the *Psalter of Bonaventure*, to abuse
' and misapply the *Psalms of David*. He says (*Eben-Ezer* p. 13.) *God came*
' *from Nazareth*, and the Holy One from the *West*. *Selah*, and that saith, *Let*
' *our Lady arise*, and let her Enemies be scattered.

' he seems to part withal that he will not let go,
 ' that's his main Interest: And what is the *Pre-*
 ' *lacy*, a meer *Antichristian* Encroachment upon
 ' the Inheritance of *Christ*: *Christ* coming to take
 ' his own, shakes the other to Pieces, those who
 ' would have been our Oppressors in *Scotland*,
 ' but that God hath crushed the Cockatrice in
 ' the Shell, and filled the Pit with their dead Bo-
 ' dies which they had digged for us: They also
 ' had prepared a *Procrustes*-Bed, a heavy Yoke,
 ' a Beast, that had it grown to Perfection would
 ' have had *Hornes* and *Hoofes*; and in the maintain-
 ' ing this they think their great Interest to lye.

(f) ' To discover, where dwells that Spirit
 ' which actuates all the *great Alterations* that have
 ' been in these Nations, such things have been
 ' brought to pass as have filled the World with
 ' Amazement. A *Monarchy* of some hundred
 ' Years Continuance, always affecting, and at length
 ' wholly degenerated into *Tyranny*, destroyed,
 ' pulled down, swallowed up; a great and mighty
 ' *Potentate*, that had caused *Terror* in the Land of
 ' the Living: And laid his *Sword* under his Head;
 ' brought to punishment for Blood. Hypocrites and
 ' selfish Men abundantly discovered, wise Men
 ' made Fools, and the strong as Water.

(g) ' If ever any Persons in the World had cause
 ' to sing the Song of *Moses*, and the *Lamb*, we
 ' have this Day; the Bondage prepared for us was
 ' both in Spirituall and Temporals: About a *Ty-*
 ' *rant* full of Revenge, and a Discipline full of
 ' Persecution, hath been our Contest.—

(h) ' What was the corrupt Design of many in
 ' *Scotland*? that they might set up a Son of *Tabeal* in
 ' *England*, and themselves be great under him.—

(i) ' God fulfilleth many mighty Works that

(f) Ibid p. 15. (g) Ibid p. 17. (h) Ibid p. 21.
 (i) Ibid. p. 24. See some farther Account of his horrid Principles, in a
 Letter to a Friend concerning Dr. Owen's Principles and Practices &c. London
 1670. penes me. A Letter to a Friend. p. 11.

could not otherwise be brought about, but by hardening the Hearts of Men: The hardening of the late *King's* Heart was an Engine, whereby he wrought mighty Things and Alterations: had not God laid Obdurateness and Stubbornness upon his Spirit, we had long since in all Probability been ruined.'

N. p. 524. *The Oxford Historian*, after having treated his Memory with reproachful Language, confesses, that he was well skilled in the Tongues, in Rabbinical Learning, and the Jewish Rites.

The *Oxford Historian* has not treated him worse than he deserved. He observes, (*k*) that when he took his Masters Degree, he swore Allegiance to the King, his Heirs, and lawful Successors. When he took Orders swore Canonical Obedience to the Bishop his Diocesan.—'He violated all Oaths, as of Canonical Obedience, solemn League and Covenant &c. In the Year 1652, when he was made Vicechancellor (*l*) he endeavoured to put down Habits, Formalities, and all Ceremonies, notwithstanding, before he had taken an Oath to observe the Statutes and maintain the Privileges of the University, but was opposed in this by the *Presbyterians*. While he did undergo the same Office, he, instead of being a grave Example to the University, scorned all Formality, undervalued his Office by going in *Querpo* like a young Scholar, with powdered Hair, snakebone Bandstrings, (or Bandstrings with very large Tassels,) Lawn Band, a Set of Ribbands pointed at his Knees, and *Spanish* Leather Boots, with large Lawn Tops, and his Hat mostly cocked.-- He stood to be elected Burgefs of *Oxon*,—and renounced his Orders, and pleaded he was a Layman: Though created D. of Div. the Year be-

(*k*) *Atbenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 737. 738.

(*l*) *Wood.* Ibid. p. 739. Letter to a Friend &c. p. 12. 'He said, he hoped ere long it would be as ridiculous to see a *Doctor* clothed in Scarlet as a red List tied to a Dog's Tail.

fore.——While he was *Vicechancellor* he preached frequently, *blasphemed God* with bold and senseless Effusions, and in his Sermons and Prayers did often confound the Royal Family. He had a wonderful Knack of entitling all the Proceedings of his own Party, however villainous and inhuman---to an especial Providence, to a peculiar and plainly eligible Conduct of Heaven: Which he zealously preached up, as sufficient to untie the strictest Bonds of Faith, Allegiance, and all other Oaths, to overturn all the Obligations of Conscience and Religion. He could easily make the Transactions of the three Kingdoms to be the fulfilling of many old propheticall Predictions: And to be a clear edifying Comment upon the Revelations, still teaching (as most of the Brethren did) that to pursue a Success in Villany and Rebellion was to follow the Guidance of providential Dispensations.——After all this (when our Author for his rebellious Actions, Blasphemies, Preachings, Lyings, Revilings, Perjuries &c, was not excepted from the Act of Oblivion; which was so much wondered at and defired) (m) Sir E. Hyde, then Lord Chancellor,

(m) Wood *ibid.* Letter to a Friend. p. 39.

Mr. Long (who was Prebendary of *Exeter*, in his Tract intitled *no Protestant but Dissenters Plot.* p. 167.) informs us, that Dr. Owen used to put on his Hat at *Saint Mary's* at the saying of the Lord's Prayer, and that in his 34th Chapter of his Book against *Biddle*, he did more Mischief in decrying the Use of our Saviour's Prayer, than he did good in all the Rest of his Book. For he says, "that there is no Promise of Acceptation annexed to the saying of that Prayer: And that the using that Form doth delude and harden innumerable poor Souls,——that it is a Charm or Kind of Witchcraft in God's Worship, that it confirms many in their *Atheistical* Blaspheming of God's Spirit, and that the Repetition of it is in plain Terms ridiculous." B. shop Parker (*History of his own Time* p. 227.) observes, "that Dr. Owen was from his Youth, not only an indefatigable Promoter of Rebellion, but a strenuous Advocate for it, the bitterest Enemy to the Royal Family among all the Parricides: He not only exerted himself in advising the Perpetration of that execrable Deed, but praised the Commission of such an abominable Fact in a Sermon which he preached before the *Regicides*: He admonished and commanded them as the Prophet of God, to perfect the Work that they had begun with the Father, under divine Influence, in destroying his Children; for it would be a Thing acceptable

• treated him with all Kindness and Respect, and
 • desired him if he could not conform, to employ
 • his Time and Abilities in writing against the *Pa-*
 • *pists*: And not to violate publick Laws, and en-
 • danger the publick Peace by keeping Conventi-
 • cles. Whereupon *Owen* gave his Word that he
 • would be obedient to his Commands: But soon
 • after was found preaching to about 30 or 40 of
 • the godly Party in his House at *Stadham*,—and
 • was complained of to the Lord Chancellor: At
 • which he was offended and would never trust
 • him more.’

N. p. 530. *Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge M. A. was bred up in Magdalen College Oxford.*

• He became (says *Mr. Wood Athenæ Oxon. Vol.*
 • 2. p. 774.) either *Batler* or *Commoner* of *Magda-*
 • *len Hall*, in Michaelmas Term 1638, Aged 16
 • Years.’

Mr. Neal concludes his Character of King *Charles* the *Second* in the following Words.

N. p. 535. *No Englishman, or Lover of his Coun-*
try could wish for the Life of such a Prince, from any
other Motive, than his keeping out a Successor that was
worse than himself.

Was all that *Mr. Neal* has said of him literally
 (n) true, his Remark here might not be amiss. But
 so

“ceptable to God not only to abolish the Government of the Family of *Stuart*,
 “but not to suffer one of them to have any Dominion in *England* for the
 “Future.”

(n) He says p. 38. *That the King stuck at nothing.* p. 126. *that he was a*
Man of no Religion, and having little to do, devoted his Leisure Hours to the
Ladies and other private Pleasures. (in 1654) p. 273. (1660) *that he had*
given himself up to an avowed Course of Lewdness—— (And yet *Mr. Eckard*
observes (Vol. 3. p. 3.) ‘That his Mind was adorn’d (at the Time of the
 ‘Restoration) with *Justice, Fortitude, Clemency, Temperance, and Sobriety.*
 ‘The two latter were conspicuous at this Time, *Oaths* and *Drunkenness*
 ‘were Strangers to him: And though he cannot be cleared of another Vice,
 ‘of which the Duke of *Monmouth’s* Mother was not the only Instance, yet
 ‘the former part of his Life ought by no Means to be compared to the lat-
 ‘ter, and it is observed by a good Hand, (*Dr. Charlton*) that many Years be-
 ‘fore his Return, he had been so *Chaste, and Cautious*, that those about him
 ‘could hear no Whisper of any *Indecent Gallantry.*)

so manifest a Prejudice to the *Royal House of Stuart* runs through his three last Volumes, that great Allowances will be made in their Favour, by every unprejudiced Reader.

Nay, how different is his Account, from that of our (o) Historians, who tell us, (p) ' That the
' very Noise of his Danger was a dreadful Alarm
' to the whole Kingdom: and a Form of Prayer
' was immediately issued out, to be used in all
' Churches, to obtain his Majesty's Recovery:
' And sure never any Prayer was sent up to Heaven with more Fervour and Earnestness: But
' God did not think fit to answer so desirable a
' Petition.—— He expired on Friday the sixth

N. p. 277. *That he was devoted to his Pleasures, and had no Principles of Religion.*——p. 413. *That French Mistresses and Money could dissolve the strongest Bonds.*

How different is this from his Character of *Cromwell* p. 6. *A Hero that had gained more Laurels, and done more Wonders in nine Months, than any Age or History could parallel.* p. 67. *It cannot be denied (says he) but that General Cromwell was more capable to govern the State in such a Storm, than any Man living.* p. 75. *How he supported his Sovereignty by an Army of Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, fifth Monarchy Men, and Republicans, (and he might have added Independents.) will be the Admiration of all Posterity.* p. 88. *Let the Reader recollect what a difficult Situation this was (Cromwell's) and what a Genius it must require to maintain so high a Reputation abroad, in the midst of so many Enemies, who were continually plotting his Destruction.* p. 135. *He had a Zeal for Trade and Commerce beyond all his Predecessors.* [By Predecessors I hope he means no more, than his Brethren of the Brewer's Company. If he means the Kings of England, it is wrong. How would the King of the two Sicily's resent *Massimello's* being called his Predecessor, as Mock King of Naples, by any Sicilian, or Neapolitan Historian?] p. 143. *His Zeal for the Reformed Religion, made him the Refuge of persecuted Protestants in all the Parts of the World.* p. 171. *He appeared on a sudden like a Comet or blazing Star raised up by Providence, to exalt this Nation to a distinguished Pitch of Glory, and to strike Terror to the rest of Europe.*

(c) *Sir William Temple's* Character of him (See *Salmon's Eng. Hist.* Vol. 8. p. 211.) ' Sure no Prince had more Qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Constitution, nor could he suffer Flattery in any kind growing uneasy upon the first Approaches of it, and directing it to some other Subject: A thing remarkable in Princes, where he was pleased to be familiar, he shewed great Quickness of Conception, Pleasantness of Wit, with Variety of Knowledge, and more Observation, and a truer Judgment of Men than could be imagined from so careless and easy a Manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. But having abandoned himself to Pleasure, this Humour made him lose many great Opportunities of Glory to himself &c.

(p) *Echard's Hist. of England* Vol. 3. p. 722. 723.

of *February* about Noon, to the inexpressible Sorrow and Affliction of all his Subjects.

(*q*) His Temper both of Body and Mind was admirable, which made him an easy generous Lover, a civil obliging Husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent Father, and a good natured Master. (*r*) Thus lived and thus died (says Bishop Kennet) King *Charles II*, a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that might have justly rendered him the Delight of Mankind, and entitled him one of the greatest *Genius's* that ever sat upon a Throne, if he had not fulfilled those excellent Parts with the soft Pleasures of Ease, and had not entertained a fatal Friendship that was incompatible with the Interest of *England*.' And Mr. *Echard* adds, (*s*) 'that after all his personal, and national Failings, and Breaches in the Constitution, this Prince made as many Concessions to his People, and passed as obliging (*t*) Acts as any other for many Ages: Many of which we have the Benefit of to this Day. Besides the great Act of Indemnity, which flowed chiefly from his own Breast, he freely gave up the Court of Wards, Knights Services, and Purveyances, &c. which though purchased, was a Prerogative of the Crown, not easy to be surrendered by another King. By the *Test Act* he bound up his and his Successors Hands, and lost the Service of a great many of his best Friends. He more effectually did that in the Act of disabling *Papists* from sitting in either House of Parliament, which was the more obliging, because he was a secret Friend

(*q*) The Works of *Sheffield Duke of Buckingham*, 4to. Edit. 1723. p. 64.

(*r*) Complete History of *England* Vol. 3. p. 418. 419. from *Wetwood*.

(*s*) Introduction to the 4th Volume of a History of *England* Folio p. 13.

(*t*) See an Abstract of the Acts passed in his Reign, *Salmon's Hist. of England* Vol. 8. p. 224. to 236. inclusive. 'Upon a Review (says this Historian p. 236.) of this *Abstract*, it must be admitted, that King *Charles II*. passed more Acts of Parliament for the Benefit of his Subjects, than any Prince that ever reigned before or since.'

' to them. And to remove all Fears from his Peo-
 ' ple, readily destroyed that terrible *Writ de Ha-*
 ' *retico comburendo*: But what is most to be re-
 ' membered, is the glorious Confirmation of the
 ' Liberties of the People in that called the *Ha-*
 ' *beas Corpus Act*.—— Besides all these, in the
 ' same Session in 1679, he made such ample Con-
 ' cessions, and Offers to both Houses, which if
 ' accepted of, must have left the Crown for ever
 ' in *Shackles*. In a Word, he never refused any
 ' Thing to his Subjects in Parliament, but one
 ' Bill concerning the *Militia*, when he thought
 ' they were in the Way of 1642.

N. p. 538. *In the Election of a new Parliament*
all Methods of Corruption and Violence were used,
to have such Members returned as would serve the
King's arbitrary Designs, which gave all considering
People a melancholy Prospect.

(u) ' From the Time (says Mr. *Echard*) that the
 ' King had declared his calling of a Parliament,
 ' the People's Minds were filled with Expectations
 ' and longing for the Meeting of it; and the Fate
 ' of the Nation seemed to depend upon that
 ' Assembly, which was to support it in this diffi-
 ' cult Juncture. In Order to this grand Business,
 ' the Elections were generally carried on, and
 ' compleated with the most uncommon Coolness,
 ' Discretion and Unanimity; and notwithstanding
 ' the unjustifiable modelling so many Corporations
 ' since the last Parliament, there never was a
 ' House of Commons more able, and more in-
 ' dustrious in preserving the Happiness of the
 ' King, the Nation, and the established Religion.
 ' It consisted for the most Part of the late pre-
 ' vailing Party, but of the richest and wisest Men
 ' of the Kingdom; Among whom there were
 ' fifty five of noble Families, ninety five Barons,
 ' and ninety six Knights; and the rest were com-

(*) History of England Vol. 3. p. 744.

‘ monly Gentlemen of the best Interest, Credit
 ‘ and Knowledge in their Countries, especially
 ‘ those that were elected for Counties.

Mr. Carte says, (x) ‘ that this Parliament was
 ‘ composed of as many worthy and great Men
 ‘ as have ever sat in an House of Commons in
 ‘ England. They were loyal in their Principles to
 ‘ the Crown, and zealous in their Affections to
 ‘ the Church. And the King never took so un-
 ‘ happy a Step as in dissolving that Parliament,
 ‘ because he found it impracticable to bring them
 ‘ into some Measures which he proposed in Fa-
 ‘ vour of the *Roman Catholicks*.

He justly enough blames the Duke of *Monmouth* for his Invasion.

N. p. 541. *Who with a precipitate Rashness
 landed June the 11th with an inconsiderable Force
 at Lime in Dorsetshire, and though he was joined
 with great Numbers in the West Country, he was de-
 feated by the King's Forces, taken Prisoner, and exe-
 cuted on Tower Hill.*

And he who will be at the Trouble of reading
 over his (y) *famed Declaration* will find, that
 there could be no Room for Mercy in his Case.
 Which Declaration is so remarkably scandalous,
 that one *Disney* was tried for printing and publish-
 ing it. (z) *Southwark June 25. 1685.* ‘ This
 ‘ Day *William Disney Esq;* was tried by a special
 ‘ Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the County
 ‘ of *Surrey*, before the Lord Chief Justice of Eng-
 ‘ land, and others his Majesty's Justices, upon an
 ‘ Indictment of High Treason, for printing and
 ‘ publishing a most vile and traiterous Paper a-
 ‘ gainst his Majesty and his Government entituled,
 ‘ *The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth,*
 ‘ *and the Noblemen, Gentlemen and others now in*

(x) History of the Life of *James Duke of Ormonde*. Vol. 2. p. 544.

(y) Appendix No. 92.

(z) Gazette No. 2046. See likewise *Bishop Kennet's Complete History* Vol.
 3. p. 438.

Arms, &c. Of which he was upon a very clear Evidence found guilty; and accordingly had Sentence passed upon him to be *drawn, banged, and quartered*; and is to be executed on *Monday next*.'

Bishop Kennet informs us, ' that (a) this Declaration was secretly printed in a private House hired for that Purpose at *Lambeth* by Mr. *W. C.* Stationer in *Pater-Noster-Row*; the Paper had been imported by him, and was discovered by the Mark on it, and Entry in his Name. His Assistant at the Press was apprehended and suffered; he himself was forced to fly into *Holland*, and abscond in *Germany*, till he came over with the Prince of *Orange*, and was made his Stationer when King, a Man of good Sense and Spirit.

Mr. *Neal*, speaking of the *Popish* Controversy, says, p. 548. *If we may believe Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and others, their Tracts being too warm, were refused to be licensed.*

This I have already answered from the Letters of the Licensers concerned, (Impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal's* 2d Part, p. 425, &c.)

N. p. 559. *The Ecclesiastical Commission was granted the Beginning of April, but was not opened till the Beginning of August: The Archbishop of Canterbury was afraid to act in it.*

What proceeded from mere Scruples of Conscience in the Archbishop, this Gentleman candidly ascribes to a different Cause.

(b) ' As to my own Part (says Bishop Sprat) I was startled when I perceived my Lord of *Canterbury* scrupled to be present with us; whose Example, it is true, I ought rather to have followed, than the greatest Lawyers, in all Mat-

(a) Complete History Vol. 3. p. 428.

(b) Letter from the Bishop of *Rochester* to the Earl of *Dorset* and *Middlesex* concerning his sitting in the late Ecclesiastical Commission, in the *Savoy* printed 1688. 4to. p. 7. penes me.

ters of Conscience. Yet I hope his *Grace* will excuse me, if I declare that I did not first know that he made a Matter of Conscience of it. Nor did I understand his *Grace* took Exception at the Lawfulness of the Commission itself, till after the Bishop of *London* was cited, and had appeared, and answered the unjust Sentence which was passed upon him.

(c) His *Grace* (says he) I am confident, will readily give me this Testimony, that I served him honestly and industriously on some Occasions, wherein he was like to be embroiled in the Commission; which must inevitably have ended in his *Grace*'s Suspension at least, since he was resolved, whenever he should be brought before them, whatever the Pretence had been, to deny the whole Power and Jurisdiction of the Court.

N. Ibid. Sprat, *Bishop of Rochester*, in *Hopes of farther Preferment went in with the Stream*.

Bishop *Sprat* acted indeed in the Ecclesiastical Commission; and though he is far from justifying himself for so doing, yet he gives several Reasons for his acting, which in some Measure with every candid Person must alleviate the Crime, and make his Case more favourable than Mr. *Neal* is willing to allow it to be. He informs us, (d) that his Name was put into the Commission without his Knowledge; (e) that upon the first publishing it he confesses, through his Ignorance in the Laws, he had no Objection to the Legality of it; thinking it had been examined and approved by the King's Counsel learned in the Law, Men generally esteemed eminently skilful in their Profession; and what induced him (as well as the Earl of *Rochester*) to accept the Commission, was the Purpose of doing as much Good as he was able, and of hindering as much Evil as he possibly

(c) Ibid. p. 16. (d) Letter Ibid. p. 4. (e) Ibid. p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

could in that unfortunate Juncture of Affairs. That the Archbishop's scrupling to act was the first Thing that startled him; that finding with what Violence the Prosecution of the Bishop of *London* was likely to be carried on, for not suspending Dr. *Sharp*, he was the more inclined to sit and act there, that he might be in some Capacity of doing Right to his Lordship.—That he gave his positive Vote for the Bishop's Acquittal both Times when his Suspension came in question. —That he acted the rather, because he saw if he quitted, that some other Persons were ready to fill his Chair as soon as it should be empty: Men of whose Principles and Practices he was so well aware, that he knew they would not have the same Regard that he himself had for the Church's Preservation. — Upon these Motives he acted, and in Pursuance of this Design he voted, as long as he remained at the *Board*; where (he says) all his Opinions were so contrary to the Humour of the Court, that he often thought himself to be really in as much Hazard from the Commission itself, by his Non-compliance, as any of his Brethren could be that were out of it. — And he appeals to all that were acquainted with the Transactions there, whether ever he gave his Consent to any irregular or arbitrary Sentence; whether he did not constantly and firmly declare against every extravagant Decree? — That he was zealous for *Exeter College* in their Defence against Father *Petre*. — That he did his utmost to oppose the violent Persecution upon the whole University of *Cambridge*. — That he faithfully assisted and served *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* when they were in Danger of having new Statutes imposed upon them. — That he absolutely refused all Alterations in the Statutes of *Sidney College*, and all other Changes and Abrogations of Oaths that were then made, or designed in the Statutes of

either

either University, for the Advantage of *Popish Priests &c.*—That he persisted immoveably in his Dissent from every Vote that passed against *Magdalen College in Oxford.*—That he stopped in the High Commission a Prosecution intended against the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*— and that he served the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* honestly and industriously on some Occasions wherein he was like to be embroiled with the Commission.—

And for the last Scene transacted there, which was in order to censure the whole Clergy for refusing to read the King's Declaration: In that (he says) he hopes he needs say Nothing in his own Defence, it being publickly known to the whole Nation, how he demeaned himself. (g) How he broke loose from the Commission in a Time when he was convinced that he could do the Church no farther Service there, and when the *Popish* Party was in the Height of their Power and Rage. Then it was that he joined himself again to the common Interest of the honest Clergy, just when they were on the very Brink of Destruction, before they ever dreamed of their glorious Deliverance.— Nay, he observes, that some worthy Men made him almost so vain as to fancy, that his bidding adieu to the Commission in so publick and peremptory a Manner, was no inconsiderable Stroke towards the Dissolution of the Commission itself. That it was evident upon the Receipt of his Letter, wherein he renounced them, they adjourned in

(g) Bishop Kennet observes (Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 513.) ' That Bishop Sprat abdicated his Place in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and took Leave of his fellow Judges in a Solemn Letter.' " My Lords, I desire a favourable Interpretation of what I am going to write to you, since your Lordships are resolved to prosecute those who have not read the King's Declaration, it is impossible for me to serve his Majesty any longer in the Quality of Commissioner.—I earnestly intreat you, to intercede for me with his Majesty, that he would have the Goodness to allow me Leave to withdraw from among you; and to assure him at the same time, that I shall be always ready to sacrifice all I have for his Service, except my Conscience, and my Religion. I am, &c."

Confusion for six Months, and scarce ever met afterwards.——

And upon the whole Matter he owns, that though as to the legal Part of the Commission he was mistaken —— yet in the conscientious Part, which properly concerned him as a *Divine*, to act in it honestly and sincerely, according to the best of his Judgment; in that though he might not be thought to deserve Thanks, yet he hoped he might obtain Pardon from all Men of *Candour* and *Ingenuity*.

N. p. 567. *The several Denominations of Dissenters were no less thankful for their Liberty, and addressed his Majesty in higher Strains, than some of their elder and more cautious Ministers approved of: For neither Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stretton, nor a great many others would join in them: Bishop Burnet admits, that few concurred in these Addresses, and that the Persons that carried them up were mean and inconsiderable.*

Whether Bishop Burnet is right or wrong in his Assertions must be left to the Reader to judge, from the great Number of Addresses from *Dissenters* of all Denominations, published in the *Gazettes* at that Time. Besides the three published by Mr. Neal (p. 568, 569.) from the *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and (b) *Quakers*: I shall take the Liberty of inserting some others no less remarkable.

The *Independents* at *Norwich* address his Majesty in the following Words. (i) ‘ We take
‘ this

(b) This *Set* could condescend to address King *James* for his *Indulgence*, though they were no great Friends to his Brother, and the only obstinate Opposers of the old Act of the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*, against the Assemblies of *Fanatics*: Which was renewed and enlarged in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. ‘ They met the oftner (says Bishop *Parker* History of his own Time, p. 59.) because they were forbid, nor could they by any Force be drawn away from one another, till a merry Fellow hit upon this *Stratagem*. “ He proclaimed in the King's Name, that it should not be lawful for any one to depart without his Leave.” ‘ And he had scarce done this, when they all went away, that it may not be said, that they obeyed any Man.”

(i) *Gazette* Num. 2242. penes me. Bishop *Kennet* observes, (Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 495.) ‘ That the *Dissenters* in the County of *Oxon* promise his Majesty,

' this Opportunity to declare to your Majesty,
 ' that however we have been misrepresented, we are
 ' for *Monarchy*, and do not only acknowledge
 ' that Monarchy is the only ancient, legal, and
 ' rightful Government of this Nation, but that
 ' it is also the best Government, whereof we have
 ' an Experiment in your Majesty; that whereas
 ' were we ruled by any other Form of Govern-
 ' ment, we are apt to have such Feuds, Animosi-
 ' ties, and Violence one against another; for
 ' every Difference in Judgment and Practice,
 ' that we should be a miserable People; but a
 ' King, as he is above all, so he is a common Fa-
 ' ther of all his People, and takes Care for the
 ' Good of all, and so hath your Majesty done,
 ' carrying it to your People like a wise and lov-
 ' ing Father to his Children. What shall we
 ' more say, but that we shall adhere to your
 ' Majesty as to our King with all Loyalty, Fi-
 ' delity, and hearty Service to our Powers. Now
 ' that the most high God may bless your Ma-
 ' jesty with all spiritual and outward Blessings,
 ' that upon your Majesty's Royal Head the
 ' Crown may flourish, that with long Life God
 ' would satisfy you, and shew you his Salvation,
 ' Your Majesty's Petitioners do humbly and sin-
 ' cerely pray.

From the *Independents, Baptists, &c.* of the County
 of *Glocester*.

(k) ' Great Sir,

' As you are by the Providence of God the
 ' sole Monarch of many Kingdoms and Domi-
 ' nions, so by this your gracious Declaration you
 ' have made your self the rightful Father of
 ' them too: And as such, we humbly prostrate

' Majesty, " that when he in his great Wisdom shall think fit to summon
 ' another Parliament, " they will use their utmost Endeavours, to elect such
 ' Persons, as may abrogate and abolish all such Laws, as have impeded the
 ' free Exercise of Religion."

(l) *Gazette* Num. 2243.

' ourselves

‘ ourselves at your Majesty’s Feet, with Hearts
 ‘ more full of Joy than our Tongues can express,
 ‘ to give Glory to God, and to your Majesty
 ‘ our most hearty Thanks, that you have thus
 ‘ delivered us from the Jaws of Ruin and De-
 ‘ struction, of which none will complain, but such
 ‘ who *made Gain of pretended Godliness*; for our
 ‘ selves, we are resolved to be exemplary in our
 ‘ Loyalty, and do hereby wish, and heartily
 ‘ invite all your Majesty’s Subjects, to join with
 ‘ us in one Heart and Mind to pray, *Long live*
 ‘ *and reign King James the just.*

From the *Anabaptists at Nantwich, Cheshire, &c.*

(1) ‘ Though we want Words to express our
 ‘ Gratitude for so great a Blessing as the free
 ‘ Exercise of our Religion, which is now by your
 ‘ Majesty granted unto us, and all others in so
 ‘ full a Manner as could be expected from none but
 ‘ such a Prince, as Heaven designed for the high-
 ‘ est Pattern of Royal Goodness and true Policy;
 ‘ yet the Sense of it has made so lasting an Im-
 ‘ pression upon us, that (we trust) that it shall
 ‘ not be possible for any of your Subjects to
 ‘ serve your Majesty with more ready Obedience
 ‘ and steadfast Loyalty, than we shall do in our
 ‘ Station, to the utmost of our Capacity.

‘ Dread Sovereign, that Almighty God who
 ‘ hath established you upon the Throne, to
 ‘ correct the Mistakes of past Ages, and make
 ‘ the present happy in the Enjoyment of an en-
 ‘ tire Liberty of Conscience, will crown your
 ‘ Majesty, and your Royal Posterity with all
 ‘ temporal and eternal Blessings, making your
 ‘ Reign over us glorious and happy to the utmost
 ‘ Wish of your most loyal and obliged Subjects,
 ‘ and the Terror of your Enemies we shall ever
 ‘ pray.

(1) *Gazette Num. 2244.*

From those of the *Congregational Persuasion* dwelling in *Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds*, and diverse other Parts of the County of *Suffolk*.

(m) ' Dread Sovereign,

' Your liege People, the Dissenters, are vying who shall most feelingly express a thankful Heart: We among many thousands having heavy Burdens taken off, by repeated Acts of your Princely Grace, are at your Feet with our *Thank-Offering*, to which your own Goodness must give Worth to render it of a sweet Savour.

' The Shields of the Earth belong unto God, he hath made you a covering *Cherub* to us, under whose refreshing Shadow we promise ourselves Rest. It is your Majesty who hath loosed our Prison-Bonds, let the Oppressed go free, and broken every Yoke, and thereby erected a Seat in the Hearts and Affections of your Subjects above your Ancestors. By these Steps, Great Sir, your Throne will be advanced in Glory, as it is established in Mercy; and under these benign Influences of your Majestie's Reign, we shall endeavour by a Deportment becoming good Christians and faithful Subjects to let all Men see, that the free Exercise of Religion, as well as the Principles thereof, owned and professed by us, will fully consist with the Safety of the Government; greatly conduce to the Prosperity of the Nation, and therein most truly subserve the Interest of your Majestie's Power and Greatness.

From his Majesty's *Dissenting* Subjects in the Corporation of *Leeds*, and Places adjacent in the County of *York*.

(n) ' Great Sir,

' With all becoming Resentment we humbly present our grateful Acknowledgments to Heaven and your Sacred Majesty for your

(m) *Gazette* Num. 2250.

(n) *Gazette* Num. 2254.

' Royal

' Royal Benignity in the ample Indulgence, and
 ' Indemnity vouchsafed us by your most gracious
 ' Declaration. A noble Testimony of your Ma-
 ' jestie's Deference to Almighty God, in asserting
 ' his immediate Dominion over Conscience, as a
 ' Thing no Force can or ought to violate; and
 ' also the tender Respect your Majesty bears to
 ' the Felicity of your Subjects, by confirming
 ' them in the Possession of their Libertys and
 ' Propertys during your Government. Which
 ' Mercy and Righteousness, that meet and kiss
 ' each other in your Majesty, we doubt not will
 ' be the Stability of your Throne and Times.

' We adore that wise Providence, which in this
 ' hath made your Majesty such a generous lead-
 ' ing Pattern to the Princes of other People, and
 ' evidenced you a Father to your own: Thereby
 ' establishing your Majesty in your Sovereignty,
 ' not only over our Bodies but Hearts, thus
 ' doubly won upon, to entertain your Majesty
 ' into their most affectionate Embraces. And
 ' from our very Souls we implore the Divine
 ' Goodness to return a thousand fold into your
 ' Majesty's Bosom, for the Honour put upon
 ' us in taking our Persons and Rights into your
 ' favourable Protection, and making an estimate
 ' of our Loyalty from our Fidelity to God and
 ' our own Consciences.

' May your Majesty be blessed with a long,
 ' peaceable, and prosperous Reign, under the Con-
 ' duct of Celestial Wisdom and Grace, to an hap-
 ' py Immortality.

From the *Dissenters* in the Corporation of *Mal-*
den, great *Cogshall*, *Chelmsford*, *Brantree*, &c. in
 the County of *Essex*.

(u) ' May it please your Majesty, your most
 ' humble Subjects have those miraculous Providen-
 ' ces still fresh in our Eye, that preserved your Roy-

al Person from eminent Dangers by Sea and Land, that were the certain Presages of great Services the Almighty had designed you unto: The Blossoming whereof is now made visible in your celebrated Wisdom, in happening upon the most melodious Harp to charm all evil Spirits, that many other Princes had no Skill to use; and in conducting several Interests to go one Pace, though not one Path: As also in your unparalleled Clemency, in which you have surprized your distressed Subjects from the Jaws of Ruin: Disarming the harsh and ineffectual Rhetorick of penal Severities, in the Sentiments of Religion, and at once confirming our religious and civil Properties: For which with an unanimous hearty Acclamation we render first unto Almighty God, and then unto your Sacred Majesty our greatest Thanks; and the rather for your acknowledging the superior Sovereignty of the Eternal Monarch in his reserved Empire over Conscience, that is accountant to him alone.

In thus doing, Great Sir, declaring against Force with the greatest yet softest of Princely Love, you have made yourself an universal Conqueror, beloved at home, and formidable abroad: You have poured Shame upon Tyranny, and are become a Pattern of the sweetest Goodness, and safest Politics. You have added a fourth Kingdom in your Subjects Affections to your other three in Subjection, and have given Vent to our latent Affections, that kept their Cave, during the renting Wind and Earthquake. You have made an Harmony for your self and People, in the different Sounds from divers Strings by the gentle Touch of your most skilful Hand.

And now, Dread Sovereign, we shall pray the Father of Mercies to bless your Royal Person, your illustrious Family, and honourable Under-

takings;

takings; and that your Life and Reign like the Sun in *Gibeab*, may have a long Stand still over us, till (after the Continuance and Enlargement of your Royal Grace in making your self Famous in your Kingdoms, flourishing by the Multitude of your Subjects) divine Mercy shall Crown you with Eternal Glory.

From *Dissenters* dwelling in or near *Wellingborough, Kettering, &c.* in the County of *Northampton*.

(p) ' If we respect the Principles on which it is founded, they immediately flow from the eternal Laws of Reason which are immutable; if the Matter thereof, it is balm to our Wounds; if the Extent of it, it is comprehensive of all Persons and Conditions; so that there remains nothing further for us to desire, nor Room left for Fears and Jealousys in any: If our Security for the Duration and Continuance thereof, we have your Royal Word, Sir, which when we reflect upon your Royal Promises for the good of your People on several Occasions, most freely and graciously made, we find it like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* unalterable. Great Sir, we do with all Humility own our Inability thankfully enough to express our Sense of this your signal Bounty, Goodness and Compassion so largely conferred upon us.'

The Address of the *Presbyterians* of two numerous Assemblies in the Town of *Hull*, and County of the same.

(q) Most Sacred and most Serene Monarch, Our being animated by your gracious Acceptance of the multitude of Addresses hath breathed Life into this Paper, which we had sooner laid under your Royal Feet, if the fulness, and freedom of your Majesty's Grace in the turning again of our Captivity by your indulgent Declaration had not transcended our Expectation, and there-

(p) *Gazette* Num. 2259.

(q) *Gazette* Num. 2287.

by rendered us so like them that dream ; that we have not till now awaked.'

You have hereby echoed to the Angelical Song which brought him into the World, who at his Ingress into it brought Peace, and at his Egress out of it bought Peace, and thereby immolated the Resignation of a narrow Interest, for the Divinity of a more general Preservation, and so tuned the Strings of your most auspicious Government, as to make Melody over your whole Empire. And should the Unpeaceableness of any of your Subjects make any Discord under so pacifick a Prince, it would be to have Feet of Iron and Clay affixed to a Head of Gold.'

May the present Age sacrifice *Hecatombs* of Thanksgivings to your sacred Person, and Posterity revive the Memory of the Blessing with the most reverential and profound Acknowledgments. May Glory abide on you, and everlasting Gratitude with us. May you sow Virtues on Earth, to reap Felicities in Heaven. As the greatly Oppressed have found you a *Redemer*, so may there be no *Traitor* to feel you an *Avenge*. May the celestial Powers that have influenced you to the Production of such a pregnant Blessing to the Nation, make it everlasting by prolonging the King's Life and his Years as many Generations. By Inclination as well as Duty so pray

your Majesty's most dutiful

and devoted Subjects.

For the rest of their Addresses, I refer the Reader to the (r) Margin. The Writer of Mr. *Kettlewell's*

(r) From the *Anabaptists* in *Leicestershire*, *Gazette* Num. 2241. From the *Dissenters* of the County and City of *Exon* and *Devon*: *Gazette* Num. 2242. From the *Nonconformists* of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, *Gazette* Num. 2244. From the *Anabaptists*, of *Stafford*, *Darby*, and *Nottingham* Shires *Id. ib.* An Address from the *Quakers* at their annual meeting in *London*, *Gazette* Num. 2245. From the *Dissenters* at *Taunton*, *Somersetshire*, *Id. ib.* From the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* at *Bristol*, *Gazette* Num. 2246. From the *Presbyterians*

Ketwell's Life (8vo 1718. p. 150, 151, 152,) makes the following Remarks upon these famed Addressees of the *Dissenters*. 'As (says he) none could be a greater Lover of Simplicity than he, Mr. *Ketwell*, both in Words and Actions, so there was nothing more displeasing to him than the Hypocrisy and Insincerity which were by great Numbers of all sorts, made use of in Order to impose

rians at Bristol Id. ib. From the *Dissenters* at *Tiverton* in *Devonshire*. Gazette Num. 2249. From the *Presbyterians* at *Norwich*. Gazette Num. 2248. From those of the *Congregational* way at *Great Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*. Gazette Num. 2250. From the *Dissenters* at *Plymouth*. Gazette Num. 2251. From the *Dissenters* at *Berwick upon Tweed*. Gazette Num. 2252. From *Anabaptists* in *Kent*. Id. ib. *Dissenters* at *Marlborough* Id. ib. *Quakers* in *Scotland*. Id. ib. From *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*. Gazette Num. 2253. *Dissenting Ministers* of the County of *Somerset*. Gazette Num. 2254. From the *Anabaptists* of 16 Counties met together in the City of *London*. Gazette Num. 2255. Of those of the *Congregational* way from *Bideford* &c. in the County of *Devon*. Gazette Num. 2256. From the *Nonconformists* in, and about the City of *Tork*. Gazette Num. 2258. From the *Dissenters* of *South Molton* in the County of *Devon*. Gazette Num. 2260. From the *Nonconformists* in and about the Town of *Noribampton* Id. ib. From the *Dissenters* of the County *Palatine* of *Lancaster*. Gazette Num. 2264. Of the *Congregational* way in the County of *Norfolk*. Gazette Num. 2265. *Dissenters* of *Colchester* Id. ib. From *Presbyterian Ministers* in *Scotland*. Gazette Num. 2267. Of *Protestant Dissenters* near *Plymouth* Num. 2268. Of the *Dissenters* of *Sheffield* in the County of *York*. Id. ib. *Dissenters* of *Cockermouth*, in the County of *Cumberland*. Gazette Num. 2270. *Dissenters* in and about *London*. Id. ib. Of *Leathward* in the County of *Cumberland*. Id. ib. A thankful Acknowledgment of *Quakers* in *Scotland* Id. ib. Of those of the *Congregational* way in the County of *Monmouth*. Gazette Num. 2272. *Dissenters* of *Ramsay*, *Ringwood*, *Fordinbridge*, and *Christ Church*, in the County of *Southampton*. Id. ib. From *Dissenting Ministers* &c. in the City of *Worcester*, and Parts adjacent. Gazette Num. 2273. *Protestant Dissenters* in and about *Salop*. Id. ib. Of the Town of *Namptwich*. Id. ib. From *Oswestree* in the County of *Salop*. Id. ib. From the *Quakers* in *Ireland*. Id. ib. *Dissenters* in and about the City of *Chester*. Gazette Num. 2274. From *Protestant Dissenters* in the County of *Oxford*. Gazette Num. 2277. From *Presbyterian Ministers* in the County of *Darby*; and *Nottingham*. Gazette Num. 2278. Of the *Presbyterians* in *Edinburgh*. Gazette Num. 2280. *Dissenters* of *New Sarum* &c. Gazette Num. 2282. Of those of the *Congregational Persuasion* in *North Wales*. Id. ib. From *Cicester* in the County of *Glocester*. Id. ib. *Quakers* of the North West parts of *England*, and *Principality* of *Wales*. Id. ib. From *Presbyterian Ministers* at *Bath*, &c. Gazette Num. 2287. From the *Quakers* at *Bristol*. Id. ib. Of *Presbyterians*, *Independents* and *Anabaptists* in the Counties of *Pembrok*, *Carmarthen* &c. Id. ib. Of *Kington upon Thames*. Id. ib. Of the Town of *Cambridge*. Id. ib. *Presbyterians* of *Kings-Lyn* in *Norfolk*. Gazette Num. 2289. *Nonconforming Ministers* in the County of *Dorset*. Id. ib. Of the *Congregational Persuasion* from *Hereford*. Gazette Num. 2295. The *Presbyterians* of *Maidstone* in *Kent*. Id. ib. Of *Leaves* &c. in *Sussex*. Gazette Num. 2297. *Dissenting Ministers* in the County of *Leicester*. Gazette Num. 2304. Of old *Dissenting Officers* and *Soldiers* in the County of *Lincoln*. Gazette Num. 2344. I have all these Gazettes.

upon

upon too credulous a Prince, as under a Mask
 of Religion. The *Presbyterians* and *Independents*,
 the *Anabaptists* and *Quakers* with other his Con-
 forming and *Nonconforming* Subjects, were the per-
 petual Complimenters of the King, both by
 their publick Addresses, and private Assurances:
 By means whereof he was craftily drawn in, to
 do all or most of those things, which are com-
 monly counted the Grievances of his Reign.
 Which made him say expressly, " that he had been
 encouraged by Multitudes of Addresses, and
 by many other Assurances, which he received
 from his Subjects of all Persuasions, as Testi-
 monies of their Satisfaction and Duty to see his
Declaration of Indulgence preserved without Dis-
 tinction: And farther, that in Pursuance of this
 he had been forced to make many Changes both
 of civil and military Offices throughout his Do-
 minions." For hereupon he was congratula-
 ted by several Ministers of the Gospel in and
 about the City of *London* commonly called *Pres-*
byterians, and also by his loyal Subjects of the
Congregational Persuasion in, and about *London*,
 and by their Brethren of *Westminster* too, no less
 learned in the Arts of Address. These and the
 rest of the *Dissenters* both in Town and Country,
 did seem as it were to rival one another, and
 strive to outdoe all the rest in their Acknowledg-
 ments, their Promises, their Wishes, and the
 very chiming of their Words. They extolled
 his Royal Bounty, and *Christian* Judgment; they
 acknowledged, with seeming great Joy, his father-
 ly Inclination towards them, and their just Secu-
 rity under his Protection; and they promised,
 that with a constant Emulation, they would la-
 bour to be the most forward and faithful in their
 Allegiance to his Person and Crown. Moreover,
 they asserted that there was no Inconsistency be-
 twixt true Loyalty, and *Presbyterian Principles*;
 D d they

' they pretended even to merit for their past Ser-
 ' vices to the Crown, and particularly for the Hand
 ' which they had in the happy Restauration of his
 ' Brother, and him to their undoubted Right; they
 ' challenged Acquaintance with him of old, and
 ' before he came to the Crown, and how in those
 ' Days he had promised Indulgence to them; they
 ' magnified his transcendent and unparallelled Fa-
 ' vour in the biggest Terms (s) they called him their
 ' *Free, Gracious, and Wonderful Deliverer*, yea
 ' some of them publickly compared him to *Moses*,
 ' as they did the penal Laws to the *Yoke and Bon-*
 ' *dage of Egypt*; and none but declared, that they
 ' would so behave themselves for the Future under
 ' his Government, as to give him Occasion never
 ' to repent of those Princely Favours to them, not
 ' questioning in the least his Resolution to preserve
 ' this their Happiness according to his Declaration:
 ' Since they knew it, they said, to proceed from a
 ' mature Judgment, and Principle rooted in his
 ' Majesty.'

Mr. Neal informs us, p. 588. (amongst the Rest)
 that Bishop Barlow of Lincoln was one of those
 who went all the Lengths of the Court, and set for-
 wards Addresses of Thanks to his Majesty in the most

(s) It is observed by the Author of the History of England from authen-
 tick Records &c. Vol. 2. p. 430. ' That they (the Dissenters) were so hasty
 ' in their Addresses of Thanks to the King, that they gave themselves no
 ' Time to consider, in what hyperbolical or nauseous Flattery they expressed
 ' their Gratitude. Nay some of their Addresses were stuffed with such Prais-
 ' es, that he must have Abundance of Charity, who did not call them down-
 ' right Blasphemy. And another (*Caveat against the Whigs* Part 3. p. 16.)
 ' says, ' nor did the Scottish Dissenters in their canting Addresses wheedle
 ' him less than our Dissenters in England, comparing him to the great Deli-
 ' verers of God's People in the old Testament, yet having turned him out of
 ' Doors, as a Reward for his great Kindness, he (without any Alteration in
 ' himself) was ten times worse than *Ahab, Jebu, or Jeroboam*, which ought
 ' to be a Warning to all Kings and Princes how they trust them for the Fu-
 ' ture.' And Dr. South observes (*Serm. Vol. 5. p. 543.*) ' That Coleman
 ' in one of his Letters, says, " That all the Advantages they (viz. the
 ' *Papists*) expected to make, was by the Help of the *Nonconformists*, and
 ' *Presbyterians, Independents*, and other *Seets*. Let (says he) all our *Separa-*
 ' *tists* and *Dissenters* know, that they are but the *Pope's* Journey-men to
 ' " carry on his Work, — and that even they who are the loudest Criers
 ' " against *Papery*, are the surest and most industrious Factors for it."

exalted Language, for the Promise he had made in his Declaration to maintain the Church of England as by Law established, though it was evident enough he had a Design to subvert it.

Barlow Bishop of Lincoln (I think) could not be so forward a Promoter of such Addresses, from the following (t) Letter to one of his Clergy, who consulted him about reading the King's Declaration.

Sir,

I received yours, and all that I have Time to say (your Messenger who brought it making so little Stay here) is only this: By his Majestie's Command I was required to send that Declaration to all Churches in my Diocese, in Obedience where-to I sent them: Now the same Authority, that requires me to send them, requires you to read them: But whether you should, or should not read them, is a Question of that Difficulty in the Circumstances we now are, that you cannot expect that I should so hastily answer it, especially in Writing. In the Margin are these Words. "The two last Sundays the Clergy in London were to read it. But as I am informed, they generally refused." For my self I shall neither persuade nor dissuade you, but leave it to your Prudence and Conscience whether you will or will not read it. But only this I shall advise, that if after serious Consideration you find, that you cannot read it but *reluctante vel dubitante Conscientia*, in that Case to read it will be your Sin, and you to blame for doing it. I shall only add, that God Almighty would be so graciously pleased to bless and direct you so, that you may do Nothing in this Case which may be justly displeasing to God or the King is the Prayer of

Your loving Friend and Brother

Buckden May 29. 1688.

Tho. Lincoln.

(t) MS. penes me.

Mr. Neal allows, p. 589. *That eighteen of the Bishops, and the chief of the Clergy refused to publish the Declaration.— And that seven of the Bishops met at Lambeth, and after Congratulation signed an Address in Behalf of themselves and several of their absent Brethren, setting forth, that they were not averse to the publishing his Majesty's Declaration for Want of Duty to his Majesty, or due Tenderness towards Dissenters—but the Declaration being founded on such a dispensing Power, as may at present set aside all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, appeared to them illegal, and did so to the Parliament 1672.—That the King was startled at the Address, and answered in a very angry Tone.* “ I have heard of this before, but did not believe it : I did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of you : If I change my Mind, you shall hear from me, if not, I expect my Commands shall be obeyed,” and added, “ that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him.” The six Bishops who brought the Address, replied, “ The Will of God be done.”

(u) ‘ This did more affect the King, (says the Writer of Mr. Kettlewell's Life) than any other ‘ Opposition

(u) *Kettlewell's Life.* p. 172. ‘ Dr. Gee (says Bishop Kennet Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 310.) ‘ in his Notes upon Father Parsons's Memorial Oration, ‘ writes thus. “ It was now a comical Sight, to see Mr. Lob the Presbyterian (Independent I think it should be,) and Father Petre the Jesuit, ‘ balling and contriving together as great Intimados, as if they had been of ‘ the same Society. To see Pen the Quaker, and Brent, Mr. Alsop and ‘ Nevil Payne settling and securing Liberty of Conscience; and Father Warner as obliging to them as can be. But whatever Professions of Love and ‘ Sincerity were made to the Nonconformists by the Jesuites, I can assure ‘ them that at the same Time Father Warner the Jesuit, the King's ‘ confessor, looked upon all the Dissenters together as the worst and vilest of ‘ Men.”

And Mr. Long (in his Compendious History of the Popish, and Fanatical Plots Ep. Ded.) observes, ‘ that the Jesuites and Dissenters, have so long ‘ contrived and communicated politick Maxims and Counsels for the Subversion of our Establishment—that it is hard to determine, whether there be ‘ now more Fanaticism among the Jesuites, or more Jesuitism among the ‘ Fanatics.’

And Mr. Petyt (Visions of the Reformation p. 20.) comparing the Papists and Presbyterians says, you will find that though they have two Faces that ‘ look

‘ Opposition which he had hitherto met with :
 ‘ And hereupon they took Occasion to incense
 ‘ him against the Bishops, as if they had, on Pur-
 ‘ pose to embroil him with his People, delayed
 ‘ the Petition so long ; and particularly the great
 ‘ Person who presented them to his Majesty, ve-
 ‘ hemently urged him to *chastise this stubborn Bold-*
 ‘ *ness*, as he called it, in them. Both *Protestant*
 ‘ *Dissenters*, and *Roman Catholicks* pressed the same ;
 ‘ agreeing in this, that it was such a Dealing
 ‘ with their Sovereign as they themselves would
 ‘ not have allowed in any of their Officers or Ser-
 ‘ vants in their own Case.’

And upon their being acquitted at their Trial,
 the same Writer makes the following Observation.

(*) ‘ Upon this Victory obtained, the Bishops
 ‘ were complimented in a most high Manner,
 ‘ by all Ranks and Orders of People ; they were
 ‘ loaded with Praises even by them, who were
 ‘ before this their Enemies, and were perhaps so
 ‘ still : They were placed with the *primitive Con-*
 ‘ *fessors*, if not above them : They were compa-
 ‘ red to the *seven golden Candlesticks*, and to the
 ‘ *seven Stars* in *Christ's Right Hand*, and their
 ‘ Pictures publicly sold in all Printfellers Shops,
 ‘ and bought up in vast Numbers, as the Por-
 ‘ traits of the Guardians of the Laws, Liberties,
 ‘ and Religion of their Country. But one Thing
 ‘ there is, which though not much taken Notice
 ‘ of, may as well deserve to be recorded for their
 ‘ Praise, as any Thing of their Conduct in that Af-
 ‘ fair, which got them such universal Honour. This
 ‘ was the *Episcopal* Care that was taken by them

‘ look different Ways, yet they have both the same *Lineaments*, the same
 ‘ *Principles*, the same *Practices*, and both *impudently* deny them, like the two
 ‘ Men that stole the Piece of Flesh from the *Butcher* in the Fable ; he that
 ‘ took it, swore he had it not ; he that had it, swore he did not take it.
 ‘ “ Who took it, or who has it I do not know (quoth the *Butcher*) but by
 ‘ “ *Jove* ye are a Couple of *Knaves*.”

(*) *Kentlewell's Life* p. 176.

(or most of them) for the Peace of the Church
 and Kingdom: Then when their Interest and Cre-
 dit in the Nation were at the highest. For there
 was a Paper formed by Agreement amongst
 the Bishops at *Lambeth*, July the 15th 1688. in-
 titled *Some Heads of Things more fully to be in-
 sisted on by the Bishops in their Addresses to the
 Clergy and People of their respective Dioceses*; in
 which it was specially directed, "that the King's
 Power being highest under God, the Clergy
 upon all Occasions should persuade the People
 to Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty in
 all Things lawful, and to patient Submission in
 the rest; promoting as far as in them did lie,
 the publick Peace and Quiet of the World."

Mr. Neal observes, p. 598. *That the Prince of
 Orange in his Declaration declares that he had been
 most earnestly solicited to come into England, by a
 great many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal.*

That this was asserted in the Prince of Orange's
 Declaration is true, but with what Justice the
 Reader will learn from the following Account
 given by Mr. *Echard*. (y) "This (says he) as it
 has been often doubted, and sometimes denied,
 so it has been made a Matter of Controversy,
 and Quarrel in several Books and Pamphlets,
 whether the Prince was really solicited by any
 of the Lords Spiritual or not. But not to en-
 ter into the Merit of the Fact, which hath been
 both reproachfully and honourably represented,
 for the clearing of the Matter, I here give an
 Extract of some Letters and Papers, sent to me
 by the present Bishop of (z) *Winchester*, the only
 surviving Prelate of the seven Sufferers, who has
 been so generous as both to allow me to

(y) *Echard's* Appendix to his three Volumes of the History of England
 p. 23. &c.

(z) Sir *Jonatban Trelawny*.

use his Name, and publish what I think fit
of them.

The first Letter was writ by him to Bishop
Lloyd late of Worcester, dated Jan. 25. 1716.
and begins thus. " I don't doubt but your
Lordship will be surprized at a Letter from
me, and the more when you see the Reason of
it is to free at least our selves and Brethren and
Fellow Prisoners in the Tower from a heavy
Charge laid against us in direct Terms, in many
printed Pamphlets, and insinuated even by one
of our own Bench, viz. That the Descent King
William, then Prince of Orange, made with his
Army was at our Desire and Invitation. For
my Part I never put my Hand to any Letter,
joined in, or knew of any Message to his Royal
Highness, before or after our Commitment, to
invite him hither, and I have answered, that
your Lordship did not; and that we had no
other View by our petitioning, than to shew
our King in the humblest Manner possible, we
could not distribute, and cause to be published
in our Churches *His Majesty's Declaration for Li-*
berty of Conscience, which struck at the *Act of Uni-*
formity, and was founded on such a dispensing
Power as being yielded to, would quickly set
aside all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, and leave
our Church of *England* no other Establishment
than the Will and Pleasure of a Prince, who by
his own, was necessitated to extirpate it under
all the Terrors and Belief of Damnation; and
by several Steps he had made seemed to be in
Haste to do it; and pleased with the Hopes
he should." In a second Letter shortly after,
he tells my Lord of Worcester, " What I de-
fire of your Lordship is, that for the Honour
of our Church, and our own particular Repu-
tation, you will draw up a Paper (no Body
can do it better) and both of us to subscribe it,
" that

“ that in our Distress, we did not on any Views,
 “ Hopes or Designs whatsoever, invite the Prince
 “ of *Orange* by Letter or Message, to make
 “ the Attempt he did, with a Fleet and Army on
 “ *England*, though we thought ourselves obliged
 “ to accept the Deliverance he brought us, and
 “ must always gratefully acknowledge, that we
 “ owe the seasonable Rescue of this Nation from
 “ *Popery* to the Success of his Arms, as we do
 “ our present Security to his Foresight, and
 “ the Prudence of his Counsels by the Act of
 “ Settlement.”

‘ The Bishop of *Worcester* declining in his Eyes,
 ‘ though healthful and vigorous beyond his Age,
 ‘ returned Answer by his Son the Chancellor,
 ‘ wherein he assures his Lordship, “ that he
 “ doth not know, that any of the Bishops, who
 “ were Prisoners with his Lordship and him in
 “ the Tower, were any Way concerned in in-
 “ viting the Prince of *Orange* to make a Def-
 “ cent upon this Kingdom. He declares, that
 “ he himself had not directly or indirectly any
 “ Part in the said Invitation, or any Knowledge
 “ whatsoever of his Royal Highness’s Design,
 “ or of the Steps that were taken to make it suc-
 “ ceed, but what he was told as common News,
 “ or read in the *English*, or Foreign Prints. He
 “ saith indeed he must acknowledge, that he could
 “ not but rejoice at what he heard or read of
 “ that Kind, and heartily blessed God for the De-
 “ liverance he seemed to be raising up for his
 “ Church and Nation. And he saith, he never
 “ since reflected upon what God himself so vi-
 “ sibly wrought for us, without the utmost Thank-
 “ fulness to his Holy Name, and the most grate-
 “ ful Remembrance of that glorious Prince, who
 “ was not only the blessed Instrument of that
 “ Deliverance, but also the Founder under God
 “ of the Happiness which we now enjoy, and
 “ which

“ which we have great Reason to hope will be
 “ continued down to our Posterity for many
 “ Generations.”

‘ On the 24th of February 17⁴²/₉ my Lord of
 ‘ *Winchester* was pleased to write thus to me. “ You
 “ having in one of the News Papers acknow-
 “ ledged a Mistake in Relation to the *Hampden*
 “ Family, I am sure by your History of *England*,
 “ you have that true Concern for the Honour of
 “ our Church, that you will not refuse to do
 “ Justice to the Bishops (at least to me and the rest
 “ of us that were sent to the Tower) several
 “ of whom you have represented to have writ
 “ Invitations to his Highness the Prince of O-
 “ range to succour them in this Emergency. To
 “ convince you that you have been misled as to
 “ the *seven Bishops*, I send you a Copy of my
 “ Letters to the late Bishop of *Worcester*, and
 “ his Lordship’s Answer by his Son the Chancel-
 “ lor of *Worcester* &c.” ‘ In a second Letter to
 ‘ me about two Months after, his Lordship says,
 “ I am confident no Bishop did invite the Prince
 “ of *Orange*, and I have an Authority for my
 “ Opinion, which I send you inclosed. A *Me-*
 “ *morandum* of what I set down on a Paper
 “ from the honourable Mr. *Francis Robarts*, Son
 “ of the late, and Uncle to the present Earl of
 “ *Radnor*, a Gentleman very well known and
 “ esteemed for his Probity, and Veracity, &c.”

‘ The *Memorandum* relates to the chief Person
 ‘ concerned in drawing up the Prince of *Orange*’s
 ‘ Declaration, namely Commissary *William Har-*
 ‘ *bord*, who came over with his Highness, and
 ‘ afterwards was knighted by him, and died his
 ‘ Ambassador at *Constantinople*. It runs in these
 ‘ Words. “ Having in a Discourse with Mr.
 ‘ *Francis Robarts*, a very little Time after King
 ‘ *William*’s Coronation, represented to him the
 ‘ Injustice and Mistake of the Person, whoever

E c

“ he

" he was, that insinuated in the Prince of *Orange's*
 " Declaration, as if the Bishops had invited him
 " to come over, which I verily believed was ut-
 " terly false, he reply'd, I took an Occasion to
 " discourse *Will. Harbord* about that Particular,
 " and asked him whether it was true? His An-
 " swer to me was with a Curse, *No; they were*
 " *not so honest. But I caused it to be put in to raise*
 " *a Jealousy and Hatred on both Sides, that King*
 " *James believing it might never forgive them;*
 " *and they, fearing he did believe it, might be pro-*
 " *voked for their own Safety to wish, and help on*
 " *his Ruin.*"

" Besides this, I am lately informed by ano-
 " ther sure Hand, that Mr. *Harbord* has more
 " than once owned to the same Effect, and parti-
 " cularly that there were none of the Lords Spi-
 " ritual who appeared among the Inviters, The
 " Bishop of *London* may really be looked upon as
 " an Exception and his Case peculiar; For his
 " constant Correspondence with the Court at the
 " *Hague*, and his particular Intimacy with her
 " Royal Highness, might well amount to more
 " than a *bare Invitation.*"

I have now done with the fourth and last Vo-
 lume of Mr. *Neal's* History of the *Puritans*, and
 have (I think) pointed out to him many Mis-
 takes, which upon a Review of his History, he
 may not think unworthy of Consideration.

I must own, that in this Work he has given a
 Proof of *uncommon Industry*; though at the same
 Time of such Inaccuracy, as is scarce consistent
 with the Character of a *professed Historian*.

I can only wish, that the next Time he offer
 any Thing to the Publick, it may be upon a *Sub-*
ject more capable of Defense; and then I doubt
 not but some of his *valuable Talents* will shi-
 forth to Advantage.

In the mean Time, I beg Leave to assure him, that though I cannot give up Facts, which are *stubborn Things*, and *will not bend*, and am of Opinion, that *Truth* is so sacred a Thing, that it ought not to be complimented away for the Sake of any Person or Party, or given up on any Consideration whatsoever: Yet I have passed over many Things (for fear of being thought tedious) which are justly liable to Exception.

And though some may think I have been too favourable in my Animadversions (and Mr. *Neal* probably may think me too severe) yet I have taken the Way, in which I should like the best to be dealt with my self in such a Case. And if Mr. *Neal* shall think proper to make any Reply, if it is drawn up with equal Candour, and with the same Regard to Truth that I have observed in my Examination of his three last Volumes, I promise him, upon his discovering any Mistakes (which I can assure him are involuntary) that I will thankfully acknowledge the Favour, and retract them with the utmost Pleasure.

E R R A T A.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 3. line pen. read seven. p. 23. mar. l. 12. r. Ship. p. 25. m. l. 5. r. and.
 p. 26. l. 25. r. persons. p. 37. l. 1. r. Troopers. p. 38. l. 15. r. *Bana*. p. 43.
 l. 23. r. in. p. 45. m. l. 15. r. could not. l. 37. r. him. l. 44. r. where. p.
 48. l. 15. r. contented. m. l. 2. r. *Ever*. p. 51. l. 13. r. secured. p. 54. m.
 l. 4. r. Report. p. 59. m. l. 4. r. Vol. 2. p. 1114. p. 71. l. 29. r. *Pinsel*. p.
 77. l. 15. r. true. p. 85. l. 32. add of. p. 108. m. l. 4. add by. p. 111. m.
 l. pen. r. says. p. 144. l. 29. add of. p. 15. l. 32. r. others. p. 158. l. 13. r.
Toughball. p. 188. l. 8. r. suppose. l. 15. r. take notice. p. 187. m. l. 16. add
 and. p. 218. m. l. 2. add *Neal's Hist. of New England*. Vol. i. p. 291.
 &c. p. 228. m. l. 2. r. Fable. p. 248. l. 27. r. See cause. p. 254. l. 27. r.
 preamble. m. l. 6. r. præ. p. 269. m. l. 7. r. *Codex*. p. 289. m. l. 2. r. *in*
 l. 3. r. *spare*. p. 301. l. pen. add printed. p. 308. l. 13. r. reckons.
 p. 316. l. 1. r. seventh. p. 327. l. 16. r. 1670. p. 334. l. 12. r. particulars.
 p. 362. l. 7. r. hours. p. 367. add *Atten. Oxon.* p. 473. with the Note fol-
 lowing to *Marg.* p. 368. p. 373. l. 5. r. were. p. 380. l. 29. r. lessen. p.
 420. l. 4. r. consultation.

A P P E N D I X.

P. 15. l. 10. r. house. p. 23. l. 10. r. puling. p. 25. m. l. 3. add *Dr. Ful-*
ler's Ch. Hist. B. xi. p. 224. l. ult. add he. p. 28. l. 21. r. that. p. 29. l.
 29. r. go. p. 33. l. 12. r. pickeering. p. 35. l. 26. r. this. p. 37. l. 21. r.
Copperspetb. p. 38. m. l. 1. r. viz. p. 41. m. l. 1. r. Memorials. p. 46. l. 8.
 r. all. p. 90. r. *David Potwell*, and *Mempriere*. p. 101. l. ult. r. 7541. p.
 107. r. *Couper*. p. 118. l. 20. r. *Dinsdale*. l. 32. r. *Maiew*. p. 119. l. 3. ad
Sir Robert Titchborn Lord Mayor of London. p. 131. l. 35. r. this. p. 133.
 l. 11. r. *Zerubbabel*. p. 134. r. *Pensbergh*. p. 137. l. 6. r. Forces. p. 142. r.
Savell. p. 143. l. ult. r. *Tryers*. m. l. 11. r. *putant*. p. 149. l. 11. r. send
 forth. p. 152. l. 17. r. these. p. 153. l. 15. and p. 155. r. *Burtbog*. p. 168.
 l. 16. r. whole course.

APPENDIX.

(2)
A N

APPENDIX

O F

Curious *Letters and Papers,*

Copied from the Originals (formerly
Dr. NALSON's) now in the Custody
of the Reverend Dr. PHILIP WIL-
LIAMS, President of St. *John's Col-*
lege, Cambridge.

No. I.

Monsieur,

NOUS vous envoies icy les lettres de creance, qu'il a pleu à Messieurs les Estats generaux d'escrire à l'honorable maison des Communes, vous prions de les vouloir rendre le plustost, afin qu'on puisse resoudre encor ce matin, s'il est possible sur notre audience, laquelle nous demandons avec tant plus d'instance, pour avoir à proposer des choses, qui concernent le bien, la tranquillité & la seureté de ce Royaume, & de l'estat des Provinces Unies, dont les interets, pour plusieurs considerations devient estre tellement unis, que malaisement peuvent ils estre separés: Sur ce nous prions Dieu,

Monsieur, de vous tenir en sa sainte garde, & demeurons

29 *Januar.* 1648³
8 *Feur.*

Vos tres affectionnes Serviteurs,

ADRIEN PAAW.
ALB. JOACHIMI.

A Monsieur,

Monsieur Guillaume Lenthall Esquier Orateur de l'honorable Maison des Communes du Parlement
Angleterre.

No. II.

Translated.

Sir,

WE send you here the Letters of Credence which it hath pleased Our Lords the States General to write to the honourable the House of Commons, and we intreat you instantly to present the same: even this Morning, if possible. That a Resolution may be made concerning our Audience, which we the more earnestly demand, because we have such Things to propose as concern the Good, the Tranquillity and Safety of this Kingdom, and the State of the United Provinces, whose Interests for several Considerations should be in such a manner united, that the same be not easily separated. Whereupon we pray God,

Sir, to keep you in his holy Protection, and do rest

Your affectionate Servants,

The 29 Jan.
8 Feb. 1648.

Subsigned

ADRIEN PAAW.
ALB. JOACHIMI.

* *Honorables Seigneurs,*

LES Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies du Pays Bas Nos Superieurs, nous ont envoie en Royaume d'Angleterre, en qualite de leurs Ambassadeurs extraordinaire, et ordinaire, avec charge expresse, de souhaicter à cette honorable assemblée du Parliament d'Angleterre, toute prosperité & felicité de leur part, comme aussi tranquillité & repos pour le dict Royaume, & toute la Nation Angloise, avec offre & assurance de leur sincere affection à son service, & contentement & pour le bien commun de tout le peuple en general. A quoy leurs Hautes Puissances se trouvent estroitement obligés par les Interests communs entre ce Royaume, & leur estat, & notamment par les merites & grands bienfaictes, les quels ont esté departis de par ce dict Royaume en diverses & importantes occasions a leur estat.

Et comme, depuis le commencement des mouvements & guerres survenuees dans le Pays Bas, l'estat des Provinces Unies a eu le desir de se conserver principalement l'amitie, & bienveillance de ce Royaume, & que celui pourroit estre conservé dans une firme Paix, union & repos, en consideration de sa religion, puissance, situation, navigation, commerce & traficq, & des interests reciproques en general & particulier; afin que par ce moien le bien de la cause commune tant mieux pourroit estre maintenu & avancé, & notamment pour le soulagement des oppressees, a quoy ce redouttable Royaume a cy devant produit & demonstéré des notables effects, & y pourroit contribuer de plus en plus, demeurant & se conservant en bonne paix & concorde; Ainsi leur Hautes Puissances ont recognu, que les Enemis du bien commun ayant, regardé d'un oeuil envieux, & apprehendants les prosperités & grandes forces de ce Royaume, ont tasché par leurs subtiles menaces & mauvaises pratiques, d'y semer, & introduire la tres dangereuse semence de defiance & division laquelle neantmoins devoit

No. IV.

Translated.

Right Honourable,

THE States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries our Superiors, have sent us into this Kingdom of England, in the Quality of their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ordinary, with expresse Orders to wish to this honourable Assembly of the Parliament of England all Prosperity and Felicity on their Part, as also Tranquillity and Peace to the same Kingdom, and to the whole English Nation, with Offer and Assurance out of their true Affection to their Service and Contentment, and for the common Good of all the People in general; to which their High-Mightinesses find themselves strictly obliged by the common Interest between this Kingdom and their State, and more particularly by the Merits and many good Deeds which have been bestowed by the same Kingdom, in several and important Occasions upon their State.

And whereas, ever since the Beginning of the Troubles and Wars in the Low-Countries, the State of the United Provinces hath had a Desire to preserve chiefly the Amity and Good-will of this Kingdom, and that the same might be preserved in a firm Peace, Union and Tranquillity, in Consideration of its Religion, Strength, Situation, Navigation, Commerce and Traffick, and the Interest on both Sides, in general and in particular; because that by these Means the Good of the common Cause might be maintained and advanced, and particularly for the Comfort of the oppressed, in whose Favour this redoubtable Kingdom hath heretofore given and shown notable Effects, and could yet contribute more and more, continuing in good and sound Peace and Concord: Their High-Mightinesses very well perceive that the Enemies of the common Good looking with an envious Eye, and apprehending the Prosperity and great Forces of this Kingdom, have encouraged by their subtle Tricks and bad Practices to sow in it, and introduce the most dangerous Seeds of Distrust and Division, which ought therefore to be smothered and killed, before they increase and spread themselves farther, and so give an Opportunity to the said common Enemies to arrive at

estre estouffée, & anieantée devant que d'accroistre & s'augmenter & dilater d'avantage, pour ne donner lieu & moien aux dictz Ennemis communs de parvenir a leur dessein, les quel ils se sont proposés il y a long temps. Afavoir pour *mettre* & tenir ce Royaume d'Angleterre en combustion, & ainsi estant devenu foible & impuissant au dedans, il seroit moins considerable pour ses Amys au dehors, & aussi moins redoutable pour les Ennemis, & par ainsi viendroît estre abbatu, & brisé tout ce qui a esté basti & attasché sur son fondement : ce qu'arrivant les mesmes Ennemis tascheront sans doubte de mettre en avant toute sorte d'artifices ne seulement pour troubler les deux Royaumes de la Grande Bretagne, mais aussi de les mettre en factions & de les faire tomber & bonsummer dans des guerres intestines : Or les dictz Seigneurs, Estats Generaux, ayants apperceu avec extreme deplaisir, & douleur tout ce que dessus, ont estimé estre de leur devoir de ne differer plus long temps l'envoy de leurs Ambassadeurs à cette honorable assemblée du Parliament, & d'un coeur tres affectionné à la Paix, & aussi pour leur propre bien, & la plus grande seureté de leur Estat, offrir leur Service & employ à fin d'aider à oster la desiance mutuelle ; faire cesser toute la jealousy, mes contentements, & attentats, qui en sont survenus : déclarent neantmoins leur Hautes Puissances n'entreprendre pas cela par une presumption pour se meller & entremettre dans les affaires d'un si grand & si puissant Royaume, mais plustost pour s'acquitter d'un office chrestein, qui convient a des anciens amys, fidels allies & bien proches Voisins. Et d'autre part, pour reciproquement contribuer semblables bons advis & adssistences salutaires, lesquels ils ont autrefois fidellement receu & employé à leur grande avantage de ce Royaume d'Angleterre : en outre, leurs hautes puissances se persuadent fermement, qu'il n'y à aucun Estat en la Chrestienté plus propre & mieux disposé, comme le leur, pour, en la presente Constitution du temps & des affaires d'Angleterre, admonester & persuader les uns et les autres a la Paix & Concorde amiable, & auquel avec moindre apprehension & ombrage pourra estre donné foy & creance, puis que leurs actions precedantes, tant sur le faict de la Religion, que sur le gouvernement ont esté toujours des preuves evidentes de la sincerité de leur intentions & procedures au regarde de presentes occasions du Royaume d'Angleterre. Car pour ce que regarde les

the End they have so long aimed at; to wit, to bring and to keep this Kingdom in a Flame; and also, being weakened and without Power, that in itself it might be less considerable to its Friends abroad, and less formidable to its Enemies; upon which must follow the sure Destruction of all that has been built upon its Foundation. Which being once brought to pass, the same Enemy will without doubt put in Practice all kind of Artifices, not only to disturb the Repose of the Kingdoms of Great Britain, but also to stir them up into Factions at home, and make them fall away and consume in intestine Wars. Now the said Lords, the States General, perceiving with extreme Displeasure and Sorrow all that is aforesaid, thinking it to be their Duty not to defer any longer the sending of their Ambassadors to this honourable Assembly of the Parliament, with an Heart well affectioned to Peace, as also for their own Good, and the greater Security of their State, do offer their Service and best Endeavours to help to take away all mutual Distrust; and that all Jealousies, Misunderstandings, and other injurious Treatment, which hath happened on either Side, may for the future cease. Their High Mightinesses do moreover declare, that their Intention herein does not arise from any vain desire they have to be meddling in the Affairs of so great and potent a Kingdom, but rather to acquit themselves of a true Christian Office as becomes ancient Friends, Allies, and near Neighbours. And likewise, that on their Side, they may gratefully contribute their Advice and Assistance, in return of what they have formerly in their Necessity received from this Kingdom of England, and made use of to their great Advantage. Moreover, their High Mightinesses are very well persuaded, that there is no State in Christendom more proper and better disposed than theirs, with regard to the present State of Affairs in England, to admonish and persuade both the one and the other Side, to Peace and Concord, and to which with less Apprehension and Umbrage may be given Credit and Belief; being, that their foregoing Actions, as well concerning the Point of Religion, as that of the Government, have always been sufficient Proofs of the Sincerity of their Intentions and Proceedings, in regard of the present State of Affairs in the Kingdom of England. For, as to what concerns the civil Government of this Kingdom, the said Lords the States General, they have heretofore endeavoured on all Occasions to do to it all the most acceptable Service

affaires d'estat, les dicts Seigneurs Estat Generaux ont tashe cy devant en toutes occasions de complaire & rendre service agreable & utile a ce Royaume, & persistants encore en la meisme bonne & tres sincere volonte se trouvent d'autant plus interessees en son bonheur & conservation: tant pour l'interest commun, que pour les notable interest de leur estat en particulier: le but de leur Hautes Puissances en cette Negotiation n'est pas pour recommander un apaisement des affaires, qui soit feinct & dissimulé & convert d'un semblant exterieur seulement, & peu assure au dedans, mais une sincere & parfaite union de Coeurs, basti sur un assure & ferme fondement d'une vraie paix & tranquillité, qui pourra produire une parfaite Correspondance des ames & volonte ensemble.

Puis doncque Honorable Seigneurs, pour parveni a un si grand bien tant pour ce Royaume que pour mes estat, il seroit expedient notre necessaire d'oster les Obstacles, & obvier aux inconvenients qui pourroient rendre les remedes plus difficiles ou faire accroistre les maux, dont on est menace de toutes parts; & que les dicts Seigneurs Estats ont jugé, que la personne du Roy est tellement considerable tant au dedans, qu'au dehors de ce Royaume, que ce que luy pourroit arriver, soit en bien ou en mal, pourra adoucir, & enaigrir les affaires, & les changer entierement de face. Et que cette honorable assemblee est parfaitement informée combien la dicte personne du Roy pourra contribuer a contenir les peuples en devoir, ies Royaumes de la Grande Brittagne en Union, & qu'a chaqu'un soit donné toute sorte de satisfaction, de seurete, d'honneur & de gloire avec un total & eternal oubly de choses passées.

Et d'ailleurs qu'il y a plusieurs grandes Roys & Princes relevés en la Chrestiente aux quels par sang & alliances sa Personne Royale appartient si pres, que sans doubte ils seront vivemens touches de ce qu'on voudra extraordinairement & exemplairement executer à l'encontre d'icelle: Et qu'au contraire, Si le Roy est conserve il sera indubitablement de plus en plus obligé pour suivre ne seulement, tous bons advis, & conseil, mais aussi de deferer beaucoup a la negotiation & intercession de ceux, qui s'offrent maintenant de s'employer pour le bien du Royaume & intercedent pour la conservation de sa personne.

Et

that lay in their Power, steadily persisting yet in the same sincere Good-will to it; they find themselves still more interested in its Well-being and Preservation: as well in Consideration of the common Good, as that of their own State in particular. The end therefore their High Mightinesses propose to themselves, is not to soften Matters for the present only, or to cover them over with a light outward Show, whilst they have little real Strength within, but to bring about a sincere and perfect Re-union of Hearts upon the solid and lasting Foundation of a firm Peace and Tranquillity, which may in the End produce a perfect Correspondence of Will and Inclinations.

Seeing therefore, Right Honourable, that to obtain so great a Good, as well for this Kingdom, as for our own State, it will be expedient, if not necessary, to put by all Obstacles, that may render the Remedies more difficult, or increase the Evils which we are threatned with from all Parts; to which the said Lords the States do judge that the Person of the King is so very considerable as well within, as without this Kingdom, that that which may befall him, be it for Good or Bad, may sweeten or make sour the whole State of Affairs, and make a total Change in them. And that this honourable Assembly is fully informed, how much the Presence of the King may contribute to keep the People in Order, the Kingdom of Great Britain in Union, and that to every one may be given all Sort of Satisfaction, of Surety, of Honour and of Glory, with a total and eternal Oblivion of Things past.

And besides, seeing, that there are many great Kings and Princes now living in Christendom, to whom by Blood and Alliance his Royal Person doth so nearly belong, that they will without doubt, be sensibly affected with what will be extraordinarily or exemplarily executed in his Person. And on the contrary, if the King be preserved, he will without doubt be more and more obliged to follow not only all good Advice and Counsel, but also pay a great Deference to the Negotiation and Intercession of those, who do now offer their Service and Mediation for the Good of the Kingdom, and intercede for the Preservation of his Person.

And

Et en cas, Honorable Seigneurs, que l'affaire passa plus outre ce, que Dieu ne veuille, ce seroit une chose irreparable, & a laquelle par apres, combien qu'on auroit la volonté, on ne pourroit apporter aucun remede n'y soulagement.

Nous nous trouvons doncque obliges au nom de nos superieurs, si estroitement alliés a ce Royaume, Amateurs de votre bien & repos, & vos fidels amys, de faire la priere tres instante a cette honorable assemblée, a fin que selon sa puissance elle veuille faire surseoir toutes ulterieures procédures a l'encontre la personne du Roy, & notamment, que ne soit faict aucune Execution qui Luy oste la vie, et le moien pour pouvoir plus servir au repos de ce Royaume & du peuple d'Angleterre. Et quant faire entrer avec nous & en ulterieure communication de tout ce qu'il faudra faire, pour appaiser les rumeurs contraires, retablir une bonne & mutuelle amitie & concorde, & remettre ce Royaume dans la fleur & prosperite, laquelle nos Superieurs de tout Cœur desirent de l'avoir, appuier & seconder par tous moiens possibles.

Sur quoy attendant une favorable responce de cette honorable assemblée, nous serons prêts a tout Heure de faire des ouvertures plus amples a icelle. Et en cas debesoins de donner en un autre audience des raisons plus efficaceuses pour de monstrier la necessite & utilite de la conservation du la vie de Roy, & de contribuer tous bons devoirs & offices pour l'accomplissant d'un si grand oeuvre & si necessaire au bien de la Crestienté.

Prononcé en l'honorable Maison des Communes du Parliament d'Angleterre, par les Soubsignes Ambassadeurs extraordinaire & ordinaire des Seigneurs les Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies du pays bas, & delivre par escrit,

Ce 30 Jan. 1643.
8 Feb.

ADRIEN PAAW.
ALB. JOACHIMI.

And in case, Right Honourable, that the Business should proceed to Extremity; which God forbid, the Matter would be irreparable, and to which hereafter, how much soever it may be desired, it will be impossible to bring any Remedy or Assistance.

We do find our selves therefore obliged in the Name of our Superiors, so nearly allied to this Kingdom, Lovers of its Well-being, Peace, and Quiet, and its faithful Allies, to make our most earnest Prayers to this honourable Assembly, that it will, (according as it has Power) put a Stop to all farther Proceedings against the Person of the King: and particularly, that no Execution may be done upon him to take away his Life, and put a Stop to all Possibility of restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Kingdom of England, and to enter as soon as possible with us in farther Communication of all that is to be done for to appease the contrary Humours, settle a firm and mutual Amity and Concord, and to restore this Kingdom again unto its antient Prosperity, in which our Superiors heartily desire to see it; and which they will second with all possible Means.

Upon which Account, expecting a favourable Answer from this honourable Assembly, we are ready immediately to make Overtures more ample than these already mentioned. And if need be, in another Audience to give more cogent Reasons in Proof of the Necessity of preserving the King's Life, contributing all good Means and Offices to fulfil so great a Work, and so necessary for the Good of Christendom.

Pronounced in the honourable House of Commons of the Parliament of England, by the Embassadors Extraordinary and Ordinary of the States of the united Provinces, and delivered in Writing,

This 30 Jan. 1648
8 Feb.

Subsigned

ADRIEN PAAW.
ALB. JOACHIMI.

See a Translation made probably by the Secretary to the Embassy. Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 18. No. 106.

No.

✱ *Right Honourable,*

WE the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament upon due and serious Consideration of your Lordship's Address made to this House the 29th of *January* last, and your Paper presented the 30th of the same Moneth, do in the first Place return our many and hearty Thanks unto the High and Mighty Lords the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, for their sundry good Desires, friendly Acknowledgements, Well-wishes and faire Respects to the Parliament, and the People of *England* in those Papers contained, earnestly desiring on our Parties a firm and durable Continuation of the antient Amity and Alliance formerly made, and often renewed betwixt both these Nations.

Whereunto we hold ourselves obliged, as having well weighed and observed, that no Leagues or Confederacies have at any time been made upon Foundations of more joint and common Interest in every respect, than those of the People of *England* with the *Netherlands*. And therefore, it is our most earnest Desire that a firm Peace, right Understanding, and good Correspondency may be inviolably maintained betwixt both Nations for the present, and most exactly observed for the future.

And whereas Yourself, in the Name of the *States Generall*, doe gravely advise us concerning the Person of the King who was then in part, and since more fully proceeded against, according to Justice in a Court established by the supreme Authority of this Nation for his transcendent Offences, and those not committed in a Corner. We are confident that both the High and Mighty Lords the *States Generall* of the *United Provinces*, and all other States and Princes, who have taken Notice of our late Affairs, will find cause to beleave, that nothing hath beene donne therein but what is agreeable to Publicque Justice, and the Fundamentalls of this Nation, which certainly must needs be better knowne to us, then to any other People or Nation in the World. And we shall desire your Lord-

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 18, No. 67. endorsed, The Answer to be given to the Papers of the States Ambassadors. Read 5th Feb. 1648, and passed.

ships would from us assure the High and Mighty Lords the *States Generall*, that we shall be ever ready not only to heare, but to contribute to them all good Means and Offices, to fullfill such Workes as shall be necessary for the general Good of Christendome, as well as of our owne.

No. VI.

SINCE * *Ormonde's* first setting himself before *Dublin*, (where he continued from the 20th *June*, to the 2d Instant (little was done against this City. He ayming first at the gaining the principall Out-Garrisons, as *Drogheda*, *Dundalk*, and *Trym*, the last being taken the 21st past.

On the 22d, Coll. *Venables* landed with his Foot; the 25th, Coll. *Reynolds* with his Horse; the 26th, Coll. *Moors* and Coll. *Hunks* with their Foote, and Captain *Norwood* and Major *Elliot* with their Troopes, whereby this Party became in some sort considerable: Wherewithall, and by the Report of the Lord Lieutenant's following soone after with the whole Army, the Enemy being awakened, thereupon resolved to set themselves wholly to this Worke: And in the first Place, they did cut of that Water, whereby our Mills were driven, and thereby was our Condition somewhat streightned: But principally upon the second Instant, they set up a Work at *Baggarath*, within a Quarter of a Mile of this City. Whither having drawne about 1500 Foot besides Horse; they thence purposed to work themselves forward in their Approaches, and to take from us our Forrage for our Horse, and Grasse for our Cattle, without whiche this Place could not long have subsisted: And they built Forts towards the Sea to deprive us of the landing Place for our coming Supplies, and this was the onely safe landing left for our Forces in the Dominion of *Ireland*.

The Enemies Horse and Foote appearing at *Baggarath* the second of this Instant, about nine in the Morninge, Lieutenant Generall *Jones* drew out 1200 Horse and 4000 Foot, intending then onely to beat up the Enemy's Quarter, and not to engage with so small a Party, their

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 68. An Abstract of this Account, in *Whitelock's Mem.* p. 419.

Campe being at *Rathmines*, within lesse than a Mile of *Baggarath*. But God blessing our Men with Successe, and by the coming on of Partyes on all Sides, it came at length to a generall Engagement, and after more than two Hours hot Dispute the Enemy was totally routed.

“ *Ormonde* hardly escaped with eight Horse, and few had escaped of their whole Numbers, but that there was cause to provide against a Body of 1000 fresh Horse of the Enemies commanded by Sir *Thomas Armesstrong*. Which coming up fresh and in our Mens Disorder, might have endangered all, but they instead of advancing (which our Men expected) fled towards *Droghedah*.

“ Our losse of Men was little, there not being twenty missinge, but many wounded.” Of the Enemy were slaine about 4000, some of considerable Quality, and 2500 and 17 taken Prisoners, amongst whom Col. *Christopher Pluncket*, the Earl of *Fingale*, and Colonel *Richard Butler*, the Earle of *Ormond*’s Brother were Principalls; and with them 16 Collonells and Field Officers, 41 Captains, Lieutenants 58, Ensigns 42; Cornets, Quarter Masters, and other Persons of inferior Offices and Qualitys, a great Number, and most of them of *Inchiquin*’s English, and of our Runawayes; to which is to be added Mr. *John Herbert* servant to the pretended King, who about six Days before landed his Master’s household Stuff in *Galloway*. Our Men tooke in the Place three Demi-Cannons, one large square Gun carrying a Ball of twelve Pound, one *Sarre Drake*, and one Morter Piece, all theise Brasse. And our Men also gained about 200 Oxen for the Trayne besides Carriages. The next Day our Men seized a brasse Canon within five Miles of the Campe. Whiche Campe was richly furnished with great Stores of Velvets, Silks, Scarlets, and other Cloathing of Value, Wines, Grocery, with some convenient Quantity of Monney, all which they left behind them, and the neighbouring Villages plentifully stored with Cattle of all sortes fitt for Foode.

There were also taken of Trayne Carriages and Waggon belonging to the Enemye’s Army at the least 300, Tents 300, Cowes, and Irishe Nagges, termed by them Garroone, 400.

It was for our Advantage, that *Inchequine* had some Daies before gone towards *Munster*, yet intending to returne

turne shortly. As also, that our Men so engaged before *Clanrickarde's* coming up with his 3000 Men out of *Connaught*, and 7000 *Ulster* Scots also upon advancing.

All this was done by a handful of Men, and not a third Parte of our Foot comeing in to the principall Part of the Worke. Yet by them the Lord defeated an Enemy by themselves, now acknowledged 19000. And they having a fresh Reserve of Horse little short of our Numbers.

The same night *Rathfurnan's* Sir *Adam Loftus's* Horse lately taken by the Enemy was regained, and the Soldiers in *Munster* about 7 score entertained into the Parliament Service, professing their Abhorrence to accompany with those bloody *Irish* Rebels, and that they were forced to doe what they did, and that hereafter they would live and die with us.

Nor did their Feare leave them till they had also quitted *Mannoude*, the Earl of *Kildare's* House, one of the strongest---in *Ireland*, *Donahedy*, and *Richards* Towne, each 12 Miles distant from *Dublin*.

Never was any Day in *Ireland* like this to the Confusion of the *Irish*, and to the raising up the Spirits of the poore *English*, and to the restoring of the *English* Interest, whiche from their first footing in *Ireland* was never in so lowe a Condition, as at that very Instant: There not being any one considerable landing Place left us but this alone, and they alsoe almost gone.

No. 7.

* *My Lorde,*

NOTHING of moment hath occurred since my last, save the Proceedings of *Clanrickard* with the Duke of *Lorrayne's* Agent, who is again returning, all Things

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 8. No. 48. an Original. In a Letter from B. *Whitelock* Ambassador at *Sweden*. *Thurloe's Papers*, Vol. 12. f. 12. *Fœdera*, Vol. 20. p. 790. is the following Account of the Duke of *Lorrayne's* Affair. *Woolfeildt* said, that he had formerly been employed to treat with the Duke of *Lorrayne*, for the transporting of 5000 Foot and 3000 Horse into *Ireland* to assist *Charles Stewart*, which the Duke would have undertaken, if the other would have given him one hundred thousand Crowns in ready Money, and Ships to transport his Soldiers from some Port of *France*, but the said *Charles Stewart* could neither do the one nor the other.

being

being agreed on betwixt them; his Money, which is 20000*l.* Ammunition and Armes received, the Duke to be their Protector, 40 Sayle of Shipping promised to be sent into the Coasts of *Galloway*, and *Lymbricke*, by the latter end of this Instant, both which Places he is to furnish, with all Ingines for Warr, they to be his Magazines, and hee to be admitted into them as occasion shall be offered; The Duke himsele, with 10000 Foote and 5000 Horse, to be here by the latter End of *Aprill*; until which Time their Army are not to ingage with us on any Tearmes; but endeavour to guard the Passages on the *Shannon*; (but says my Intelligencer) they don't a little feare we should attempt getting over before *Lorraine's* Arrival. The *Lymbricians* were the onely Men that opposed the receiving of these Supplies, or concluding any thing with the Agent. The Duke of *Lorraine* is to have *Corke*, *Youghall*, *Kingsale*, *Banden*, and *Dongarvan*, in Assurance of what hee shall lay out. The Duke of *York* to marry his Daughter; *Castlehaven* is gone with *Clanrickarde* to *Portumny*, his Force are still in their Quarters, in *Thomond*, save somm 200 that came over at *Killalaw* the other Day, to Tory it a while, and steale somm Cattle from the poor People, and so retourne; all manner of Provisions are very scarce with them; Wheate in *Lymbricke* is at 4*l.* the Barrell. In my last to your Lordship, I made mention of an Agent employed by the *Lymbricians* to *Clanrickard*, he is not as yet returned, soe that I can give your Lordship no account of that Business as yet. I have here inclosed sent your Lordship the Abstracts of somm Letters whiche came to my Hands about two Days since, whiche is all at present from him that humbly craves leave to subscribe himsele,

Your Lordship's moste Faythfull,

Moste Humble Servant,

Loghquier,
Marche 24th. 1650.

WILL. KINGE.

These to the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy Generall of *Irelande*, att *Killkenny*

Humbly present.

No.

No. VIII.

* *My Lord,*

HAVING prepared our Horſe in *Leiceſterſhire* for a Muſter, I did think it convenient to reſpaire into this County to quicken the raiſing of the three Troopes charged upon the Weſt Diviſion, whiche this next Weeke are to be brought in, and muſtered in the ſeveral places appointed for that purpoſe. This being performed, I intend, God willing, to returne to *Leiceſter*, where upon Tueſday come ſevenight wee have appointed a general Muſter of our Horſe and Foot, I hope, as will be fit Inſtruments to ſerve the Parliament whenever they ſhall be called upon.

My Lord, I was deſired by ſome of the beſt affected of this County, and in *Leiceſterſhire*, to give an Account of the great Neglect of our *Ministers* in their *non Obſervance of the laſt Thankſgiving Day*, and humbly to preſent their Opinion, that if there be not Notice taken of ſuch Contempt, it may produce many Inconveniencies. My Lord, what the Wiſdome of the Councell ſhall pleaſe generally to direct herein, wee humbly deſire may be tranſmitted hither: aſſureing your Lordſhip there ſhall be no other uſe made of it, then ſuch as may be for the Honour of God, and Welfare of the Parliament, then which nothing is more dear unto, or ſhall bee more faithfully promoted by, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

Grafton,
15th October 1650.

THOMAS GREY.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Preſident of the Councell of State. Theiſ preſent.

No. IX.

UPON * Consideration of the Certificate of the Contracts made unto this Committee the 31st of *August* expressing the Value of such of the *Deane* and Chapter Lands as have been contracted for to the 30th Instant, amounteth unto the Gross Summ of 980724 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* for that the neat Summ remaining *ultra Reprizes* is 954531 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *d.* or thereabouts.

No. IX.

IN † Obedience to the Order of the honourable Committee of Parliament for removing Obstructions in the Sale of Deanes and Chapters Lands dated the 28th of this Instant *August*, the Comptroller therein mentioned does humbly certifye, That the Value of such of the said Lands as the Register had made certificate of to the said Comptroller to be contracted for to the 29th of this Instant *August* inclusive amount to

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
948409	18	02½

Of which Some it appears by Copies of the Purchasers Acquittances, entred by the said Comptroller, that there is defaulted and paid to the Treasurers appointed in that Behalf

In double Bill	—	—	507492	05	05
In transferred Bills	—	—	142757	12	06
In Money	—	—	8251	04	10

The total of the Purchasers Acquittances entred aforesaid, amounts to	}	658501	02	09
Resting for which the Purchasers have yet produced no Acquittances —	}	289908	15	05½

And the said Comptroller doth further humbly certifye the Names of such Purchasers as the said Register hath made certificate of to the said Comptroller to have contracted for part of the said Lands, and have not prosecuted

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 55. See the whole Appendix to Impartial Exam. of Mr. Neal's 3d Volume, No. ix.

† Dr. Williams MS. Collections.

their several Contracts to effect, according to the Act for the Sale of the said Lands, or at least have not made it appear by entering their Acquittances with the said Comptroller (as they ought to doe) and the Sommes due and payable upon such of the said respective Contracts as the said Register hath made certificate of to the said Comptroller, to the 29th of this instant *August* inclusive are as followeth.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sept. 10. 1649.	<i>William Collins</i> for Tenements in <i>Wells</i> Com. <i>Gloucester</i> .	251	16	00
27.	<i>Hammond Ward</i> for the Scite of the Mannour of <i>Sutton</i> , in Com. <i>Canabr.</i>	2048	08	02
Oct. 9.	Lord Major of <i>London</i> for Mannour of <i>Finsbury</i> .	1085	00	00
16.	<i>George Towers</i> for Tenements in <i>Holbourn</i> .	902	18	04
30.	<i>John Nuthall</i> for the Mannour of <i>South Beneflete</i> , Com. <i>Essex</i> .	1748	09	08
Dec. 26.	<i>George Banckes</i> for <i>Hill-hampton</i> Farme, Com. <i>Worcester</i> .	91	02	06
Jan. 3.	<i>Joseph Snowe</i> for Tenement in <i>Exeter</i> , Com. <i>Devon</i> .	125	16	08
8.	<i>Thomas Alwin</i> for the Manour House in <i>Eastergate</i> , Com. <i>Suffex</i> .	1234	06	08
10.	<i>William Heveningham</i> and others, for Manour of <i>Bluntsham</i> , Com. <i>Hunt</i> .	1822	07	09½
17.	<i>John Stone</i> , &c. for the Manour of <i>Salcomb</i> . Com. <i>Devon</i> .	5831	17	09
Feb. 7.	<i>Bernard Sparke</i> for the Mannour of <i>Pamestone</i> , Com. <i>Somerset</i> .	428	02	10
21.	<i>Thomas Nash</i> for a Tenement in <i>Claynes</i> , Com. <i>Worcester</i> .	117	12	06
21.	<i>Francis Clarke</i> for the Mannours of <i>East</i> and <i>North Curry</i> in Com. <i>Somerset</i> .	8249	06	00½
Mar. 5.	<i>Walter Lane</i> for the Mannour of <i>Leightorne</i> , Com. <i>Suffolk</i> .	320	19	07
7.	<i>Roger Fowne</i> for Tenements in <i>Westminster</i> .	64	10	00
12.	<i>William Mollins</i> for the Mannour of <i>Hardwick</i> , Com. <i>Civ. Worcester</i> .	472	00	00

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>March 12. Samuel Graunt for Tenements in Charington Crofs Street.</i>	952	13	00
<i>1650. 28. Edward Ceely for the Mannour of Knapfee, Com. Somerset.</i>	1549	12	09
<i>April 9. Christopher Bernard for the Red Lyon in Caxton, Com. Cant.</i>	284	15	00
<i>23. John Gawdy for Tenements in Exeter, Com. Devon.</i>	112	17	04
<i>25. Richard Marshall for a Farm in Walls End, Com. Dunelm.</i>	184	11	00
<i>30. Gilbert Mabbot for Grounds and Salt Pans in Wivestoe, Com. Dunelm.</i>	46	05	00
<i>May 7. Gilbert Mabbot for St. Cuthbert's Close, Com. prædict.</i>	245	04	00
<i>14. John Wilcox for a Tenement in Wolvey, Com. Stafford.</i>	49	00	06
<i>16. Richard Underhill for Tenements in Com. Civ. Gloucester.</i>	1706	08	11
<i>21. Sir Henry Vane for the Mannour of Wivestoe, Com. Dunelm.</i>	752	16	08
<i>23. Lazarus Seaman for the Mannour of in Com. Cantabr.</i>	166	00	01
<i>23. Thomas Smith for Tenements in Canterbury, Com. Kanc.</i>	462	00	00
<i>23. George Hatton for a Farm in Ruthcombe Northberry, Com. Berks.</i>	473	02	11
<i>23. Edward Field for the Nag's-head in Gloucester.</i>	75	12	04
<i>23. William Turpin for the Mannour of Welton Panchall in Com. Lincoln.</i>	469	05	00
<i>30. Edward Elton for the Ship in Lip-pock, Com. Southampton.</i>	70	13	04
<i>30. Richard Bouett for the Mannour of East Lambrook in Com. Somerset.</i>	922	12	11
<i>June 6. Nathaniel Smyth for the Mannour of Fenner Heythorne Com. prædict.</i>	671	19	00
<i>11. Robert Hales for Tenements in Canterbury.</i>	100	00	04
<i>11. Jacob Napleton for Tenements in or near Canterbury.</i>	204	08	04
<i>11. Edward Rogers for Tenements in Gloucester.</i>	190	06	00

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June 11. <i>Henry Joyles</i> for Tenements in <i>Canterbury</i> . }	442	16	07
20. <i>Anthony Twyne</i> for the Mannour of <i>Oakham</i> , in <i>Com. Rutland</i> . }	372	10	07 $\frac{1}{2}$
27. <i>Thomas Fowke</i> for a Farm in <i>Shar-</i> <i>shall</i> , <i>Com. Stafford</i> . }	126	01	06
27. <i>Sir John Hippsley</i> for the Manour of <i>Rochford Tower</i> , <i>Com. Lincoln</i> . }	1915	15	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
27. <i>Thomas Milford</i> for the Mannour of <i>Pittington Com. Dunelm</i> . }	1283	00	08 $\frac{1}{2}$
July 11. <i>George Foxcroft, &c.</i> for a Te- nement in <i>Paddington</i> , <i>Com. Midd.</i> }	501	16	00

John Fouke, Comp^r. 39295 17 06 $\frac{3}{4}$

Dated,
Aug. 31. 1650.

No. X.

EXCEPTIONS * taken by a Committee for plun-
dered Ministers against the Booke, intituled, *The*
Accuser shamed, &c. By the Accused *John Fry*, Feb. 13.
1650.

That hee, the said *John Fry*, hath published in print
the Accusation that was made against him, *vivâ voce*, only
in the House of Parliament by a Member of Parliament,
often particularly naming and reproaching the said Member
in the said Booke, *tit. p.* and *p.* 14, 15, 16, 17.

That hee denies the *Trinity*, calling it a *chaffy* and
absurd Opinion of three Persons or Subsistences in the
Godhead, Title Page, and Page 15, and especially Page 22.
lin. 14. viz. *Persons* or *Subsistences* are Substances or Acci-
dents. As for the Word *Person*, I doe not understand
that it can be properly attributed but to Man. It is out
of doubt with me, that if you aske the most Part of Men
what they meane by a *Person*, they will either tell you that
it's a Man, or else they are not able to give you any An-
swer at all. And for the Word *Accident*, I suppose none
will attribute that to God, for according to my poore Skill,
that Word imports no more but the Figure or Colour,
&c. of a Thing: And certainly, no Man ever saw the

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 64.

Likeness of God, as the Scriptures abundantly testify. And therefore neither of the Words, Persons, or Subsistences, can hold forth such a Meaning as Accidents in God. *Athanasius* in his Creed saith, There is one Person of the Father, an other of the Son, and an other of the Holy Ghost: Others say, that there is three distinct Subsistences in God. Well, these three Persons or Subsistences cannot be Accidents, neither doe I think it is the Meaning of any. Then certainly they must be Substances; if so, then they must be Created or Uncreated, Limited or Unlimited. If Created and Limited, then the Person of the Father is Creature; the Person of the Son, a Creature; and the Person of the Holy Ghost, a Creature: whiche I thinke none will affirme. If they are not Created or Limited, then they must be Uncreated or Unlimited, for I know no Medium between Created and Uncreated, Limited or Unlimited. If they are Uncreated and Unlimited, then there are three Uncreated and Unlimited Substances, so consequently three Gods. For my parte, I finde no Footing for such Expressions in Scripture. And I thinke them fit only to keepe ignorant People in carnal and gross Thoughts of God, and therefore I doe explode them out of my Creed.

Resolved by the Committee that the aforesaid second Exception be reported to the House as containing Matter of *Blasphemy*.

Exceptions taken by the said Committee against the Booke entituled, *The Clergy in their Colours*, printed under the Name of *John Fry*, a Member of the Parliament of England.

That the said Committee doe excepte against the Clause in the Booke Page 39. Line 17. as scandalous, viz. I cannot let passe one Observation, and that is the strange * Posture

* Mr. Petyt in his Visions of the Reformation, p. 84. humorously describes their praying, in the following Manner. " He was in the most mortified Dress that you can imagine; for the white Border upon his black Cap made him look like a black Jack tipt with Silver; he wrinkled his Face up and down, that it resembled a Crab Lanthorn possessed with a Devil, who had crumpled all the upper Crust with his Horns and Hoofs, as if he had been a considerable Time putting himself in a Posture of Ugliness, and wiped the Pearl from his Snout: At last, his Mouth opened, his Lips trembled, his Eyes twinkled: but nothing was yet heard but a little grumbling in his Guts, as if his Fervency lay in his Chitterlings: The Audience in the mean time stretched their Ears, until they looked like Elephants Lugs, and then to gratify them, a Word or two slip out of his Trunk

sture these Men put themselves into when they begin their Prayers before their Sermons: Whether the Fooles and Knaves in Stage Plays, tooke their Patterne from these Men, or these from them, I cannot determine, &c. What wrie Mouths, squint Eyes, scru'd Faces doe they make; and Page 41. Line 3th viz. Againe, how like a Company of Conjurers doe they mumble out the Beginning of their Prayers, that the People may not heare them: and when artificially they have raised their Voices, what a Pulney doe they make. This Committee being of Opinion that the aforesaid Passages are fit to be excepted against in regard they are scandalous.

That the said Committee doe farther excepte against the Clause, Page 49. Line 2^{da}. I confesse I have hearde muche of believing Things above Reason, and the Time was when I swallowed that Pill, but I may say as St. Paule, &c. *When I was a Childe*, &c. Every Man that knows any thing knows this, that it is Reason that distinguisheth a Man from a Beast. If you take away his Reason, you deny his very Essence, therefore if any Man will consent to give up his Reason, I would as soone converse with a Beaste as with that Man, and whatsoever Pretence some may make of Religion in this Particular, certainly there is nothing else in it but Ignorance and Policy.

The said Committee doe farther except against the Clause Page 11. Line 14. to the End of the 13th Page. I have for some Years past entred into a serious Consideration of my latter End, and of a Saint's Life in this World. And being convinced that I could not be saved by an implicit Faith, I took Example of the *Bereans*, to search the Scriptures whether suche Things as I heard and read of God, and his Attributes, Heaven, Hell, Angels both Good and Bad, Man, Prayer, Sin, were so or no; and upon a narrow Scrutiny I found such contradictory Absurdities, and Inconsistencies in many considerable Things, that I wondered I had been so long blind, &c. After I had a full Sight of these Things, and that from myne owne Experience I concluded, that Men greedely swallowed suche

"*Trank*: but at last he roar'd so loud, that I could not imagine but there
 "was an hollow Place in his Head to make an Echo; and the Method and
 "Matter of his Prayer confirmed my Fancy: For excepting the malicious
 "Part of it, (which respected the King and his loyal Subjects, in which his
 "Prayers for them contain'd a scandalous Invektive against them those
 "which were for Deliverance from their Enemies (as he called them) were
 "lawey and blasphemously foolish.

Doctrines, and that some of the Teachers as well zealously through Ignorance, as otherwise held them forth.

That it appeares to the Committee that the whole Scope of the Booke doth tend to the overthrow of the Preachers, and of the Preaching of the Ghospell.

That both the said Bookes throughout are against the Doctrine and Assertions of the true Religion.

Ordered, That this be reported to the House, and Mr. *Millington* be desired to report the same.

Memorandum, That Collonell *Waite* and Collonell *Peter Temple* did testify before the said Committee, That Mr. *John Fry* Member of Parliament, did give unto each of them the said Booke called, *The Clergy in their Colours*.

No. XI.

* S I R,

THOUGH my Absence (it may be) hath worne out the Remembrance of any former Acquaintance, yet heareing of your Care and Paynes to collect and publish weekly Intelligence for generall Satisfaction, be pleased to accept this Addition to your Intelligence.

From *Barbadoes* you may be ascerteyn'd thus, that the Governour directed a Commission dated the last of *November* 1652, directed to *Richard Higgons*, Esq; together with *Joseph Pickeringe*, Major *Richard Bayly*, Capteyne *Richard Gay*, Capteyne *Thomas Maycock*, and *John Parris*, Esqs; Justices of the Peace to kepe and hould a privy Sessions for the Leeward Parts of *Barbados* in Pursuance of whiche Commission this Warrant was sent furth.

BARBADOES ff.

By the Leeward Justices at their Quarter Sessions.

Whereas by an Act of Parlyament in the Commonwelth of *England*, whereof this Island is a Member, the Bookes of Common Prayer are abolished, and the Use of them prohibited, whose Effects to make up a dumbe and lasie Ministry hath been answerable to what could be expected from their idolatrous Originall (the same Spirit of God which discovereth our Wants, teacheth us alsoe to make knowne our Necessities.)

Now forasmuche as the said Act enjoyneth all Magistrates to call in the said Bookes of Common Prayer (it being a Branche in all Commissions, in many Particulars exprest, and in all necessarily imply'd, whiche flowe from the Authority of Parlyament) what wee doe heerein is in pursuance of that Dutye which lyes upon us, and that Trust reposed in us (having hitherto out of Indulgence complied with the Peoples Weaknesses) but now well hoping that the Mindes of all good People are well settled, and their Eyes opened to see the *Christian* Lybertye they now enjoy, and what Tyranny and Slavery they are freed from, (the Sun shine of the Gospel breaking forth, it's high Time for the Mistes of Superstition to vanish away) wee doe therefore in the Name of the Keepers of the Libertie of *England*, by Authority of Parliament the supream Authority of the Nation, *Will and Command* you to bringe in * your Booke of Common Prayer to us at our next Privey Sessions held at the new Church commonlye called *All Sayntes*, the 18th of this Instant *November*, and not for the future to make use of the same, under the Penalty of the saide Acte, and your Contempte of the Authority of Parliament. And you are to publish this Order in the Parishe Church upon the next Lord's Daye, that all good People may take Notice of it, and hereof faile not at your Peril. Given under our Hands this 12th Day of *November* 1652.

To Mr. *Charles Robson*.

Richard Higgons.

Joseph Pickeringe.

Richard Bayly.

Richard Gay.

Thomas Maycock.

John Parris.

Which was published in all the Parishes of *Lucies*, *Peters*, and *All Saints*, and *Andrewes*, and outward Conformity yielded by all but Mr. *Charles Robson* Parson of *All Saints*, a canonicall Creature, formerly a Prebendary of *Salisbury*, infamous heare also for his Zeale to corrupt and disturbe the Mindes of otherwise peaceably affected People. His last Prank followes, for this *Diana* will not

* The Author of the Appendix to the third Part of Friendly Debate, p. 79. says. " You may hear an Accusation against a Minister (as that Historian tells us there was upon his own Knowledge) " merely for using the *Gloria Patri*, tho' in all Things else, conformed to the *Directory*.

downe

downe without Opposition. Upon the said 18th Day of *November*, when the Court did demande his Booke of Common Prayer, the said *Robson* did peremptorily refuse to deliver it, and affirmed, that he would reade it, and dispute it, and offered a Paper: The Court answered, they sate not there to dispute, but see the Authority of Parliament obeyed, the said *Robson* encourageinge the People now to stand to it or never. Then the Court commanded him to the Marshall's Custody, but unexpectedly the foresaid Major *Bayly*, (formerly Lieftenant *Baily*, taken Prisoner by Sir *George Ayscue* before the Island was surrendred) whose Courtesie together with his own Pre-ferment did beget in him a fayre and hopeful Compliance to the Authority of Parliament; but how soon will the Structure fall, if the Foundation be not firme, while suche Priestes have such an Influence upon the People, they leave such a Tincture, that to change their Hearts is as Difficult as our Negroes Skins, the said *Baily* dismember'd himself from the Court, and joyned with the distemper'd Multitude, where many hundreds were gathered together, and rescued the said *Robson* from the Marshall, animating the People to a Mutinous Opposition, did then publish that he was sorry that he had subscribed the foresaid Warrant, and said it was the foolishhest Act that ever he did, which Words gave suche Encouragement, that presently Swords, Canes, and Cudgells were upp, and a dangerous Disturbance made, whiche blasted and suppressed such Proceedings of the said Sessions. The Court, for their own sakes, to prevent further Danger, did therefore adjourne and dismisse the Multitude. The Governour upon notice committs the Disturbers, and orders that Indictments may be drawn against them to answer theyre Actions at the next Generall Sessions, and the Court to goe on and finish their Proceedings, whiche was done accordingly.

Whence observe how these Prelaticall Crewe with Serpentine Suttlety winde themselves into the Affection, and soe ensnare their blindfoulded Followers, of which Sorte our Island is supplied, the Conquest and Submission are both imperfect, till a *Gospel Ministry* be settled, to whome the People (whiche are plyable, and apt to receive Impression) * to a Gospel Submission, I intende the Publication hereof should be as an Allarum to stir up true zealous Mi-

* A Defect.

nisters of the Gospel to come over for our Supply. Wheare they may be assured boath of Countenance and Encouragement. That I leave theire Duty and our Necessity close to their Consciences. Sir, I have my Assurance that your pious Affections render you propitious to our Desires, I make you a Patron of our Requests, and rest

Your Friend and Servant,

R. HIGGONS.

Sir, If Providence bring any to you upon our Account, I shall at my coming up to *London* repay to you.

From *Plymoth* this 21st of *January* upon my now Arrivall from *Barbadoes*.

The Post stays.

To the Worshipfull *Henry Scobill*, Esq; Cler. Parlym^t.

No. XII.

A Declaration * of my Lord *Willoughby* Lievtenant General and Governour of the *Barbadoes*, and other *Carabis* Islands, as also the Council of the Island belonging to it.

Serving in answer to a certaine Act formerly put forth by the Parliament of *England* the third of *October* 1650.

Translated out of *English* into *Dutch* printed at *Rotterdam*. A Declaration published by Order of my Lord Lieutenant General the 18th of *February* 1652.

The Lords of the Council and of the Assemblie, being occasioned at the Sight of certaine printed Papers, intituled, An Act forbidding Commerce and Traffick with the *Barbadoes*, *Virginia*, *Bermudas*, and *Antego*.

The Lord Lievtenant General, together with the Lords of this Council and Assembly, having carefully read over the said printed Papers, and finding them to oppose the Freedome, Safety, and Well-being of this Island, have thought themselves bound to communicate the same to all Inhabitants of this Island; as also their Observation and Resolution concerning it, and to proceed therein after the

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections Vol. 16. No. 58.

best Manner, wherefore they have first of all ordered the same to be read publiquely.

Concerning the abovesaid Act, by which the least Capacity may comprehend, how much the Inhabitants of this Island would be brought into *Contempt* and *Slavery*, if the same be not timely prevented.

First, They alledge, that this Island was first settled and inhabited at the Charges, and by especial Order of the People of *England*, and therefore ought to be subject to the same Nation. It is certain, that we all of us know very well, that we the present Inhabitants of this Island, were and still be that People of *England*, who with great Danger of our Persons, and to our great Charge and Trouble have settled this Island in its Condition, and inhabited the same: and shall wee therefore be subject to the Will and Command of those who stay at Home? Shall wee be bound to the Government and Lordship of a Parliament, in which wee have no Representatives? Or Persons chosen by us for there to propound and consent to what might be needful and serviceable to us? as also to oppose and dispute all what should tend to our Disadvantage and Harme, in Truth this would be a Slavery far exceeding all that the *English* Nation hath yet suffered. And we doubt not but the Courage which hath brought us thus far out of our own Country to seek our Beings and Livelihoods in this wild Country, will mainteine us in our Freedomes; without which our Lives will be uncomfortable unto us.

Secondly, It is alleadged, That the Inhabitants of this Island have by Cunning and Force usurped a Power and Government.

If wee the Inhabitants of this Island had been heard what wee could have said for our selves, this Allegation had never been printed, but those who are destined to be *Slaves* may not enjoy those *Priviledges*. Otherwise wee might have said and testified with a Truth, that the Government now used amongst us, is the same that hath always been ratified, and doth every way agree with the first Settlement and Government in these Places, and was given us by the same Power and Authority that *New England* hold theirs: against whom the Act makes no Objection.

And this Government here in Subjection is the nearest Model in Conformity, under which our Predecessors of the

the *English* Nation, have lived and flourished for above a thousand Years.

Therefore wee conclude, that the Rule of Reason and Discourse is most strangely mistaken, if the Continuation and Submission to a right well settled Government, bee judged to be an usurping of a new Power, and to the contrary, the Usurpation of a new Government be held a Continuation of the Old.

Thirdly, By the abovesaid Act, all outlandish Nations are forbidden to hold any Correspondency or Traffique with the Inhabitants of this Island, although all the ancient Inhabitants know very well, how greatly they have been obliged to those of the *Low-Countries* for their Subsistence, and how difficult it would have been for us (without their Assistance) ever to have inhabited these Places, or to have brought them into Order: and wee are yet daily sensible, what necessary Comfort they bring to us daily, and that they doe sell their Commodities a great deale cheaper then our own Nation will doe: But this Comfort must be taken from us, by those *whose Will must be a Law to us*: But wee declare, that we will never be so unthankful to the *Netherlanders* for their former Help and Assistance, as to deny or forbid them or any other Nation the freedome of our Harbours, and the Protection of our Lawes, by which they may continue (if they please) in all Freedome of Commerce and Traffique with us.

Fouerthly, For to perfect and accomplish our intended Slavery, and to make our Necks pliable, for to undergoe the Yoake, they got and forbid to our own Countrymen to hold any Correspondency, Commerce or Traffique with us, nor suffer any to come at us, but such who have obtained particular Licenses from some Persons who are expressly ordered for that Purpose, by whose Meanes it might be brought about, that noe other Goods or Merchandizes shall be brought hither then such as the licensed Persons shall please, and thinke fit to give way to, and that they are to sell the same at such a Price as they shall please to impose upon them, and suffer no other Shipps to come hither then their owne: as likewise, that no Inhabitants of this Island may send home upon their own Account any Island Goods of this Place, but shall bee as Slaves to the Companie, who shall have the abovesayd Licenses, just as our *Negroes* are to us, and submit to them the whole Advantage of our Labour and Industry.

Wherefore

Wherefore having rightly considered, wee declare, that as wee would not be wanting to use all honest Meanes for the obtaining of a Continuance of Commerce, Trade, and good Correspondency with our Country, soe we will not alienate our selves from those old heroick Vertues of true *Englishmen*, to prostrate our Freedome and Privileges, to which wee were borne, to the Will and Opinion of any one, neither doe wee thinke our Number so contemptible, nor our Resolution so weake, to be forced or perswaded to so ignoble a Submission, and we cannot thinke that there are any amongst us, whose are soe simple, and soe unworthily minded, that they would not rather chuse a noble Death, then forsake their ould Liberties and Priviledges.

No. XIII.

* *Sir,*

SENES my last to your Honar bareing date the 11th of the last conserneing the conveying the Island Fishermen as fare as th' Eyles of *Orkne*, it was the 13th before wee had an Opertunity af Wind to seile, but those Windes caried vs no farther to the *Norwood* then betwixt *Whitbee* and *Scarbro*. Then^c the Wind came at Noarth Est, and proved a vielent Storme for many Dayes, and disperfed our Fleet, sum remained in the Company of Capt. *Hoseare* joyning to the Eylandes first, ankered with the Barckes in his Company at a Plaies called *Dertwick*, where he and the Barckes sent there Botes a shore to fil Wator. But before they came to the Plase where they should fil their Wator, *Mountroes's* Soulgarres fel upon them and tooock them Priseneres; but Capt. *Hoseares* Bot got of before the Soulgarres a peared or showed themselves. They toocke of the Fishermen 17, besides on that was a Passingare in Capt. *Hosear*, and delt very enhumanely by them; they ware not content with there Monies they had, but stript them of their Clothis, and youesed them with a greatt dele of Cruelte, and thretened to hang them. Capt. *Hosear* was forst away and the Barckes, and left there Men behind. It was two Days after be fore wee

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 7. An Original, remarkable for the bad Spelling.

came in with the Eylandes, the Wind presenting fare, wee went through the Eylandes with the Fleet and stopt not. But as I returned backe, I anckered vndare one of the Eylandes, and sent my Boote a shore to fill sum Wator haveing but lickell aboard to dres Menes Vittules, they let my Men alone tell there Wator was filed, then thoes that laye in Ambush rushed forth, and fiared very voyelently uppon my Men, and had cutt them all of, had I not fiared with my great Gounes upon them, by that menes I presarved my Men, and recovered them all a bord safe with ought hurt, all soe recovered all thoes 18 Men that were left be hind.

Sir, I kould wish from my hart, that our Cortes of Gard a bought *London*, would be careful to exsamin all superphilous Travileres, for *Montroes* has his Intelligene-fares, comes and goes from him to the Royelest Party that are a bought *London*, and in the Sheres and Countyes, the 29th of the last there came won to him with Letores from sum of there Parte in *London*; hee was but fortene Days in coming from *London* to *Kearck Way* the cheefe Towne in all the Eylandes, and as soone as he had reseved this Inteligencar hee gave order presantly to put his Arme in a Posture of marcheing, and intended to marche into *Scotland* by the first of this Mounth. His Army consistes of a bought 6000, besides thoes hee hase takin of the Eylandes which will amount to a thousand more or thereabouts, he hat taken all from 60 to foretene. The *English* that are with him gives ought, that they will not stope till they come to the Wales of *London*, and all thoes that has had a Hand in the Kinges Deth they will put all to the Sord. Two of their Infines or Colures that they cary in the hed of there Army, the one hath a Pictor or a Resembelones of the late King's hed as it was divided from his Body with Stremes of Blod eshuing from it, with a Crown upon the Hed. The other Infines has the Resembelones of the Cofin that hee was put in after his Deth. This they conseve may be instrument all to drowe People to them for a Revenge.

Sir, as I came by *Holy Eyland*, I sent my Bote on Shore to give the Commander of the Castel notis of it, and desiard him to send to *Nucastell* to give Sir *After Haefell-Ridge* notice of it, soe haveing not eles at present to acquainte your Honar with all, I humbely take leaue,
and

and rest your Honares most faith full Servant to command
tel Deth.

From aboard the *Reco-*
very now before *Hum-*
bare, *Aprill 7th 50.*

OWEN COX.

To the Hon^{ble} Cornnelle *Pophame*, one of the Ginarales
at Sea. This at *Whit Hall* present.

No. XIV.

* S I R,

WEE had some of our Island Masters of the first Fleet
that went away from hence about three Weeks
agoe, brought home this other Day by Captain *Cox* in
his Retourn from the *Orkney* Islands unto the Roades here:
which Masters went away from hence, with many others,
under the Convoy of Captaine *Hosier*, with Captaine *Cox*;
and being in the *Orkneys* went on Shore there for Water,
and being there, were detained by the Soldiers in that
Place, and carried before the Earle *Montrosse*, who under-
standing they were pore Fishermen discharged them, and
gave them this inclosed Passe. Their Barks being gone
away from thence before with Captain *Hosier*, out of some
Fear conceived by the Men, that then should otherwise
have been staid; and these pore Men travailing along
homeward in those Isles, espied Captain *Cox* coming thi-
ther homeward bound, who knowing nothing of what had
happened, sent some of his Men on shore for fresh Wa-
ter, who finding these travailing Men our Neighbours
there, before they had done what they came for, and could
take these Men into their Boats, espied a great Company
of Soldiers coming down from the Mountains there, and
makeing towards them, whereby they were inforced to
take to their Boates; and had much adoe to escape so;
and had many Musketts fired upon them by the Soldiers;
insomuch, that Captain *Cox* was enforced to discharge his
great Ordinance upon them, to rescue his Men in the
Boat, and by that Meanes our Neighbours got into the
Ship, and came home to *Yarmouth*, and presently after

* Dr. Williams MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 8. An Original.

their coming home, they went back again for *Isla-d*, in those Barkes here that were still to goe; otherwise wee should have taken a large Affidavit upon Oath from them. The Report is, that *Montrosse* hath now with him seven or eight thousand Soldiers of *Scotch*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *English*, and were now upon their March into *Scotland*—upon Monday last was fennight, who say they will take up more Soldiers in all the Country in the Way they goe, untill they come to *London*; of these Things you may please to certify the honorable Councill of State.—There hath been six Vessels taken upon the Coast this Week by one Picking Rogue, belonging to *Dunkirk*, whereof five were laden with Corn and Beanes, and one was a North Sea Fisher-boat, laden with Fish: and one of the small Vessels was rescued and brought in here by Capt. *Reyser*, which wee desire and hope may be a further Motive on our Behalf, for obtaining some Ships of Convoy for the North Seas. And wherein we rely much, Sir, upon your Care, and Indeavour for us; not having further to enlarge at present, but that we are,

Your affectionate Friends and Servants,

*Tarmouth 11 of
April 1650.*

THO. FELSTEAD }
WILL^m. BURTON } Bailiffs.

To our much Honoured Friend Colonell *Barkstead*, at the Sign of the *Three Nuns* in *Fleet-street*, these present, in *London*.

No. XV.

* S I R,

WE have staied here longer than was intended, by reason Collonell *Daniell's* Regiment is soe farre behinde, and cannot be at our general Rendevouz at *Anwicke* till Wednesday next, where the whole Army is to be drawne together in order to a close march into *Scotland*; likewise the baking of Biscake, and providinge of other Necessaries.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection, Vol. 8. No. 15. An Original.

for the Army, when we are in *Scotland*, hath bin another Occasion of our Stay. We doe not expect to meet any Opposition till wee come neere *Edinburgh*, and the *Scotts* will then either suddenly fight us, or retire over the River beyond *Starlinge*, and weary us out, till their two Generals, Captain Hunger and Captain Cold, doe overcome us. The Clergy have agreed to raise a Regiment of Horse, and *Straughan* is to command them. The River about *Leeth* is not yet finished. If Biscake and Cheese be hastened from *London*, it will be of singular use, seeing the *Scotts* drive and take all away that would be a Supply unto us. The Parliament's Declaration, with the Declaration of the Army, is to be sent into *Scotland* by a Messenger, who is to goe with Lt. Colonell *Grey*, whoe is come downe to *Newcastle*. Here are brought into the River 12 or 13 *Scotts* Shippes, and *Holland* Shippes with *Scotts* Goods, whiche were going to *Scotland*. This is all at present from

Your most Humble Servant,

Newcastle, Aug.

15, 1650.

JO. RUSHWORTH.

To the Hon^{ble} *Will^m Lentball*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of *England*, These, *London* present.

No. XVI.

* S I R,

IF a Shipp goe every Day I will not faile to write. Yesterday I signified unto you, that I had delivered from the Shippes 4 Dayes Provisions, and sent them with a Convoy. The Army no sooner received every Man his Proportion, but the *Generall* advanced the whole Army to the Garrison lately taken by Storme: and there lay in the Fields last Night. This Daye I have received Orders to sende a Shippe with Biskett up the *Fryth*, neere *Queenes Ferry*, by whiche I gather a suddaine Engagement, or getting betweene *Edenbrough* and the Enemy. The *Scotts* have laide in *Battalia* three Dayes, on the other Side of the Passe, within a Myle of our Army; as wee now lye wee cannot attempt

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 16. An Original.

there

there but with Disadvantage: Yet I beleeeve it will be done. The *Scotts* bragge they will fight your Army, yet dare not hitherto appeare in a plaine Field. I stay a Pacquet Boate to come away with the next Letters. Sir,

Muffelbrugh Harbour,
Aug. 27, 1650.

Your Humble Servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

For the Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of *England*, Present, *London*.

No. XVII.

* S I R,

I HOPE it is not ill taken that I make no more frequent Addresses to the Parliament. Things that are of trouble in Point of Provision for your Army, and of ordinary Direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the Council of State, together with such Occurrences as have happened, who I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary Care and Provision for us, so neither what they judge fit and necessary to represent the same to you; and this I thought to be a sufficient Discharge of my Duty on that Behalf.

It hath now pleased God to bestow a Mercy upon you, worthy your Knowledge, and of the utmost Praise and Thanke of all that love and fear his Name; yea the Mercy is far above all Praise, which, that you may the better perceive, I shall take the Bouldness to tender unto you some Circumstances accompanying thy great Business, which will manifest the Greatness and Seasonableness of this Mercy. We having tried what we could to engage the Enemy three or four Miles West of *Edinburgh*, that proving ineffectual, and our Victuall failing, wee marched towards our Shippes for a Recruit of our Want; the Enemy did not at all trouble us in our Rere, but marched the direct Way towards *Edinburgh*, and partly in the Night and Morning slips thro’

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 19. An Original. Printed by Edward Husband, and John Field 1650, penes me. The printed Account varies a little now and then from the original Manuscript in manner of Expression.

his whole Army, and quarters himself in a Posture easy to interpose between us and our Victuall, but *the Lord made him lose the Opportunity*, and the Morning proving exceeding wett and dark, we recovered by that time it was light into a Ground where they could not hinder us from our Victuall, which was a *high Act of the Lord's Providence to us*. We being come into the said Ground, the Enemy marched into the Ground we were last upon, having no Mind either to strive to get between us and our Victuall, or to fight, being indeed upon this Lock, hoping that the Sicknes of your Army would render their Worke more easy by the gaining of Time: Whereupon we marched to *Musselburgh* to victual and to ship away our sick Men, where we sent aboard neere 500 sick and wounded Soldiers; and upon serious Consideration finding our Weaknes so to increase, and the Enemy lying upon his Advantages, at a General Council it was thought fite to marche to *Dunbarr*, and there to fortify the Towne, which we thought, if any thing, would provoke them to engage; as alsoe that the having a Garrison there would furnish us with Accommodation for our sick Men, and would be a Place for a good Magazeene, (which we exceedingly wanted) being put to depend upon the Uncertainty of Weather for landing Provisions, which many times cannot be done, tho' the *Being* of the whole Army lay upon it, all the Coast from *Leith* to *Barwick* not having one good Harbour: As also to lye more conveniently to receive our Recruits of Horse and Foot from *Barwick*. Having these Considerations, upon Saturday the 30th of *August* we marched from *Musselburgh* to *Heddington*, where by that time we had got the Van-Brigade of our Horse and Foot and Train into their Quarters, the Enemy was marched with that exceeding Expedition, that they fell upon the Rere-Forlorn of our Horse, and put it into some Disorder, and indeed had like to have engaged our Rere-Brigade of Horse with their whole Army, had not the Lord by his good Providence put a Cloud over the Moone, thereby giving us Opportunity to draw off those Horse to the rest of the Army, which accordingly was done without any Losse, save of three or four of our fore-mentioned Forlorne, wherein the Enimie (as we believe) received more Losse: The Army being put into a reasonable secure Posture, towards Midnight the Enimie attempted our Quarter on the West End of *Heddington*, but (thro' the Goodness of God) we repulsed them

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The next Morning we drew into an open Field on the South Side of *Heddington*, we not judging it safe for us to draw to the Enimie upon his own Ground, he being prepossessed thereof, but rather drew backe to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fitte: And having waited about the Space of four or five Hours, to see if he would come to us, and not finding any Inclination in the Enemy so to doe, wee resolved to goe according to our first Entendment to *Dunbar*. By that time we had marched three or four Miles, we saw some Bodies of the Enemy's Horse draw out of their Quarters; and by that time our Carriages were gotten neer *Dunbar*, their whole Army was upon their marche after us; and indeed our drawing back in this manner, with the Addition of three new Regiments added to them, did much heighten their Confidence, if not Presumption and Arrogance: The Enemy that Night we perceived gathered towards the Hills, labouring to make a perfect Interposition between us and *Barwick*; and having in this Posture a great Advantage, through his better Knowledge of the Country, which he effected by sending a considerable Partie to the straight Passe at *Coppeth*, where 10 Men to hinder are better than 40⁰⁰ to make their Way, and truly this was an * Exegent to us wherewith the Enemy reproached us with that Condition the Parliament's Army was in when it made its hard Conditions with the King in *Cornwall*: By some Reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us and of their Business in sufficient Revenge and Wrath towards our Persons: and had swallowed up the poor Interest of *England*, believing that their Armie and their King would have marched to *London* without any Interruption, it being told us, we know not how truly, by a Prisoner we took the Night before the Fight, That their Kinge was very suddenly to come amongst them with those *English* they allowed to be about him, but in what they were thus lifted up, *the Lord was above them*. The Enemy lying in the Posture before-mentioned, having those Advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our Disadvantage, *haveing some Weaknesse of Flesh, but yet Consolation and Support on the Lord himself*

* It is observed by *Sewell*, (in his History of the Quakers, p. 165.) That *Oliver Cromwell*, when he was about to give Battle to his Enemies near *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, said in his Prayer to God; "That if the Lord would be pleased to deliver him at that Time, he would take off that great Oppression of Tythes:" But this Promise (says he) he never performed, but suffered himself to be swayed by the Flatteries of his Teachers.

to our poore weak Faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us shared, that because of their Numbers, because of their Advantage, because of their Confidence, because of our Weaknesse, because of our Straight, *we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seene*, and that he would find a way for us whereby we might escape.

And indeed we had our Consolation and our Hopes : Upon Monday Evening the Enemy, whose Numbers were very great, as we heare about 6000 Horse, and 16000 Foot at least ; ours drawne downe as to sound Men about 7500 Foote, and 3500 Horse : The Enemy drewe downe to their Right Winge about Two Thirds of their Left Winge of Horse to the Right Winge, shogging also their Foote and Traine much to the Right, causeing their Right Wing of Horse to edge downe towards the Sea. We could not well imagine but that the Enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact Condition of Interposition. The Major-Generall and myself coming to the Earl of *Roxborough's* House, and observing his Posture, I told him I thought it did give us an Opportunity to Advantage to attempt upon the Enemy ; to which he immediately replied, That he had thought to have said the same thing to me ; soe that it pleased the Lorde to sette this Apprehension upon both our Hearts at the same Instant. We called for Collonell *Monke*, and shewed him the Thing, and coming to our Quarter at Night, and demonstating our Apprehensions to some of the Collonells, they also cherefully concurred. We resolved therefore to put our Business into this Posture, that sixe Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments and a halfe of Foote, should marche in the Van, and that the Major-Generall, the Lieutenant-Generall of the Horse, and the Commissary-Generall, and Collonell *Monke* to command the Brigade of Foote, should lead on the Business, and that Collonell *Pride's* Brigade, Collonell *Overton's* Brigade, and the remaining two Regiments of Horse, should bring up the Cannon and Rere, the Time of falling on to be by Breake of Day, but by some Delay it proved not to be till sixe a Clocke in the Morninge. The Enemy's Worde was the * *Covenant*, whiche they had used for diverse Days, ours *the Lord of Hosts*. The Major-Generall, Lieutenant-

* Letters from Scotland, (May 1651.) That one of their (or Middleton's) Colonels said, " He hoped to see the Word in their Colours, to be, *Covenant for Tobacco, Strong Waters, and Whores*. *Whitelocke's* Memorials, p 493-

Generall *Fleetwood*, and Commissary-Generall *Whalley*, and Collonell *Twissleton* gave the Onset, the Enemy being in very good Posture to receive them, having the Advantage their Cannon and Foote against our Horse, and before our Foote could come up, the Enemy made a gallant Resistance.

And there was a very hott Dispute at Sword's Point between our Horse and theirs. Our first Foote, after they had discharged their first Duty, being over-powered with the Enemy, received some Repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own Regiment, under the Command of Lieutenant-Collonell *Goff*, and my Major *White*, did come seasonably in, and at push of Pike did repell the stoutest Regiment the Enemy had there, meerely with the Courage which the Lorde was pleased to give, which proved a great Amazement to the Residue of their Foote, this being the first Action between the Foote: the Horse in the meane time did with a great deal of Courage and Spirit beat backe all Opposition, charging through the Bodies of the Enemy's Horse and their Foote who were after the first Repulse given made by the *Lord of Hosts* as Stubble to their Swordes. Indeed, I believe I may speake it without Partiality, both your chief Commanders, and others in their severall Places, and Soldiers also, were acted with as much Courage as ever hath been seene in any Action since this War: I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbear Particulars. The best of the Enemies Horse and Foote being broken through and through in less then an Hower's Dispute, their whole Armie being put into Confusion, it became a totall Rout, our Men having the Chase and Execution of them nere eight Miles. We believe that upon the Place and nere about it were 3000 slaine; Prisoners taken of their Officers you have this inclos'd List *, of private Soldiers nere 10 Thousand, the whole Baggage and Trayne taken, in whiche was good Store of Match, Powder and Bullet, all their Artillerie great and small, 30^{tie} Gunns. We are confident they have left behind them no less then 15000 Armes. I have already brought unto mee near 200 Cullours, which I herewith sende you. What Officers of Quality of theirs are

* "Upon the Desire of the *Guinea* Merchants, 1500 of the *Scots* Prisoners were granted to them, and sent on Shipboard, to be transported to *Guinea* to work in the Mines there; and upon a Quarrel among the Soldiers in the Barges, two or three of them were drowned." *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 510.

killed we yet cannot learne, but yet surely diverse are, and many Men of Quality are mortally wounded, as Collonell *Lumsdell*, the Lord *Libberton*, and others : and that which is no small Addition, I believe we have not lost 20 Men, not one commissioned Officer flaine as I heare of, save one Cornet, and Major *Rooksby* since dead of his Wounds, and not many mortally wounded : Collonell *Whalley* only cut in the Hand Wrist, and his Horse twice shot and killed under him ; but he well recovered another Horse, and went on in his Chase. Thus you have the Prospect of one of the most signal Mercies God hath done for *England* and his People this War. And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few Words. It is easy to say, the Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and to heare our poor Foot goe upp and downe making their Boast of God. But, Sir, it is in your Hands, and by these eminent Mercies God puts it more into your Handes to give Glory to him, to improve your Power and his Blessing to his Praise : We that serve you begg of you not to owne us, but God alone : We pray you owne his People more and more, *For they are the Charrriots and Horsemen of Israel* ; disowne yourselves, but owne your Authority, and improve it, to curbe the Proud and the Insolent, suche as would disturbe the Tranquillity of *England*, though under what specious Pretences soever ; relieve the Oppressed, heare the Groanes of poor Prisoners in *England* ; be pleased to reforme the Abuses of all Professions, and if there be any one that makes many poore, to make a few riche, that suites not a Commonwealth. If he that strengthens your Servants to fight, pleases to give you Hearts to sett upon these Things in order to his Glory, and the Glory of your Commonwealth, besides the Benefit that *England* shall feele thereby, you shall shine forth to other Nations, who shall emulate the Glory of such a Pattern, and through the Power of God turn into the like. These are our Desires, and that you may have Liberty and Opportunity to doe those Thinges, and not to be hindered, we have bene, and shall be (by God's Assistance) willing to venture our Lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by Importunity from your Care of Safetie and Preservation. But that the doing these good Things may have their Place amongst those which concern well-being, and so be wrought in their Time and Order. Since we came in *Scotland*, it has been our Desire and Longing to

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have avoided Blood in this Business, by reason God hath a People here fearing his Name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much Love unto such in the Bowells of Christe; and concerning the Truth of our Hearts therein have we appealed unto the Lord. The Ministers of Scotland have hindered the Passage of these Things to the Hearts of those to whom we intended them, and now we heare that not onely the deceived People but some of the Ministers are also fallen in the Battle. This is the great Hand of the Lord, and worthy of the Consideration of all those who take into their Hands the Instruments of a foolish Sheppherd, to witt, meddling with worldly † Policies, and Mixtures of earthly Power, to sett up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor if it were it, would such Meanes be found effectual to that End; and neglect or trust not to the Word of God, the Sword of the Spirit, which is alone powerfull and able for the setting up of that Kingdome, and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that End, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their Sakes, who having lately too much turned aside, that they might returne againe to preache Jesus Christ according to the Simplicity of the Gospell, and then no doubt they will discern and finde your Protection and Incouragements, beseeching you to pardon this Length, I humbly take Leave, and rest

Dunbar, September
the 4th 1650.

Your Humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Indorsed

Read 10 Sept. 1650.

For the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England.

* "The Scots Ministers, as *Whitlock* (Memoirs, p. 471.) informs us, advised their Soldiers, that if they were taken, they should throw away their Bibles, for if the English took any with Bibles, they would have no Quarter."

† The Scots had no Reason to love Cromwell, he having carried off into England the greatest Part of their Records: "Major Fletcher, (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 4. 1661. p. 52. *penes me*) who was intrusted with conveying the Registers, and Argyle and Swinton by Sea from England, had this Day (*Jan. 11.*) his Discharge, notwithstanding the Loss by Sea of 84 Hogheads of the said Records and Registers, which had been formerly taken in Scotland, and brought into the Tower of London." Bishop Nicholson confirms this, (*Scottish Historical Library*, 8vo. p. 244.) "The third and killing Blow was given there (the *Scottish Records*) by Oliver Cromwell, who brought most of the poor Remains that were left into England, and they likewise were mostly lost in their Return by Sea."

A LIST

A LIST of such Prisoners taken at the Fight.

Lieut. Gen. of Foot.

Sir *James Lomsden.*

Colonels.

Col. Sir *Wm. Douglas*Col. *Wm. Lomsden*Col. *Gurdon.*

Lieutenant Colonels.

Lieut. Col. *Wallis*Lieut. Col. *Lesley*Lieut. Col. *Murray*Lieut. Col. *Henry Malvine*Lieut. Col. *Arthur Forbis*Lieut. Col. *Francis Wanbap,*
of HorseLieut. Col. *Dunbarre*Lieut. Col. *Hamilton*Lieut. Col. *Crawford*Lieut. Col. *Ingles*Lieut. Col. *John Montgo-*
*mery**James Bickerton, Adjutant*
General of Horse.

Majors.

*Henry Carmibill, of Foot**James Cranster, of Horse**George Moat, of Foot**William Scringar, of Foot**John Steward, of Foot**George Forbes, Reformado*
*Moor**Oagle**Freeffe.*

Captains of Foot.

*James Sterling**Francis Agmie**Sibbald**Alexander Monpreff**George Holliburton**Thomas Brown**William Murray**James Scot**William Rudderford**James Macularoy**Hugh Montgomery**James Aken**George Smith**John Macclellan**Robert Mackellum**Hugh Madole**George Pringle**Robert Scot**Alexander Wood**Robert Hamilton**Thomas Gray**Robert Adamson*— *Beton.*

Captains of Horse and Foot.

*Robert Duncan**Robert Maccaulla**Walter Scot**Matthew Creshon**James Steward**William Douglas**Walter Lesley**Wm. Manhop, of Horse**James Borthick**David Murray.*

Captains

Captains of Horse.

John Murray
 William Burton
 James Camil
 William Bresbon, of Horse
 William Dalrumple
 Charles Kirkpatrick
 Nicholas Lawson
 Robert Rudderford
 John Car
 Dundas
 Ogleby
 Gourdon
 Bonner
 Lt. Bruse. Lt. of Horse.

Cornets of Horse.

William Cuninghame
 James Maxwell
 James Denham
 James Magil
 Walter Steward
 John Hay
 Anthony Macdoer
 John Brown
 Alexander Michil
 John Collerwood
 George Winderum.

Capt. Lt. of Horse and Foot.

John Monnergain
 William Emery
 William Blayer
 Robert Anderson
 Roger Holden
 Robert Wood

Lieutenants of Foot.

James Cunningham
 James Blackwood
 Patrick Macknab

Henry Cunningham
 Lancelot Car
 John Macknight
 John Heume
 John Gourdon
 George Cunningham
 James Weare
 Henry Eston
 William Gun
 Nicholas Coston
 Alexander Steward
 Arthur Steward
 William Petre
 Norman Lesley
 William Bailey
 William Gladston
 Robert Hamberton
 George Mackburney
 Robert Straughan
 Richard Allen
 James Mackbey
 George Bisset
 James Nichols
 Thomas Mennis
 William Sinnis
 John Car
 Alexander Car
 James Twede
 Philip Leich
 James Armer
 James Sayers
 John Meer
 Andrew Pennere
 Patrick Baily
 John Camil
 John Rich
 John Steward
 John Camil
 Allen Osborn
 William Knocks
 John Wilson
 Thomas Anderson
 Walter Wanbap
 Patrick Holliburton

Lancelot

Lancelot Car
William Engley
Thomas Car
Alexander Gourdon
Andrew Haily
Samuel Gourdon
Lancaster Ferguson
Robert Rankin
Charles Coleman
John Lewson
Andrew Guiler
George Patterson
Thomas Hutchen
John Ennis
John Sken
John Hunter
John Mackdoughal
Andrew Drumon
George Lesley
George Moat
Francis Scot
William Elliot
Alexander Cliff
John Denquit.

Quartermasters of Horse.

Thomas Richman
William Forbis

Ensigns.

——— *Kilpatrick*
Walter Macdoughel
William Sinclair
George Jack
Hartley Gadley
William Carnecuse
Thomas Wallis
James Rolston
Andrew Myn
James Bennet
John Linsey
Andrew Hanna

Thomas Pringle
Robert Hamilton
James Delop
John Gray
James Edward
Collin Camel
 ——— *Heatly*
Robert Roy
Gilbert Harral
James Muskot
William Sample
Robert Ogleby
Robert Williamson
William Lesley
Ersby Shields
Robert Haborne
William Scot
James Edminston
Robert Lawson
James Neicen
Andrew Barthick
George Elphenston
John Fairdise
Henry White
Andrew Dunalson
David Camide
John Camil
Cornelius Engles
Duncan Camil
Patrick Canburn
William Mannord
Robert Crow
George Calley
James Rudderford
Walter Scot
Walter Steward
Robert Heume
James Forquer
James Macknath
Henry Ackman
John Wayer
John Brown
William Chapman
John Macno

Alexander

Alexander Spence
 John Black
 Thomas Thompson
 Robert Fryer
 John Thompson
 John Dixon
 George Smith
 Alexander Johnston
 William Egger
 David Grant
 George Gayler
 John Wallis

John Kemmen
 Thomas Enderfon
 James Brewse
 William Maclean
 John Carmihil
 William Watson
 William Anderson
 James Dunbar
 James Elderwood
 Henry Roy
 Thomas Boyd
 David Reed.

No. XVIII.

* *My Lorde,*

I AM appointed by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desired by Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly, to send your Excellency this enclosed Declaration, as that which conteyneth the State of the Quarrel, wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's Assistance, to feight your Army, when the Lord shall be pleased to call us thereunto. And as you have professed you will not conceale any of our Papers, I doe desire that this Declaration may be made known to all the Officers of your Army, and soe I rest

Your Excellency's Humble Servant,

D. LESLEY.

The DECLARATION, 13 Aug. 1650.

The Committee of the General Assembly considering that there may be just Grounds of stumbling from the King's Majestie, and refusing to subscribe and emit the Declaration offered to him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly concerning his former Carriage, and Resolution for the future, in re-

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 12. No. 257. See Perfect Politician, p. 95. where Part of it is omitted.

ference

ference to the Cause of God, and the Enymies and Friends thereof: doth therefore declare, That this *Kirke* and Kingdome doe not owne nor espouse any malignant Party, or Quarrel, or Interest, but they feight merely upon the former Grounds and Principles, and in Defence of the Cause of God and of the Kingdome, as they have done these twelve Zeirs last past; and therefore as they doe disclaime att the Sinne and Guilt of the King, and of his House, soe they will not owne him nor his Interest otherwise, then with Subordination to God, and soe far as he ownes and prosecutes the Cause of God, and disclaymeth his and his Father's Opposition to the Work of God and the * Covenant, and likewise all the Engines thereof. And that they will with convenient Speed, take in Consideration the the Papers lately sent unto them from *Ol. Cromwell*, and vindicate themselves from all the Falsehood containned therein, specially in those Things wherein the Quarrel returns, and that Party is mistaked: as if we owned the late King's Proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintayne his present Majesty's Interest before, and without Acknowledgement of the Synne's of his House, and former Ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both Kingdomes.

A. KER.

13 Aug. 1650.

The Committee of Estates having seen and considered the Declaration of the Commissioners of the General Assembly anent the stating of the Quarrell, wherein the Army to fight doth approve the same, and heartily concurr therein.

A. HENDERSON.

* " When the Scots charged *Cromwell* and the *Rump* with Breach of Covenant in putting the King to Death, *Cromwell* told them, It was done in Pursuance, and by Virtue of the Covenant, which did but conditionally oblige them to defend the King in the Maintenance of the true Religion, which he was the greatest Oppugner of. But it absolutely engaged them to bring all Malignants to condign Punishment, and consequently that the King being the Head of them, *their Right Hand was the Right Hand of Iniquity*, that opposed the cutting it off. By which Answer they saw themselves entangled in their own Snare: and impartial Men by a fair Construction of the Words of the Covenant, are ready to doe him this Justice, that he conquered that Nation as well by his Argument as by his Sword." Life of Archbishop *Bramhall*, prefixed to his Works, Folio, p. 37.

No. XIX.

* Dear Sir,

WEDNESDAY was a Seventh Night, being (I take it) 8^{ber} 9th, we marched from hence towards the West, leaving Coll. *Fairfax* and Coll. *Coxe* their Regiments in *Edinburgh*, and Coll. *Daniel* and Coll. *Alured's* at *Lieth*, with some Horse, and two other Garrisons betweene this and *Berwicke*. That Night we lay at *Lithgow*, and the Townes thereabout. Thursday we marched directly towards *Glasgow*, and reacht that Night to *Kilsith*, (that memorable Place for the notorious Overthrow of the *Argyllians* by the *Montrossians*) wheare was the head Quarter; but affording very little Shelter for our Men, so that most of them lay in the Fields. There were some Countrymen in the House of *Kilsith*, who kept it out for a while, but perceiving we were in earnest to have it, they yealded, and we left in it a Garrison of Horse, Foot, and Dragoones, who are there still; the Howse is strong, and lyes conveniently to stop Intercourse betweene *Sterling* and *Glasgow*, being in the direct Road. We are fortifying the King's Howse at *Lithgow*, and have therein a standing Garrison. Friday Afternoon we reached *Glasgow*; that Morning my Lord at a Rendezvous gave espetiall Charge to all the Regiments of the Army to carry themselves civilly, and doe no Wrong to any: He also at the Head of the Army cathered † *Chr. Couell*, of his own Regiment of Horse, and his Kinsman, for blasphemous Opinions. The Town of *Glasgow*, though not so big nor so rich, yet to all seemeth much sweeter, and a more delightfull Place then *Edinburgh*; and would make a gallant head Quarter, were the *Carlisle* Forces come up, as you will understand my Lord to be seriously intending the safe and advantageous bringing them up, and that with all Speed: And indeed we shall live much better in *Scotland* with two Armies then with one. § We found the Magistrates and the Chief of the

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 22. An Original of Mr. (afterward Sir) George Downing's. The Supercription and Name torn out.

† Whitlock's Memorials, p 476.

§ They all fled from their Habitations, (says Whitlock's Memor. p. 466.) upon their Ministers telling them, "That the English would cut the Throats of all between sixty and seventy Years old, cut off the Right Hands of all the Youths under sixteen, and above six Years old, burn the Womens Breasts with hot Irons, and destroy all before them."

Towne all fled, and they had possessed the Generality of the People with the same Opinion of us there, as elsewhere, yet I did not heare of any Injury the Souldiers offered to any at the Time of our Abode there. And they say, if we ever come that Way againe, they will perswade their Friends to abide at home. There was one *Scotch* Minister who stayd and preacht on the Lord's-Day, and we gave him the hearing Morning and Afternoon with all his poore Stuffle, and Railings of course. I doe believe the Man's Ambition was to have been a Sufferer by us, but we would not honour him so farre. From *Lithgow* my Lord had sent a Trumpet to *Sterling*, or elsewhere, to the *Committee of Estates*, with this inclosed Letter. They at *Sterling* stopped him, and would not let him goe to *St. Johnston*, whear the Committee was sitting. The People as he passed the Towne, cryed, *Peace, Peace*. We have received no Answer to it as yet. My Lord hath thought fit it should be printed, to let the People see his Desires of *Peace*; but I have no Orders as yet for publishing any Coppies, yet have made bould to send you two Coppies for your owne and Mr. *Scot's* use. From *Lithgow* also my Lord sent to *Cathness* to Coll. *Strachan*, to signify his Good-will to the honest People (if any) in *Scotland*, and to shew him the Ruine likely to fall upon them, if not timely foreseene. But for myne owne Parte, I can see nothing but that the Lord hath delivered up all that may any way be termed Rulers and Ringleaders in *Scotland*, to Blindness and Senselessness. The *Kirkmen* are as hygh and desperate as ever, which undoubtedly shewes the Lord will break their Pride.

* The *Guid-King* hath vomited up his Repentance lately, and upon Friday was a Seventh Night, with only a Dozen of his *Cavaleer Blades*, slipped out of Prison, and was gone to the Lord *Deduppe's*, a most profane atheistical *Malignant* his House. There was a grand Debate among the *Sages*, what they should doe; some were of opinion, that since his Majesty had thus served them, they should let him take his Course; others thought it was fitte to send

* Bishop *Kennet* observes, (*Complete Hist.* vol. 3. p. 196.) " That the King's ill Treatment made him attempt to escape privately from *St. Johnston* for which Purpose, he had sent to *Orkney* for shipping: and the Earl of *Cleveland*, and many of his best Friends, for refusing the *Covenant*, were forced to run away from him. And the King himself, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and some few Servants, was in the way of Escape; but being discovered was brought back again, and to atone for many Indignities was crowned at *Scone*."

Declaratory to him, signifying their Resent of this his deserting them, and going to the Malignants: But the generall Vogue was, that they were undone without their *Gracious King*, and that by all Meanes he should be sent to, and supplicated for to returne. In the meane time *Robert Montgomery* pursues him with his Regiment, and overtaking him brought him backe. His *Guid-Majesty* was a weary of the *Kirk's* Tutelage, and was going to *Midleton* and the *Atholl Blades*. What will they now be able to say to hoodwinke any poor Sowles, and how hath the Lorde uncovered the Nakedness and Hypocrisy of all the late *Stoole Repentances*, and Declarations. The *Atholl Men* are now in Armes for his Majesty against the present ruling Power. Coll. Sir *John Browne* his Regiment of Horse, and an other Regiment were quartered in *Atholl*: The Country rose and killed a Lieutenant, and tooke some Tropers of Sir *John Browne's*, and fourced them all out of their Countrey, and they are now believed to have at least 6000 Men in Armes. The Earle of *Atholl*, the Marques of *Huntley*, the Lord *Dedupp*, the Lord *Newbourgh*, the Lord *Ogiltry*, and others, doe head them, and the Country are in feare they will fall downe towards *Sterling* or *St. Johnston*. There is strong Work among them, they have three Powers, the King, the Committee at *St. Johnston*, and the Committee with *Strachan*; for they also term the Gentlemen with them a Committee of Estates, thow they have not above eight or nine, and among them not one Lord; whereas to make a *Quorum*, must in *Scotland* be always suche a Number of *Lordes*, as well as of *Barons* and *Burgesses*. How will they justify themselves in the Eyes of the World, who condemne us as Pullers down, and Opposers of lawful Authority, when they have set up, and act by such petty *Juntoes*? They have also an Army in the North for the King purely, an Army at *Sterling* for Kirk and King, and an Army in the South purely for the Kirk, and all against us. They in the South have put out a Remonstrance, entituled, *A Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow*; I had sent you a Copy had it been worth transcribing. The Substance is, to challenge their Committee of Jugglings in bringing home the King, and not sufficient purging the King's House, &c. and in Conclusion, that they will neither joyn with *Malignants* nor *Secsaries*.

Munday last we marched from *Glasgow* towards *Edinburgh*, and that Night came to a Place neer *Moor-Head Cretus*, being the near Way. The Weather proved very rainy and cold, and our Soldiers had no Shelter that Night, and we had much adoe with our Waggon and Guns, which if we had been quit of, possibly we had not returned so soon. The next Night we came to a Place called *Levison*, where we have also left a Garrison of Horse and Foot; it's about 10 Miles from hence, whither we came safe (blessed be God) the last Night. It concerns to improve Opportunitys, while our Enemies are thus in Distraction: and to that end we must have two Armies, one for the East, and the other for the West, that so we may command the Country, and be able to trace *Ker* and *Strachan*, who else with their Light Body of Horse and Dragoons will puzzle us. *Potter* and *Hubberd* are at work. Till we settle a Quarter at *Glasgow*, or elsewhere, and clear this Side of the Water, little will be made of Corn of this Country, but for the Supply of Country Garrisons. Our Horse eat up all nigh hand. Once put our Work on a little, and these Things will fall in of course. I lately gave you an Account of what Money I received, of that which *Deane* brought I had only 50*l.* and that out of the Contingencys, and beside that I received not any since what I had of you at *Dunbar*, to wit 50*l.* I paid Mr. *Twine* the Money, Lord Receiver, before you wrote to me about it. I also paid *Woodall* 8*l.* and had paid him the rest, but indeed at that time I could spare no more. I am ashamed that you should need putting me in mind of Gratitude to your Fa. Sc. or your selfe. The true Reason of my not hitherto sending, was, that I found there had been so much juggling about Wines, that I would not in the least intermeddle with them.

Edinburgh, 8^{ber} 18, 1650.

* S I R,

I MUST intreat Pardon in not this time writing to Mr. *Scot*, and that myne to your selfe serve both, in regard of the many Businessees incumbent upon me, so that I cannot answer what otherwise I shold. One thing I cannot omitt, which stickes very much with me. I find in *Polyticus* twice or thrice, that the late King's third Sonne is to be sent to *Heidelberg*. I must confesse I understand not the Draught, (Drift qu.). Who knows how Things may work, and how possibly the two elder Brothers may be cut off; and what a Foundation of future Misery may be layd in letting such a *Pretender* out of your Hands, is better prevented by Foresight, having him in your Possession, than hereafter when Things shall begin to worke. Indeed to me it's most cleere, that he is not upon any Terms to be let out of your Hands. Doe we not knowe that *Pretenders to Crowns*, some Generations after, have risen as it were out of the Dust, and stept in.

Our *Myne* under *Edinb.* Castle goes yet on very well, and we hope to good Account.

Edinb. 19th.

We are now in the *Myne* come to a very hard Veyne of *Rocke*, yet will not easily be discouraged. We are also setting as many as can possibly work at *Lieth*. Indeed the fortifying of that Garrison is of most high Concernment and Importance, had we it well fortified, and *Edinb.* Castle, truly they would at any time give a very strange Check to *Scotland*. They are at this Time up in Arms in *Atholl*, under the Earl of *Atholl*, and farther North under the Marquayse of *Huntley*, Lord *Bohan*, *Nubrough*, *Ogiluy*, &c. The Committee of Estates have granted an Act of Indemnity to them and all their Abettors, &c. to see if that will take them off. The Marquayse of *Huntley*, and they with him, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Atholl*, that they should sticke to their Worke, and not be drawne off by fayre Wordes. The Earle of *Marshall* was to bring a strong Party to them, and *Middleton* was to be Commander of all. The great Thing in hand in *St. Johnstoun*

is an universal taking in off All. *Argyle* is releuent for it; so are all the Lords but *Cassiles*, who yet by Degrees comes to them. A great Part of the *Kirkmen* also are now in that Way inclined. *Robert Dowglas* is for it, only he would have it handsomely carried. The Earl of *Lithgow* and several other grand Engagers in the Year 48, are by the *Kirk* the last Week declared capable of Trust, and this Way they rather chose than a publick Act.

The Declaration of the Synod of *Glasgow* is much distastef, even by the *Kirkmen* at *St. Johnstoun*, neither would they suffer it to be read. They as strongly endeavoured to take off *Ker* and *Strachan*, and to bring them on to a Conjunction with them. The Earl of *Cassiles*, the Lord *Brody*, Bailiffe *Lockard*, and Mr. *Robert Dowglas*, are sent to them to this End.

Coll. *Welden*, who came to this Country in the Spring, is lately come to us from *St. Johnstoun*: He speaks very vilely of that Party, as mere *Jugglers*, and intending nothing less then what they doe pretend, and of great Distractions among them, all which is most true.

A Party of those in Armes fell lately upon Coll. *Peb-sotye's* Regiment, and carried away about 40 Prisoners.

Certainlie Famine must needs be the Fruite of this Warre, and that very speedily. Our Horse, those over the Water, and those in the South West, devouring so much Corne already. Winter Weather now comes on apace, so that little likely to be done but by Partyes.

Commissary-General *Whaley*, with his and Collonell *Hacker's* Regiment, is gone to command those in the West who are coming in by *Carlisle*.

Indeed I had with the first sent your Father and yourself some *French*: It was not Unapprehensiveness of the great Obligations upon me to you both; but the Truth is I did see and foresee so much juggling that are like to be about those Wines, that I resolved not so much as to taste them. Coll. *Daniel's* Major hath been cashiered, and himselfe questioned about some *Legerdemain* Trickes about Wine, so that indeed one can hardly intermeddle therein for his Money without Suspicion; yet being desired, I shall adventure, and by the next expect it. Excuse my now writing to Mr. *Scot* at present, being destitute of Help I am, Sir,

Yours most intirely and faithfully,

Edinb. 8^{ber} 21; 50.

GEO. DOWNING

The Scots Parliament sits on Tuesday next at *Sterling*. Last Week a Committee was appointed to consider of the necessarie Ceremonies of his Majestie's Coronation, as that which they hope will make them all good Friends; but the * Crowne and Sceptre are in the Beare of *Atholl*, among the ———, and the Cloathe of State and other Utenfiles are in *Edinb. Castle*.

A Copy of the Remonstrance of the *Glasgow Synode* will come from my Lord: I delivered the Scots Copy to Mr. *Malin* to be transcribed, not having any to doe it.

For my ever honoured Freind *William Rowe*, Esq;
London, These.

No. XXI.

† S I R,

WE being now resolved, by God's Assistance, to make use of such Meanes as he hath put into our Hands, towards the reducing of *Edinburgh Castle*, I thought fitt to send you this Summons, what the Grounds of our Relation to the Glory of God, and the common Interest of his People, we have often expressed in our Papers tendred to publique View, to which though Credit hath not been given by Men, yet the Lord hath beene pleased to beare a

* *Edinburgh*, Jan. 11. 1661. (*Mercurius Publicus*, Num. 4. p. 52. penes me)

"Two Thousand Marks were ordered to be given to the Minister's Wife, who kept the Crown, Sceptre and Sword during all these Times of Oppression. Mr. *Downing*, the Writer of this Letter, was originally a Preacher, and Chaplain to Col. *Okey's* Regiment, (*Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 3. p. 100.) He was afterwards Scout-Master-General to the Army, (*Vande Perre's* Letter to Lord *Le Brun*, Pensionary of Zealand and *Midburgh*, *Rymer's Fœdera*, continued by Mr. *Sanderfon*, vol. 20. p. 701.) He was Resident from *Cromwell* at the *Hague* 1657. (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 403. p. 314, &c.) And I find in Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 23. No. 68. in an Account the following Words: Payment to *George Downing*, Esq; in Part of 1216 l. 19 s. 10 d. due and owing to him, upon Account of Moneys disbursed for the Service of his Negotiation in the Low Countries, by Letters Patents 12 Decembr. 1659, 200 l. This Man (as Mr. *Carte* informs us, *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. 2. p. 197.) came early into the Restoration; and was employed as Agent to King *Charles II.* in *Holland*; and according to *Ludlow*, (*Memoirs*, Vol. 3. p. 100.) took up *Okey*, to whom he had been Chaplain, after he had given Assurance to a Person sent to him by that Colonel, that he had no Orders to look after him. He was created a Baronet by King *Charles II.* and sent Ambassador from him to the *States General*; but how worthy of such a Trust (after all this) must be left the Reader to judge.

† Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections. Vol. 8. No. 32.

gratious and favourable Testimony, and hath not only kept us constant to our Professions, and in our Affections to such as feare the Lorde in this Nation, but has unmasked others of their Pretences, as appears by the present Transactions att St. *Johnston's*. Lett the Lord dispose your Resolutions as seemeth good to him : My Sente of Duty presseth me for the Ends aforesaid : and to avoid the Effusion of more Blood, to demande the rendering of this Place to me upon fitt Conditions : To which expecting your Answer this Day, I rest, Sir,

*Edinburgh the 12th of
December 1650.*

Your Servant,

O. C.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle, These.

No. XXII.

* *My Lord,*

I AM intrusted by the Estates of *Scotland* with this Place, and being sworne not to deliver it to any without their Warrant, I have no Power to dispose thereof by my self. I doe therefore desire the Space of ten Days, wherein I may conveniently acquaint the said Estates, and receive their Answers ; and for this effect your safe Conduct for the Employed in the Message ; upon the Receipt of their Answers, you shall have the resolute Answer of, my Lord,

*Edinburgh Castle the 12th
of December 1650.*

Your most humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS

To his Excellence the General of the *English* Forces.

No. XXIII.

† *S I R,*

IT concerns not me to know your Obligations to those that trust you ; I make no Question the Apprehensions you have of your Abilitys to resist those Impressions which

* Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 8. No. 32. An Original:

† Idem Ibid.

shall be made upon you, are the natural and equitable Rules of all Mens Judgments and Consciences in your Condition, except you had taken an Oath beyond a Possibility, I leave that to your Consideration, and shall not seek to contest with your Thoughts, onely I think it may become me to lett you know you may have hono^{re} Terms for your selfe and those with you, and both your selfe and your Soldiers have Satisfaction to all your reasonable Desires, and those that have other Imployments, Liberty and Protection in the Exercise of them. But to deale plainly with you, I will not give Liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates, because I heare those that are honest amongst them enjoy not Satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek an other Interest then they have formerly pretended to; and if you desire to be informed of this you may by them you dare trust at a nearer Distance then St. Johnston's, expecting your present Answer, I rest, Sir,

Edinburgh, 12^o
10^{bris}, 1650.

Your Seruant,

O. C.

For the Govern^{or} of *Edinburgh Castle*, These.

No. XXIV.

* *My Lord,*

IT much concerneth me to consider my Obligations to be found faithfull in the Trust committed to me, and therefore in the Feare of the Living God, and of his great Name called upon in the accepting of my Trust, I doe againe presse the Liberty of acquainting the Estates, the Time is but short, and I doe expect it in Answer to your Profession of Affection to those that feare the Lord. In the mean time, I am willing to heare Information of late Proceedings from such as he dare trust, who is, my Lord,

Edinburgh Castle,
13 Decem. 1650.

Your Humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

To his Excellency the Lord Generall of the *English Forces* in *Scotland*.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32. An Original.

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No. XXV.

* S I R,

BECAUSE of your strict and solemn Adjuration of me in the Feare and Name of the Living God, that I give you Time to send to the Committee of States, to whome you undertook the keeping of this Place under the Obligation of an Oath, as you affirme, I cannot but hope that it is your Conscience, and not Pollicy, carrying you to that Desire, the granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our Affaires, I am as much obliged in Conscience not to doe, as you can pretend Cause for your Conscience-sake to desire it. Now considering our merciful and wise God binds not his People to Actions so cross one to another; but that our Hands may be, as I am perswaded they are through our Mistakes and Darknes, not only in the Question about the surrendring this Castle, but also in all the present Differences, I have so much Reason to believe that by a Conference you may be so well satisfied in Point of Fact of your States, (to whome you say you are obliged) carrying on an Interest destructive and contrary to what they professed when they committed that Trust to you, having made to depart from them many honest Men through Feare of their own Safety, and making Way for the Reception of professed *Malignants*, both into their Parliament and Army. But also may have laid before you such Grounds of our Ends and Aimes to the Preservation of the Interest of honest Men in *Scotland*, as well as *England* as will (if God vouchsafe to appeare in them) give you Conscience Satisfaction; whiche, if you refuse, I hope you will not have Cause to say, that we are either unmindful of the great Name of the Lorde which you have mentioned nor that we are wanting to answere our Profession of Affection to those that feare the Lord. I am willing to cease Hostility for some Howers, or convenient Time, to a good an End as Information of Judgment, and Satisfaction of Conscience, although I may not give Liberty for the Time desired to send to the Committee of States, and

all stay the Prosecution of my Attempt; expecting your
fuddeine Answer, I rest

*Edinburgh this 13th
of Dec. 1650.*

Your Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle, These.

No. XXVI.

* *My Lord,*

WHAT I pressed in my last proceeded from Conscience
and not from Pollicy, and I conceived that the few
Days desired could not be of such Prejudice to your Affaires,
as to barre the desired Expression of professed Affection to-
wards those that feare the Lord: and I expected that a small
Delay of our own Affaires should not have preponderated
the Satisfaction of a Desire pressed in so serious and solemn
a manner for satisfying Conscience; but if you will needs
persist in Denial, I shall desire to heare the Information of
late Proceedings from such as I dare trust, and have had
Occasion to know the Certainty of Things; such I hope
you will permit to come alongst at the first Convenience,
and during that Time all Acts of Hostility and Prosecution
of Attempts be forborne on both Sides, I am, my Lord,

*Edinburgh Castle, the 14th
of December 1650.*

Your Humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

For, &c.

No. XXVII.

† *S I R,*

YOU will give me Leave to be sensible of Delays out of
Conscience of Duty. If you please to name you any
you would speak with now in Towne, they shall have Li-
berty to come and speake with you for one Hower if they
will, provided you send presently: I expect there be no
Losse of Time, I rest

December the 14th, 1650.

Your Servant,

O. C.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle, These.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32. An Original.*

† *Idem ibid.*

S I R,

* S I R,

HAVING acquainted the Gentlemen with your Desire to speake with them, and they making some Difficulty of it, have desired me to send you this inclosed. I rest, Sir,

Edinb. Dec^r 14, 1650.

Your Servant,

O. C.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle.

No. XXVIII.

† Right Honourable,

WE now hearing that you was desirous to speak with us, for your Information of the Posture of Affaires, we would be glad, and we think you make no doubt of it, to be refreshing or useful to you in any thing; but the Matter is of so huge Concernment, since it may be you will learne somewhat upon our Information in managing that important trust put upon you, that we dare not take upon us to meddle; ye may therefore do as you find your selves cleare, and in Capacity, and the Lord be with you. Sir,

Edinburgh, 14^o
10^{bris}, 1650.

Your Honour's Humble Servants,

and Well-wishers in the Lord,

M^r. JAFFRAY

M^r. JO. CASTAIRS.

For the R^t Hono^{ble} the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle.

No. XXIX.

§ My Lord,

I Expected that Conscience which you pretended to be your Motive, that did induce you to summond this House before you did attempt any Thing against it, should

* Dr. Willams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32.

† Idem ibid. An Original.

§ Idem ibid. An Original. also

also have moved you to have expected my Answer to your Demand of the House, which I could not out of Conscience suddenly give without mature Deliberation, it being a Business of such high Importance, you having refused that little Time which I did demand, to the effect I might receive the Commands of them that did entrust me with this Place. And yet not daring to fulfill your Desire, I doe demand such a competent Time as may be condescended unto betwixt us, within which, if no Reliefe come, I shall surrender this Place upon such honourable Conditions as can be agreed upon by Capitulation, and during which Time all Acts of Hostilitys and Prosecution of Attempts on both Sides may be forborne. I am, my Lord,

Edinburgh Castle, the
18th 10^{ber}, 1650.

Your Humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

No. XXX.

* S I R,

ALL that I have to say is shortly this; That if you will send out Commissioners by a leuen a Clocke this Night, thoroughly instructed and authorized to treat and conclude, you may have Terms honourable and safe to you and those whose Interests are concerned in the Things that are with you. I shall give a safe Conduct to such whose Names you shall send within the Time limited, and order to forbear shooting at their coming forth and going in: To this I expect your Answer within one Houre, and rest, Sir,

Edinburgh, 18^o
10^{bris}, 1650.

Your Servant,

O. C.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh Castle*, These.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32.

No. XXXI.

No. XXXI.

* *My Lord,*

I HAVE thought upon thir two Gentlemen whose Names are heir mentioned, to wit, Major *Andrew Abernathie*, and Captain *Robert Henderson*, whome I purpose to send out instructed, in order to the carrying on of the Capitulation; therefore expect a safe Conduct for them with this Bearer. I rest, my Lord,

*Edinburgh Castle, the
18^o 10^{bris}, 1650.*

Your Humble Servant,

W. DUNDAS.

No. XXXII.

† *S I R,*

I HAVE here inclosed sent you a safe Conduct for the coming forth and returne of the Gentlemen you desire, and have appointed and authorized Collonell *Monck* and Lieutenant Collonell *White* to meet with your Commissioners at the Howse in the safe Conduct, there to treat and conclude of the Capitulation on my Parte. I rest, Sir,

*Edinburgh, 18th Dec-
ember 1650.*

Your Servant,

O. C.

For the Governour of *Edinburgh Castle*, These.

You are on Sight hereof to suffer Major *Andrew Abernathie* and Captain *Robert Henderson* to come forth of *Edinburgh Castle*, to the House of Mr. ——— *Wallace* in *Edinburgh*, and to returne backe into the said Castle without any Trouble or Molestation. Given under my Hand the 18th of 10^{ber} 1650.

To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32. An Original.*

† *Idem ibid.*

No. XXXIII.

* S I R,

IT has pleased God to cause the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be surrendred unto our Hands this Day about Eleven a Clock: I thought fitt to give you this Account thereof as I could, and the Shortness of Time would permitt. I sent a Summons to the Castle upon the twelfth Instant, which occasioned severall Exchanges of Returns and Replies, which for their Unusualness I also thought fitt humbly to represent to you. Indeed the Mercy is very great and seasonable; I thinke I need say little of the Strength of the Place, which, if it had not come to us as it did, would have cost very much Blood to have attained, if at all to have been attained, and did tye up your Army to that Inconvenience that little or nothing could have been attempted whilest this was in Designe; and little Fruit had of any thing brought into your Power by your Army hitherto without it. I must needs say, not any Skill or Wisdom of ours, but the good Hand of God, hath given you this Place. I believe all *Scotland* hath not in it so much Brass Ordnance as this Place. I send you herein inclosed a List thereof, and of the Arms and Ammunition, as well as they could be taken on a sudden: not having more at present to trouble you with, I take Leave, and rest, Sir,

*Edinburgh the 24th of
December 1650.*

Your most Humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For the Hono^{ble} *Will^m Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker to the Parliament of *England*.

Haft, haft, Post haft, for the speciall Service of the State.

¶ Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 32. An Original.

No. XXXVI.

* No. XXXIV.

27 *Januarii*, Anno } A Confession to be made by *William*
Dom. 1586. } *Serjent of Waterbeache.*

THE said *William Serjent* shall upon Sunday, being the 29th of *January* next, comeing immediately after the reading of the Gospell, come forth of hys Seate in the Church of *Waterbeach* afore sayd unto the Middle Allye, there to the Place where the Minister read the same Gospell, and there standing, he shall with a lowd Voice say and confesse as followeth :

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evell Example you all, in that I have not come to Church in due Time upon the *Sabbath-Days*, for which I am hartily forrye, and I humbly beseech God, and earnestly desire you all to pray to God for me, and to forgive and to take Example at this my Punishment, promising by God's Grace never to offend in the like.

And of the doing hereof in Manner and Forme afore sayd, he shall under the Handes of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certifye, together with theise Presents, at *Great St. Marie's Church* in *Cambridge*, upon Friday, being the tenth Daye of *Februarie* next comeing, and then and there receive such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

RIC. BRIDGWATER.

William Serjent made his Confession accordinge to the Tenour of these Presents in the Parish Church of *Waterbeach*, the 29th Day of *January* above wrytten.

Per me *Tho. Payne*, Vicar ibid.
John Hasell,
John Proment, his Marke.

To the Vicar of *Waterbeach* deliver This.

* MS. Penes me. An Original.

No. XXXV.

* No. XXXV.

17 Januarii, Anno juxta } A Confession to be made by
 computationem 1586. } Robert Brignell of Ickleton.

THE said Robert shall upon Sunday, being the xxiith of January next comeing, immediately after the readying of the Gospell, come forth of his Seate in the Church of Ickleton aforesayd, unto the Middle Alley, there to the Place wheare the Minister reads the said Gospell, and there standing, he shall with a loud Voice say and confesse as followeth :

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse, that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evil Example you all, for that I have not orderlie come to my Parish Church upon Sundays and Holidays; for whiche I am hartily sorry, and I humbly beseech God, and earnestly desire you all to pray to God for me, and to forgive me, promising by God's Grace never to offend hereafter in the like again.

And of the doing hereof in Manner and Forme aforesaid, he shall under the Handes of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certifye, together with theise Presents, at Great St. Marie's Church in Cambridge, upon Friday, being the xxviith of January next comeing, and then and there receive such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

RIC. BRIDGWATER.

Syr,

Robert Brygnell did Penance as was enjoyned him orderly on Sunday last before the Congregation, as he was appoynted.

Syr,

I know not what was rated to be payd upon his doing of the Penance, but ye shall have it by the Berar hereof this Day Sennight, God willing, and somewhat towards the Collection for the Minister's Wyfe also, as I am able to doe, considering my Losse and Hindrance of late. Witness,

Robert Crednell.

Robert Proktour }
 Arthur Hone } Churchwardens.

To the Vicar of Ickleton give These.

* MS. Penes ms. An Original.

* No. XXXVI.

Decimo Tertio Die Mensis } A Confession to be made by
Februarii 1595. } *Wm. Foxe of Harston.*

THE said *Foxe* shall upon Sunday next coming, being the Fifteenth Day of *February* now Instant, come forth of his Seat in the Parish Church of *Harston* aforesayd, into the Middle Alley there, immediately after the reading of the Gospell, shall stand, and with a lowde Voice shall say and confesse as follows, *viz.*

Good Neighbours, I acknowled and confesse that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evil Example you all, for that I have absented my self from my Parish Church, for which I am most hartily sorry, and I aske God and you all most hartily Forgiveness for the same, promising by God's Helpe never to offend hereafter in the like againe.

And of the doeing hereof he shall under the Handes of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certify, together with those Presents, upon Friday being the xx^a Day of *February* now Instant, at *Great St. Marye's* Church in *Cambridge*, and then and there receive such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

BENNET THOROWGOOD.

To my verye good Frend the Vicar of *Harston* give These.

† No. XXXVII.

Sexto Die Mensis } A Confession to be made by *Robert*
nuarii 1595. } *Jolly and Miles Whaly of Botsham.*

THE said Parties shall upon Sunday next coming, being the Eight Day of *February* now Instant, come forth of their Seates, in the Parish Church of *Botsham* aforesayd, in the Middle Alley, and there immediately after the reading the Gospell, and there shall stande, and with a loud Voice shall say and confesse as followeth, *viz.*

* MS. Original, *Penes me.*

† Idem ibid.

Th

The Confession of ROBERT JOLLY.

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evil Example you all, for that I did suffer *Henry Forman* and *Thomas Forman* of *Great Wilbraham*, to sit and drinke in my Howse in Evening Prayer-time on the *Sabbath-Day*; for whiche I am most heartily sorry, and I aske God and you all most heartily Forgiveness for the same, promising by God's Helpe never to offend hereafter in the like againe.

The Confession of MILES WHALY.

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse, that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evil Example you all, for that I did suffer my Servante to goe with my Carre upon the *Sabbath-Day*; for which I am most heartily sorry, and I aske God and you all most heartily Forgiveness for the same, promising by God's Helpe never to offend hereafter in the like againe.

And of the doing hereof they shall under the Handes of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certify, together with these Presents, upon Friday, being the 15th of *February* now Instant, at *Great St. Mary's Church* in *Cambridge*, and then and there receive such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

BENNET THOROWGOOD.

The above-named *Miles Whaley* hath made his Confession according to the Order appointed by me.

Christopher Feniver.

Thomas Duffield }
John Bingell } Churchwardens.

Robert Jollye hath made his Confession appoynted him February 15 by me.

Christopher Feniver.

Thomas Duffield }
John Bingell } Churchwardens.

To my very Loving Frend Mr. *Feniver*, Vicar of *Botshame*, give These.

* No. XXXVIII.

Decimo Quarto Die Fe- } A Confession to be made by *Thomas Forman* of *Great Wilbraham*.
bruarii Anno Dⁿⁱ 1595. }

THE said *Thomas* shall upon Sunday, being the xxiith Day of *February* now Instant, come forth of his Seate in his Parish Church of *Great Wilbraham* aforesayd, into the Middle Alley, and there, immediatly after reading of the Gospell, stand, and with a loud Voice shall say and confesse as followeth :

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evil Example you all, for that I did sit drinking in *Robert Jollye's* Howse in *Botsham* in Evening Prayer-time upon the *Sabbath-Day*; for which I am most hartily sorry, and I ask God and you all most hartily Forgiveness for the same, promising by God's Helpe never to offend hereafter in the like again.

And of the doeing hereof in Manner and Forme as above is prescribed, he shall under the Hands of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certify, together with these Presents, upon Friday, being the 27th of *February* now Instant, at *Great St. Marie's* Church in *Cambridge*, and then and there receive such further Order therein, as shall be appointed.

BENNET THOROWGOOD.

To my Loving Frend Mr. *Sommer*, Vic. of *Wilbraham Magna*, give These.

† No. XXXIX.

Decimo Martii } A Confession to be made by *John Aspland* of *Witcham*.
 1595. }

THE said *Partie* shall upon Sunday, being the 4th Day of *June* next commeng, come forth of his Seate in the Parish Church of *Witcham* aforesaid, into the Middle Allee there, ymediatly after the reading the Gospell, and

* MS. *Penes me.* An Original.

† Idem *ibid.*

there

there shall stande, and with a loud Voyce shall say and confesse as followeth, viz.

Good Neighbours, I acknowledge and confesse that I have offended Almighty God, and by my evill Example you all, for that I have used to * sleepe in the Church; for whiche I am most hartely sorry, and I aske God and you all most hartely Forgiveness for the same, promising by God's Helpe never to offend hereafter in the like againe.

And of the doing hereof hee shall under the Hand of the Minister and Churchwardens there personally certifie, together with these Presents, upon Munday, being the 22th of July next, at Trinity Parish Church in Elye, and then and there receive such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

Concordat cum art^{is} Cur.

Ita testor *Tho. Amy*, No^{rius} Public.

John Aspland hath done the Penance prescribed within the Church the Daie and Yere above-written. Signed by us,

William Gill.

John Allen

George Wright } Churchwardens.

To my Loving Frend the Vycar of *Witcham*, or his Curate there, give This.

† No. XL.

22^o Aprilis, Anno
Dni 1595.

{ A Confession to be made by *John Brigham* the Elder, *William Cansby*, late Churchwardens, *William Collin*, *William Houlton*, and *Thomas Houlton*, late Inquearers of the Parish of *Cotnham*.

THE said Parties shall upon Sunday next come forth of their Seates in *Cotnham* Church aforesaid, ymm-

* This was less offensive than what Bishop *Montague* (Visitation Articles for the Diocese of *Norwich* 1638. Tit. 5. Sect. 3. *penes me*) observes of some Fanatical Profaners of the Church. "Does (says he) any Parishioner or Foreigner come into the Church with an *Hawk* on his *Fist*, or *Hawking-Pole* in his Hand, with Spaniels coupled, to the Disturbance of the Auditors, Profanation of the Church, Contempt of God and his Service; a Course never practised among *Pagans*."

† MS. *Penes me*. An Original.

diately after the reading of the Gospel, in the Middle Alley there, and with a lowde Voice shall say and confesse as followeth, viz.

Good Neighbours, We acknowledge and confesse that we have offended Almighty God, and by our evil Example you all, for that we have wilfully and very carelessly neglected our Dueties when we were in Office: That notwithstanding our Oathes taken to present all Disorders and disorderlie Persons, according to the Queene's Majestie's Injunctions, and our Articles, have omitted to present *Robert Rivers* of this Parish, upon Suspicion of Incontinencie, doeing thereby as much as in us was to cloake that abominable Sin; for which our Offence wee are heere thus as you see worthely punished, and for which wee are most hartily sorry, and desire God and you all our honest Neighbours to forgive us, and to pray for us, and to take Example at this our Punishment, to eschew the like, promising by God's Grace never to offend hereafter in the like againe.

And of the doing hereof they shall certify under the Hands of the Minister and Churchwardens now being personally together, these Presents, upon Saturday next, being the thirde of *May*, at *Great St. Mary's Church* in *Cambridge*, at one of the Clocke in the Afternoone, and then and there receaue such further Order herein as shall be appointed.

Concordat cum art^s Cur.

Ita testor *Tho. Amy*, Notarius Publicus.

These shall be to signify to you, that the above-named Persons have pronounced this their Confession, as they were enjoyned, in the Parish Church of *Cottenham* appointed. Witnesses hereof,

Jeremy Hutton, Minister.

John Male

Richard Norman

} Churchwardens.

To the Right Worshipful Mr. Dr. *Flemming*, at the Parsonage of *Cotnham*, or his Curate there, give These.

* *Madam,*

I FEARE my Letters have met with the same Misfortune which yours doe : For this three Weeks I have not received any from you ; and now that his Majesty is safely arrived, I believe the Passage will be stopped : However I will not fayle to write constantly so longe as they will be received. Before this time I hope *George* is come to you, and has given you a particular Account of me : And I desire he may soone return, which must be by *Holland*, for now their is no other Way of coming, and that too very dangerous, all our Coast being so full of the *English* Shippes, which yet makes the Way for me unpassable, except I could have a secure Pass from them. My Things in *Holland* I hear are in great want of ayding. I wonder very much at *George*, having been there all this Time, that he did not doe it : and therefore he has Reason to make the more Hasten. If the Things are not already sent away, you may please to send by *Holland* with *George* ; and in the Beginning of the next Month a Parliament is to be called, and the King crowned, soe that we are all to have double Robes, one to ride at the Coronation, which are of Crimson Velvet, and the other Parliament Robes of Scarlet : In this Time it will be too great a Charge to make them, but many of our Lords send to their Friends in *England* to borrow both, and so if you can, I shall desire your La^{ty} to borrow them from some of my Acquaintance, and I will undertake to have them safe returned, and they may be sent with *George* ; if you cannot get both, be sure you get Coronation Robes. For the other, I believe I may have here. My Brother *St.* to my Remembrance, has a very rich Furniture for a Horse, which my Sister I doubt not will lend me, to whome I desire you to present my Service, and excuse my not writing at this Time. This Ceremony I doubt not will with all Solemnity be performed, though the Place uncertain, by reason of the advancing of the *English*, who are neer our Borders, though this Kingdome, since his Ma^{ties} signing and sealing the League and Covenant, are so unanimous,

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection, Vol. 8. No. 142. An Original. The Direction torn off.

as I believe they will advise well with themselves before they will invade us. I am now in some haste, for which I must beg you to forgive this abrupt Closure of

Your La^{ty} most Obedient Sonne

July 14th, 1650.

and Humble Servant,

* NEWBRUG.

My Blessing to Little Betty.

No. XLII.

† S I R,

THE last I writ to you gave you an Account of the Surrender of *Edenburgh* Castle, since which Tyme nothing considerable hath happened; only the Coronation of *Charles II.* which was performed with great Joy, and shooting of Guns, and Bonafires, the First Day of this Instant; and great Preparations making towards the sodayne raising of a great Army, which will consist only of *Malignant People.*

We heare their Parliament hath passed an Act, which was assented to by their King, That he shall have Power to call whom he think fitt into their Army, and to hang and forfeit any who shall refuse and dissent their Colours: And for this Purpose their King is gone into the North, where he is to set up his Standard: However this is most certain, they have chosen all their new Collonells, being the most popular and beloved Men; with whom we heare the People rise very willingly: soe that I thinke that we may certainly conclude, they will have a numerous Army before long. *Maffey* hath a Commission, and the most *English* Officers; and 'tis confidently reported, they have Encouragements, and doe intend to send a Party for *England*, which, though we shall endeavour to prevent, yet it will be our Duty not to be too secure, at least in

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 46. *Die Veneris* 26th Julii 1650. At the Councel of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

That the Letter of the Lord *Newburg* intercepted, be reported to the Parliament by Mr. *Scott*, and that hee also enform the House, That the Lord *Newburg* hath an Office in Chancery, and desire the Parliament to declare their Pleasure about it.

Ex. G. *Frogg*, Secr.

† Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 12. No. 261. An Original.

preventing Insurrections, and Ryfings in our own Bowells, which I conceive is moſt to be feared. Wee have had great Thoughts how to prevent theſe new Levies, and if poſſible to have contrived a Way for our getting over the Water; but Providence denying that at this Time, makes me wait for the Lord's Leaſure, who will bring it about at a better Opportunity. Our great Want, beſides the Difficulty of paſſing over the Water, is want of Victuals, our Stores being wholly exhausted, except a little Cheefe, and we in great Streights what to doe, not hearing of the coming of any more. It will be of ſingular Advantage to our Affairs to have both Money and Proviſions ſent us, and which I hope you will not be wanting to endeavour: I have nothing more for the preſent, but am

Your affectionate Friend, and very

*Edenburgh, 4
Jan. 1650.*

Humble Servant,

R. LAMBERT.

*Further from Major-General Lambert from Edinburgh,
Jan. 8th, 1650. (which I believe is in Ruſhworth's Hand).*

FOR News we have little: Their young King was crowned according to Intention with great Joy; ſince which he is gone to *Aberdeene*, where 'tis reported he ſetts up his Standard.

They will riſe willingly, being very numerous, and yet the dumb Man of *Peebles* makes Signs, that they will beſore long cut off the Heads of ſome Great Ones. Truly I am confident they have filled the Meaſure of their Iniquities, and the Lord will ſpeedily judge them. *Middleton* is come in, and 'tis thought will be received. *Duke Hamilton* 'tis thought will be General: *Maſſey* hath a Regiment of Horſe; he muſt be, they ſay, for *England*, or their Army will be ſo numerous, as they thinke to ſpare a conſiderable Partye with him. *Straghan* we hear is excommunicated, and ſundry others we believe will follow: We are labouring what we can to get a Store of Horſemen to *Leith*: Something conſiderable I hope we may doe, but not full to our Purpoſe.

No. XLIII.

Chester, 17th Sept. 1651.

I Believe * you have too soon heard of our Misfortunes at *Worcester*, and it is probable there are amongst you that blame our Proceedinge, rather than pity us: But if they knew the State of our Master's Affairs, when he was in *Scotland* and here, they would say otherwise. It's certain *Cromwell* would not fight us in our own Country, but with great Advantage to himselfe, he knowing, that our Army lying idle would moulder to nothing, as indeed it had, if his Majesty had not brought them away.

It consisted of † 12000 Fighting Men, absolutely under the Command of his Majesty, the which being marched into the Heart of the Kingdome, and possessed of the City of *Worcester*, might in Probability proved a notable Steep towards the resettling of this Kingdome, had not God determined otherwise.

I am sure the King omitted nothing that could encourage to rise with him, or at least to lie newter. But on the contrary, they arose, (which had they not done, without doubt we had beaten *Cromwell's* Force, they being inconsiderable) violently against us, to such Numbers as made the Enemy near 40000. The least any of their Officers report them was 36000. With this Number they came before us at *Worcester*: The City was neither fortified nor victualled: His Majesty thought he could not in Honour leave them, to be plundered by the Enemy, who had so willingly received him. During the Enemy's lying there the King was very active, and sent out often strong Parties, but the Enemy was so watchfull, and lay so strong, that tho' our Men behaved themselves courageously, they could get no Advantage of them. The Day and Manner of the Fight you may gather from their Letters. His Majesty behaved himself very gallantly with his own Regiment of Horse, and D. *Hamilton's*. He broke a Regiment of Foote, and forced back a considerable Body of their Horse,

* Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 94.

† *Whitelock* informs us, (from an intercepted Letter, Memorials, p. 504.)

" That the King's Horse was about 7000, and their Foot as many, that
" their Discipline was very strict, and some Prisoners brought before the
" King were courteously treated by him, and having kissed his Hand were
" discharged."

but at last overpowered, our Horse ran, though the King strove to make them stand.

The King being closely pursued, and our Men stopping the Passage, was forced to quit his Horse, and climb up our half-raised Mount, and there so encouraged our Foot, that the Enemy retired with Loss. The King perceiving the Enemy too numerous, and our Men worsted, drew them within the Walls, where it was long disputed; then the King taking fresh Horse, rode to the Cavalry with Intention to rally them, and scour the Foot from the Walls; but it was in vayne, for *Middleton* was wounded, the chiefe Horse Officers either dismounted, slayn, or I know not where; * *David Leslie* rode up and down as one amazed, or seeking to fly he knew not whither; for they were so confused, that neither Threats nor Intreaty could perswade them to charge with his Majesty. What became of his Majesty afterwards I know not, God preserve him, for certainly a more gallant Prince was never borne. Towards the Evening all Things appearing very horrid, Allarums in every Part of the City, and a certaine Reporte that the Enemy had entred one End of the Towne, and we of the Horse trampling one upon another, much readier to cut one another's Throats then defend our selves against the Enemy. In this Confusion at last we got out of Towne, and fled as fast as we could. In the Head of us, as appeared next Morning, were our two Lieutenant Generalls: We had no Guide, soe as we often lost our Way, yet reached *Newport* by the Morning, 30 Miles on this side *Worcester*, and there thought to have refreshed our selves, and marcht quietly for *Scotland*: But our Enemies flew faster then we, and there wanted not considerable Forces in every Place to front us, and we were so closely pursued in the Day by the Army and Garrison Forces, and in the Night from the Country, that from the Time we came out of *Worcester* till Friday in the Evening, that I was taken Prisoner seven Miles from *Preston*, I nor my Horse ever rested. Our Body consisted of 3000. In the Day we often faced the Enemy, and beat their little Parties to their Body; but still

* Lord *Clarendon* observes, (vol. 2. p. 388.) " That at the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, that Party of the King's Horse which charged the *Scots*, " so totally routed and defeated their whole Army, that they fled all Ways " for many Miles together, and were knocked on the Head, and taken " Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesley* their General fled ten Miles, and " was taken Prisoner by a *Constable*.

those

those of us whose Horses tired, or were shot, were lost, unlesse they could run as fast as we rode. In the Night we kept close together, yet some fell asleep on their Horses, and if their Horses tarried behind, we might hear by their Cryes, what the bloody Country People were doing with them. On Thursday Night our Lieutenant Generalls *Middleton* and *Lesley* left us, or lost us willingly. But as much Halte as they made, both of them, with Sir *William Flemming*, are here Prisoners. I left *D. Hamilton* Prisoner at my coming out of *Worcester*, being shot in the Leg: He is since dead upon cutting it off. Few or none of the King's Servants are escaped. The Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, and Sir *David Cunningham*, and Mr. *Lane*, are Prisoners here in the Castle. Many are Prisoners in private Houses, the Church and Castle being full. They are soe high, that they have condemned from Household Servants to Noblemen; soe that what will become of us I know not.

Endorsed. *Relation of the Defeat of the King's Forces at Worcester*, 1st, Sept. 1651.

No. XLIV.

* *Dread Sovereign,*

YOUR miraculous Preservation in that fatall Fight at *Worcester*, (where your personal Valor was so signally manifested to the World) and the no lesse miraculous Deliverance from the Fury of your Pursuers, who before had acted beyond the Parable, and above all Precedent of Cruelty, (at which the Nation did blush, and all Loyal Hearts did bleed) and now were in hot Pursuance of your Person, hoping to have acted an other Scene in so dismall a Tragedy, untill that Providence which protected you then carried you on through so many Stages of Dangers, to the Place of your Arrival, where their Malice could not reach you. Which made all good and wise Men presage, that your Majesty was reserved for an universal Blessing to the Nation, when God thought fit to † restore you, and us capable to receive.

But

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 16. No. 119.

† In *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 34. p. 533. is the following remarkable Account: "We must now acquaint you with a Particular from *Ireland*,
" which

But when you fled in a Disguise from the Face of that unparallel'd Rebell, that Place of *Jehu* presented it selfe to my Observation, and Feare, two Kings could not stand before him : And as in such an Exigent *David* made a Cave his Sanctuary, soe, (not unlike it) to escape the Fury of your *Saul*, you hid your selfe in the Cave of a Tree, and by a strange Method of Providence decayed Nature became the Arke of your Preservation : And after that, being destitute of other Remedies, in the Habit of a Servant, (a Pennance to his Majesty) wandering in your owne Kingdome for Safety, had a new Title to it by the Conquest of your Patience, whiche Virtue hath been so long exercis'd by you in the Schoole of your Affliction and Banishment, and the rest of them which do so eminently shine in you, have beene improved to so high Advantages, so far beyond any of your Royal Predecessors in studying Men and Languages, (the most proper Study for Princes) and consulting Foreign States and Councils with so much Prudence, that you are universally reputed the Wonder of your Age, and the wisest of Princes ; a Title farre greater then that of *Great Brittain*.

To which your Majesty has a double Right, not by Descent only, but by Impressions of Loyalty in the Hearts of his Subjects : which the Resentments of Calamity, and their sad Experiments of the Changes of Government under the heavy Yokes of Usurpation and Tyranny, have soe indeleibly stamp't in them, that they are now as fitt for Obedience, as you for Government.

But above all your other Royall Graces, your Constancy to your Religion, is the most resplendent Jewel in your

" which had we it not from unquestionable Credit, we should not mention.
 " In the Town of *Dundalkbin*, in the County of *Louth*, there is a very ancient Seat belonging to the noble Family of *Bellew*, Sir *Christopher Bellew* being the Four and twentieth Knight of that Family lineally descended, all faithful Subjects to the Crown. About his House and Town were many Ash Trees, wherein many Thousand Rooks did constantly breed ; but when the late Troubles began, about eighteen Years since, all the Rooks quitted the Place, which had been their Habitation Winter and Summer for above Three hundred Years, and were never discovered in that Place till the End of *April* last, (when our Gracious Sovereign's Restoration was visible) at which Time many Thousand Rooks came again to the same Place, though the Trees were most of them cut down, where, for want of Trees to rest on, the greater Part sat upon Hedges, and Banks of Ditches, spreading themselves upon the Mote-hill, whereof all the Country took Notice, and remembering when they fled, concluded their Return to be an Omen of his Majesty's speedy and happy Restoration."

Diadem

Diadem of Honor. Notwithstanding those many Encounters and Temptations which you have met with, whiche hath made you a Starre of the first Magnitude in the highest Orbe of the Church; so in that also you have got an additional Title of the Preserver of the Faith, as well as the Defender.

And by the Conduct of a prudent and loyal Commander the Sword is now put into your own Hande, a Man of Men, who hath conquered without fighting, and laid at your Feet the whole Harvest of his Victory, no lesse then three Kingdomes, to whose Virtues I have the Ambition to be allyed, as I have the Honour to be to his Person, who has made himselfe glorious in the discrete Management of this great Affayre, and famous to all Posterity; who needs no other Advocat then his own Merit to have an eminent Place in your Majesty's Favour, of whome it may be truly said, Thus shall it be done to him, whom the King not only delighteth, but is concerned to honour.

And now after a long Ecclipse the Sun of Matie appears in full Splendor. May you shine long upon us with a gracious Aspect, that neither any Cloud of Rebellion, or Meteor of Conspiracy or Faction may obscure your Light, or obstruct your Influence.

And when you are in the Meridian of your Glory, remember that once a hollow Tree was the Place of your Refuge, when your Enemies were thick about you: which may be of as great Use as that Memento to *Philip of Macedon*, which his Son did soe much forget, that after his *Asian* Conquests, puffed up with so many great Successes, he flattered himselfe into a Concept of a Deity, and commanded divine Adoration to his Person; but not long after one of his Commanders secretly performed the Office done to his Father, and by the Contrivance of Poyson, put him in Mind also that he was but a Man.

But your Majesty need not look farther back then the Beginning of your own Reign, whiche, as it hath been hitherto bloody and tempestuous, so I earnestly pray the Progress may be serene and quiet, and the End glorious.

Endorsed. *The humble Address of J. S. to his Sacred Majesty.*

* No. XLV.

WE George Maxwell of Munches, and Andrew Lindsay of Auchensbeoche, in pursuance of a Commission bearing Date the eighteenth Day of March Instant, to us directed from the Lord Herreis, John Glandining of Partun, John Herreis of Mabie, John Lindsay of Wachop, Edward Maxwell of Barnbachet, John Lindsay of Maines, William Browne of Muntonne, John Sturgeon of Terrerie, James Maxwell of Wreathes, Thomas Maxwell of Corfwada, William Maxwell of Castle-Goure, John Browne of Mellance, Robert Herreis of Barnbarroche, and Gilbert Browne of Bargbie, Heretors of the Stewarty of Kirkudbright, doe hereby in Behalf of our selves, and the aforesaid Parties, humbly testify and declare our voluntary Acceptance of the Parliament's Tender, in their Declaration, That Scotland bee incorporated into, and made one Commonwealth with England, that thereby the same Government that is established in England without a King, or House of Lords, under the Free State, and Commonwealth of England, may bee derived to the People of Scotland: And wee declare, That we will in the mean time live peaceably under, and give Obedience unto the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England exercised in Scotland.

And wee doe heartily beg the Lord so to direct your Harts in the Profession of this great Worke, as may most advance his Glory in the Establishment of Religion, settling of the Nations in a happy Union, and the Freedome and Tranquillity of all his People in that Bond within this Island.

Dated at Dalkeith the Thirtieth Day of March 1652.

And^w Lindsay of Auchensbeoche.
Geo. Maxwell of Munches.

No. XLVI.

† The Forme of the Oath to be administred to every Member of the Councel of State.

I BEING nominated for the Yeare ensuinge of the Councell of State by this present Parliament, doe promise in

* Dr. William's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 120. An Original.

† Idem ibid. No. 102.

the Sight of God, That through his Grace, I will be faithfull in the Performance of the Trust committed to me, and therein faithfully pursue the Instructions given to the said Counsell by this present Parliament, and not reveale or disclose any thing in Whole or in Parte directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon in the Counsell, and Orders to be kept secrett by the said Counsell, without the Command, Direction, or Allowance of the Parliament or Counsell.

No. XLVII.

* *May it please your Lord^{sh},*

FINDEINGE that your Number of Foote for Feild Service (which by the Death of Men, and Thinnesse of the Regiments is but small, though all were drawne together) is very much lessened, or made les answerable to the greate and many Occasions of Action, that remain by reason of Multitude of Guarriisons, (whiche we are enforced to keepe) and the great Number of Men necessarily swallowed up therein, (though wee manne them very weakly in Comparison of what were fitt) and especially the Townes we have gained from the *Irish*, (as this Cittie, *Wexford*, *Rosse*, *Kilkenny*, *Karrick*, *Clonmell*, and *Killmallocke*, and other smaller Townes) wee are necessitated still to leave, and lose the Service of the greater Number of Men, by reason of the Inhabitants being all *Irish*, or else *Old English*, (made as much our Enemies by their Religion, and as ill to bee trusted as the other) all whome though we be absolutely free to cast out upon reasonable Warneing, (except at *Clonmell*, *Ross*, and *Kilkenny*, where alsoe we have not Obligation to the contrary) yet if wee should doe it before the *English* be gott to inhabit the Houses, wee should not only loose the Contribution of Rent of the Houses, and the Excise and Customes, (which though small, yet in some Places are worth preserving, but also the Howses, if the *Irish* should be put out of them before the *English* be in to looke to them) would be purposely spoyled by the *Irish* before or at their going out at least, (in a few Months standing empty) would either be ruined or so spoiled and rendred untenantable, as would

at least require the Allowance of a good Time Rent-free for any Men to undertake the Repaire. Now therefore being desirous as speedily as may be to cleare their Townes of *Irish* and *Papists*, and have them planted with *English*, if it be possible, against next Springe, and especially to have those Townes upon the *Barrowe* and the *Setter*, that are most fit for trading, to be planted (if God see it good) with a Generation of his People, and suche as upon the best Principles may be faithful to the Interest of the Commonwealth: And knowing no better nor other Way to effect that, I have fallen upon the Proposal of the Way, and the Termes your Lordship will find expressed in the inclosed Paper: wherein, for the speedy gaining of this planting Regiment, and to have it made upp of such Men and Families as are most to be desired in the Respects aforementioned, having made as good a Choyce of a Collonell as possibly I could, and indeed I think as fitt as any could be found in *England* or in *Ireland* for such a Purpose; and being assured of most of the Captaines already, that they are Men answerably fitt for their Partes, and put all the rest of the Officers in suche a way of Choice, as I am confident they will be all sober and good *Christians*; and being selected out of severall Partes with respect to their Acquaintance and Interest with good People in all Partes, I am very hopefull they will soone bringe over a Regiment of such Families as by possessing for you the Townes of these Rivers, and by the Blessing of God, which I hope will accompany suche, may probably be a great Stay and Security to the Interest of the Commonwealth in this Nation; and by keeping those Townes with little or no Charge, (except suche small Benefitts about the Townes, as in their Absence either the *Irish* would goe away with, or else noe body) will sett you many Men free for other Service abroad. Your Lordship will see in the Close of the Paper how farr I have gone in the Way of Agreement for this Business; and soe farr I thought it needfull and fitting my selfe to set it forward. That those that are employed may have something at present to show, where-with to possesse and prepare their Acquaintance, that incline to such a Thing, soe as if it be approved by the State, Time might not be lost for their getting over with their Familys against Springe. Thus I humbly tender and submit the Whole to your Lordship's Consideration, desiring (if it be approved of by your Lordship) that you will
be

be pleased to represent it to the Parliament, that, if approved there, it may have a full Confirmation, unless your Lordship find it a Thing that may be done by the Commissioners of Parliament, when they come over, without troubling the Parliament particularly about it: In which Case, if your Lordship approve thereof, I shall need to desire no more at present, save your Warrant, as for raising of Men to the Bearer hereof Captain *Wade*, who is one of the Captains employed for this Business; and suche other as have Commission from me for this Regiment: Wherewith he will acquaint your Lordship; and that your Lordship would also be pleased to afford that favourable Furtherance of your Authority which is exprest in the sixth Article of the inclosed Propositions.

*Waterford, Decemb.
27, 1650.*

Your Lordship's

most Humble Servant,

H. IRETON.

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord President of the Council
of State.

No. XLVIII.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

I SHALL first (as I had need) humbly begge your Pardon for my totall Silence hitherto, as to any thing of immediate Addresse to your selfe since my coming from you: I shall say the lesse to excuse it, because there is so much Aptitude and Danger to offend on the other hande, (in troubling you too muche or unnecessarily amidst your great Affayres) as it may be some Question whether I have been more a Faulte, or the contrarye would have been a greater; but if it have been a Faileing on that hande, I hope it will be the more easily pardoned in mee: by how muche the Difference in the Tempers and Customes of seuerall Men, makes that passe for excusable in one, that might incurre either Blame or Jealousy in another. And I have onely this to adde, (for Matter of Excuse) that since it has become eyther a Dutye upon mee to

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 39. An Original.*

tender an Account of your Affayres here, or not a Presumption to take it uppon mee, I have (concerning all needfull Matters of Provision and Supplye) written still to the Counsell of State, that in suche Things as you had impowered them for, you might not finde the Trouble reverting uppon your selfe ; and whether there were any thinge in my Letters needing your Trouble, (in wante of Provision, or Power committed to them sufficient for it) they could better tell then I : As for Matter of our Proceedings, or any Successe God has pleased to give us in your Service here, since the L^d L^t left us, there hath been little of such Moment, but that I have intermixt the Account thereof (occasionally as it happened) with what I have found neede to write to the Councell from Time to Time upon the other Subject, and indeede thought God has been pleased to blesse our poor Endeavours with such a Series of graduall Successes as have amounted (in the Summe and Yssue) to a considerable advancing of your Interest in this Dominion, yett the particular Stepps or Parts thereof have afforded little, that (singly as to the Matter of it) seemed sufficient to call for a particular Adresse to you (to the diverting or interrupting of your weightier Councells). What might deserve the Cognizance, I presume the Councell of State (as I have humbly desired) hath from Time to Time taken care to acquaint you within the fittest Season and Manner.

Now (Sir) by the comeing over of your Commissioners (whome God hath favored with soe quick an Opportunity of Passage) and that soe safe, quiet and comfortable, as exceeds ordinary Experience or Expectation, especially at that Season of the Yeaere, which may bee some Testimony that hee is well pleased with their Employment ; I finde an Occasion obligeing mee (as I blesse God for the seasonable Helpe and Comforte hee hath sente us in their comeing soe) to acknowledge with all Thankfullness your Favor and Care in sending Commissioners soe impowered and instructed, wherein I am apte to hope you did not onely intende and take care for the better manageing of your Affayres here, but considered and minded withall the Assistance, Ease, and Refreshment of your poore weake Servant, under those Burdens of every Kinde, which hitherto have pressed too heavily uppon a single Shoulder, and God knowes I speake not faynedly herein, as also in the Choyce you made of the Persons to sende for those

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Ends,

Ends, whiche (soe farre as more Knowledge or Understandinge of one then an other may make a Difference to mee amongst your Members, I crave Leave to assure you) doe redound very muche to my Contentment, as I hope it will to the publique Advantage.

Sir, I shall not now trouble you further, but earnestly praye that the Lorde (the onely Giver of every good Gifte) will give us your Servants here, (in the manageing of our Affayres under you) and you in the Affayres of the whole Commonwealth under your Charge, Hearts truly and singly bent to seeke and honor him in all, and doe good to his People, and not to bee lifted up in our Mindes, or corrupted to worldely or selfe Ends, in the Reception or Use of those Blessings or Powers and Advantages hee is pleased to vouchsafe us, but humbly to acknowledge and minde him in all, and improve all to suche Ends as are most honorable and well pleaseing to him: Now to his abundant Grace I commende you, and remaine

Waterforde, Febr.
7th, 1650.

Your most Humble Servant,

H. IRETON.

For the Right Hon^{ble} William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker
of the Parliament, These.

No. XLIX.

* S I R,

IT has pleased God to give us and all our Company a safe and expeditious Passage over the Seas, for whiche Mercye wee blesse his Holy Name. Att our Arrivall wee found the Armye in worse Condition, and the Enemie uppon more daringe Termes then wee expected; and this obliges us strictly to be the more instant with you to take the Affaire of this Nation to Hart, and as seasonably as is possible to speed away the designed Recruits and Supplies. The Lord Dep. Generall was in the Feild before our comeinge hither, and wee have not yet spoaken with him, but wee daily expect to see him or heare from him; and in all Things wherein our Activity may bee serviceable to the Publicke, wee shall remitt nothing of our utmost En-

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections; Vol. 2. No. 37. An Original.

deavours, but shall strive to our Powers to bee answerable to the Charge intrusted to us. Wee hope God will still continue to declare against your Enemies, as hee hath hitherto done marveilously in this Lande, and ere longe make us Relators of better Tidings. We shall omitt noe Opportunity to render our selfs

Watersford, Jan.
25, 1650.

Your Humble Servants,

Edm. Ludlowe,
Miles Corbett,
Jo. Jones,
John Weaver.

To William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Englande, These present.

No. L.

* Ryght Honourable,

YOU may be pleased to take this short Account of what hath passed here since our last of the 14th Instant. On Monday in our Passage from *Rotterdam* to the *Hague*, wee were met by the Earl of *Flodew*, and an other of the *States General*, with about 30 Coaches, and accompanied by them hither, where wee have by very free and noble Entertainment, and severall other Waies, received from the *States General* great Expressions of Affection and Respect to the *Commonwealth of England*, some Particulars whereof wee have at large expressed in our Letters to the *Parliament*; whereof wee have herewith sent a Copey, and therefore shall not trouble you with any Repetition thereof. This Daye we had Audience in the great Assemblye, and in a publique Manner, all our *Gentlemen* and Retinue of † *Quality* being admitted into the Assemblye, and alsoe 30 Merchants of *Rotterdam*, which was done that therein they might expresse the more Respect to the *Parliament* and State of *England*. The President in answer

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 18. No. 76. An Original.

† 'Tis remarkable, that any *Men of Quality* should attend in the Retinue of Two such Persons. But as we have not a List, 'tis probable that their *Quality* was no higher than that of Colonel *Hewson*, who was originally a *Cobler*, though knighted, and afterwards a Member of *Oliver Cromwell's* Upper House, or House of Lords.

to what was spoken by us, said, that the Assembly of the *States* did thanke the Parliament for having honoured them with their first *Embassage*, and with an *Embassage* soe splendid as this was, and that upon the Grounds laid down by us, they did agree the Necessity; that both these *States* should enter into a near Union; and truly through God's Goodness, the Matter propounded by us at the Audience, the Season and Manner of doing thereof; the Greatness of the Retinue you sent us over with, which is above 250, and other Circumstances which have accompanied this *Embassy*, have rendred the same of generall Acceptation amongst the *Dutch*; and thus much we have said to you, not as if we had done any thing of our selves to further our Work under your Hands. * 'Tis the Lord that has made our Way (at least in our Opinion) smoother and easier than wee expected. But we are willing by this to give you as certain a Knowledge of the Affairs as could be, and for the Frame that this People seeme at present to be folded into, what wee said at the Audience was delivered in unto them in wrighting both in *English* and *Dutch*, and the Copyes thereof we have herewith sent unto your Lord^{ships}, and they have appointed to-morrow to consider the Nomination of Commissioners to treat with us, and then we shall be able to see further into what they intend. In the meane tyme wee have by the Example of the Parliament set apart to morrow to seeke the Lorde for his Guidance and Blessing in this and the other great Concernment of *England*. There is a totall Dissatisfaction betweene the *States* and the *Portugall* Embassadour here, the *States* so highly resented the Matter of the Proposition made by the Embassadour, and his Answer, (both herewith sente) that they made the enclosed Order, whereby his Nego-

* 'Twas much better Usage than they deserved: I will not say that they deserved the Treatment the *French* Ambassador met with at *Constantinople*, (*Mercurius Publicus*, Num. 1. 1661. p. 11.) "Who was made Prisoner, "because the King his Master assisted the State of *Venice*, against those Infidels the *Turks*; and they gave him Notice that if he writ any secret Thing to the King, they would roast him alive." And 'tis probable that they would have served him as they threatned, having in the Year 1657, (*Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 348. p. 7581. penes me) imprisoned the *Persian* Ambassador, and immediately after cut off his Head. More deserving were these Men of the Fate of Don *Fernand Telez de Faro*, Ambassador from the Crown of *Portugal* to the States General of the United Provinces, who revolting to the King of *Spain*, and carrying the Papers of his Embassy with him, (*Mercurius Politicus*, Num. 592. p. 821, 22. penes me) was executed in Effigie, his Goods confiscated, his House razed to the Ground, and his Children banished and degraded from Nobility.

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tiation with this State is at an End. You will alsoe see by the enclosed how Affairs stand betweene the *States* and the *French* Embassadour. The Dispute of *Precedency* hath delayed any Treaty between them hitherto. The Speech the *French* Embassadour made at his Audience wee have alsoe sente.

The same Day wee came to Towne the Duke of *Yorke* and *Princess Royall* went out; shee returned againe, because of the Sicknes of the young Prince of *Orange*, whoe was left there behinde, because of a *Shute* (Suit at Law I suppose) depending here betweene the *Princess Royal* and her * *Mother-in-Law*, concerning his *Gardian-ship*. Wee had Intelligence of some Shippes going hence with Provision and Ammunition to the Enemy in *Scotland*, untill wee had our Audience, 'twas not proper for us to make any Address to the *States Generall* about it, but shall now take the best Care wee can therein: and in the meane time have given Notice thereof to the Captaines of those Shippes you sente with us. *Van Trump* is gone out, and as they tell us heere, to suppress the Pirates of *Silly*; and in case of Successe there, to doe as hee shall see Cause on the Place.

Wee desire your Lordships will be pleased to send unto us what you have further in command for us here, with all the convenient Speed you can, because wee intend to make noe unnecessary Delay in the Transaction of this Business. Wee are, my Lords,

Martii $\frac{28}{38}$, 16 $\frac{50}{51}$. Your Lordships most humble Servants,

Thursday Two a Clock
at Night, or Friday
Morning.

Read 1 April 1651.

OL. ST. JOHN,
WALTER STRICKLAND.

Endorsed. The Lords Ambassadours to the Councell concerning their Reception.

* See *Aitzema's* notable Revelutions in the *United Provinces*, Folio, London 1653. p. 365, &c.

No. LI.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

ALTHOUGH wee have made but little Progress in your Affaires heere, and have had but small Experience of the Temper and Inclinations of the People wee are amongst; yet wee cannot but see and take Notice of a gracious Hand of God going along with us hitherto: some of the Particulars whereof wee shall bee bold to trouble you with. Wee arrived at *Rotterdam* on Friday the 14th Instant, about 4 a Clock in the Morning, being brought in thither by the Deputye, and some others of the Company of Merchants Adventurers, who met us in the Way between *Helford Sluce* and *Rotterdam*: They brought us to the *Englisch House* there, and at their own Charge enterteyned us and our whole Retinue, all the while we staid in that Towne, saye that the *States Generall* paid for the two last Meales. Our Staye there was untill Monday after. At our first Arrivall wee gave Notice thereof to the *States Generall*, from whome wee were visited on Saterday Morning, and received some other Civilitys very extraordinary: Particularly the *Burgo Masters* at *Rotterdam*, by the Appoyntment of the *States of Holland*, did both visit and make us a Present, whiche (as our Information is) was never done before to any Embassador. Upon Munday the *Master of the Ceremonies* accompanied us towards the *Hague*, having, by Command of his Masters, provided us those Accommodations, which other *Publique Ministers* have not had from them. About a Mile and a half from the *Hague* wee were met by the Earl of *Flodero*, and an other of the *States Generall*, with near 30 Coaches, and by them accompanied to the *Haghe*, where wee have ever since been entertayned by them with very great Expressions of Affection to the Commonwealth of *England*; one from every Province, by Order of the Assembly, supped with us the first Night, and three of them every Meale after; and because of some malicious and reproachful Language, and insolent Carriage of the old Malignants heere towards some of our Retinue, the *States of Holland* did make the enclosed Order, which, though it be in general Termes, yet it was made upon Occasion of the said

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 18. No. 78. An Original.*

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Affronte, and before this Order was proclaimed, (which was done this Day) my Lord *Catts*, President of the States of *Holland*, by their Order came and acquainted us therewith, and offered us the Libertie of altering or mending any thing therein, which might make it more effectual for our * Honour and Safety: But wee thought not fitt to meddle therewith. This Day wee had our first Audience in the great Assembly in a very honorable and publique Manner. The Coppies of the Papers which were then delivered in by us both in *English* and *Dutch*, wee herewith present unto you; the good Successe whereof wee are praying and wayteing for. And if any thing can be understood by the private Professions of particuler Persons, or by the publique Department of the Assembly towards us, which hath been hitherto *with all Respect* and Freedom, wee have no reason to despayre of seeing a good Issue of the present Negotiations and Transactions with this Republique, whiche, as it doth depend upon the Blessing of God, soe wee intend and hope you will seeke it of him. Wee are, Sir,

Your most humble and faithfull Servants,

Thursday 1 at Night.

Martii 20, 1651.

Read 1^o *April* 1651.

OL. ST. JOHNS,
WAL. STRICKLAND.

The Superscription torn off. But an Endorsement. A Letter from the Lo. Ambassadors to the States Generall, directed to Mr. Speaker, 20 *March* 1650.

* The Word *Honour* sounds but ill from the Mouths, and appears with a bad Grace from the Pens of *Rebels*, and *Traitors* to their King and Country. I can compare the Honour of these two Men to nothing so justly as that of the *Conscientious Thieves* in the Fable, (*L'Estrange's Fables*, Part 1. Fab. 498.) who when the Traveller from whom they had gained a large Booty, told them he "had so many Miles to go, and not one Penny in his Pocket to bear his Charges; that they seemed to be *Men of Honour*, and he hoped "would be so good as only to let him have so much of his Money as would "carry him to his Journey's end. Ay, ay, *the Lord forbid else*, they cried, "and so they opened one of their Bags, and bad him please himself. He "took them at their Word, and presently fetched out a handful, as much "as ever he could gripe. Why how now, says one of these (honorable) "Blades, *Ye confounded Son of a Whore, Ha' ye no Conscience?*

* *Die Martis, 15^o Junii 1649.*At the Council of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

THAT it be reported to the House as the Opinion of this Councill, That after the Sermons are ended, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Members of the Common-Councill doe stay at the Entrance of the Gate going to *Grocers Hall*, there to receive the Speaker, and Members of Parliament.

The Sword is there to be delivered by the Lord Mayor to the Speaker as soone as he is there, who is presently to redeliver the same. And the Lord Mayor is to carry the same before the Speaker and Members of Parliament, untill he comes into the House of *Grocers Hall*.

The Speaker, Members of Parliament and Councill of State, to dine by themselves; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in like manner by themselves; the Judges by themselves; and the Officers of the Army in like manner by themselves.

The Speaker at the Upper End, the General next on the right Hand, and the Lord President over-against him, the Lord Commissioners of the Great Seale next to them, and the Lords next, and then the Lieutenant Generall.

That it be reported as the Opinion of this Councill to the Parliament, That by Act, or Commission grounded upon the Act, the Speaker may have Power to *Knight* the *Lord Mayor*, and such others attending the Lord Mayor in this Service, as have been Lord Mayors of the City.

That after the Sermon the Speaker, and Members of Parliament and Councill of State, Judges, and Officers of the Army meet in the Lower Church, and from thence in order to goe to the City.

Ex. Gualter Frost, Secr.

† Whereas Honour is a principal Reward of Vertue, and hath beene in all Times in this Nation of great In-

* Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 16. No. 7.† *Idem* *ibid.*

couragement to generous Spiritts, and in particular that
 antient and noble Dignity of the Order of Knighthood.
 And to the End that such worthy and gallant Persons as
 have served this Commonwealth faithfully and eminently,
 and amongst them many eminent Members of the City of
London, but have not yet received that Parte of the Re-
 ward of their Service, which their Vertue have deserved,
 and the Parliament have thought fitt to begin upon a pre-
 sent Occasion. Be it therefore enacted by this present
 Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That . . .

. . . shall be, and is hereby authoris'd and
 required, by laying on the Sword, to conferre the Honour
 of Knighthood upon *Thomas Andrewes*, Alderman, the
 present Lord Mayor of the Cittie of *London*, and upon
*Isaac * Pennington* and *Thomas Atkins*, Aldermen, and
 formerly Lord Mayors of the said Cittie: Who by Vertue
 of this Act receiving the same Order of Knighthood, shall
 have and enjoy the respective Addition, Name, Honour,
 and Dignity of Knights, and all Privileges and Prehemi-
 nences thereunto appertaining, any Form, Usage, Custome,
 or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

No. LIII.

† REASONS *humbly offered to the Hon^{ble} Councell of
 State, Why wee cannot conforme to their Order in de-
 livering unto the Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Pembroke the
 Pictures by him alledged to be his.*

FIRST, By Act of Parliament we are to secure all the
 Goods belonging to the said King, and not to deliver
 any of them but upon Sale, or upon Reservation for the
 Use of the State.

Secondly, We find that the King died possessed of the
 said Pictures.

* This Pennington sent a Person to *Newgate* for setting a malignant Psalm,
 as he did another, because, says his *Mittimus*, he daily read most malignant
 Scriptures, (*Dugdale's Short View*, p. 568. Bishop *Cosins's* Opinion for com-
 municating rather with *Geneva* than *Rome*, published by Dr. *Ri. Watson*,
 1684. p. 49. *Petyt's Visions of the Reformation*, p. 81.) This was the
 Alderman who, in his Speech to the House, improperly made use of the Word
Chiloquintida, at which the House (says Lord *Clarendon*, vol. 1. p. 169.)
 made itself merry, and called upon him to explain it.

† Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 16. No. 16.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, We finde by all Inventorys the Pictures to belong to the King.

Fourthly, The said Pictures are acknowledged by the said Earle, to have bin by him changed with the King.

Fifthly, Whereas it is alledged that the Kinge did not performe his Bargaine: If that Reason be allowed, then many of the Goods belonging to the late King must be returned unto the Owners, he having paid for very few of those whiche were bought in his latter Time, as may be made appeare.

Sixthly, It is acknowledged by the said Earle that he hath received the King and Queen's Picture in Limning, as Part of the Agreement with the King, whiche we conceive was a sufficient Confirmation thereof.

Seaventhly, All the Certificates that are sent to us by the said Right Hon^{ble} Earle of *Pembroke*, doe not at all make it appeare to us, that they were not the King's Pictures at his Death.

These are Reasons wee humbly submitt to the Consideration of the Hon^{ble} Councell.

Nov. 28th,
1649.

A. Mildway,
Geo. Wither,
Ph. Carteret,
David Prowde,
Mempnere,
Jo. Belcamp.

No. LIV.

* *Die Veneris, 8^o Februarii 1649.*

At the Council of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

THAT it bee reported to the House in Pursuance of their Order, referring it unto the Councell to consider of what is fitte to bee done for the Reception^{of} Ambassadors. They have taken it into their Consideration, and doe finde beside the Preparation of Barges and Watermen for their Passage by Water, which is already made, there are at present wanting Coaches and Horses with a settled Provision for the Maintenance of them; and also an Al-

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 32.*

lowance for the buying of Liveries, whiche must beare the Badges of this Commonwealth, and a constant Pay to those who are to weare these Liveries; whiche Things the Councell finde are used by other States for the Reception of Ambassadors; of whiche if the House will approve, the Councell desires they would referre the providing of these Things unto such as they shall think fite.

Ex. G. Frost, Secr.

No. LV.

* *Die Mercurii 13^o 1649.*

At the Councell of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

THAT it be reported to the Parlam^t, that there hath beene two of the Officers of this Councell slayne while they were about the Execution of a Warrant of this Councell, for the Apprehension of a Malefactor, and one other wounded, and all these by a Dagger. And that the Councell makeing Enquiry thereinto finde the Use of Daggers and Pocket Pistolls to growe very common, and the Danger thereby so great, to desire the House to consider of a Way for to prevent the Mischiefe, by forbidding the making or the use of Daggers, Stillettoes, or Pocket Pistolls.

That the Parlam^t be desired, in order to their owne Safetie, to take into their Consideration the passing of the two Bills about putting *Malignants* out of the Towne, and confining *Malignants*: And that also for the Relief of oppressed Tenants against their Landlords.

No. LVI.

† *Die Veneris, 6 Sept. 1650.*

At the Councell of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

THAT it be reported to the Parliament, that this Councell in pursuance of the Order of Parlam^t for

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 33.*

† *Ibid. No. 56.*

sending

sending the two Children of the late King out of the Commonwealth, had sent them to the *Ile of Wight*: That the Lady *Elizabeth* is now at present indisposed: That shee hath some Inclination to goe to her Sister the Princeesse of *Orange*, which the Councell thinks she should doe: That for her Maintenance they conceive fitt that shee hath 1000 *l. per Annum*, to be paid halfe yearly so longe as shee shall behave herself inoffensively to the Commonwealth; and that shee may have halfe a Year's Allowance before-hand: And that in the meane time till shee can be shipped away, that her Maintenance and Transportation may be provided for by the Committee of the Revenue.

That *Henry* the thirde Sonne of the late King shall bee sente by some to his Brother into *Scotland*, and shall have a 1000 *l. per Annum*, to bee also paid half yearly, soe long as hee shall behave himselfe inoffensively to this Commonwealth; and that his Maintenance and Transportation be provided for as abovesaid.

Ex. Gualter Frost, Secr.

No. LVII.

* *Tuesday, 4^o February 1650-1.*

At the Councill of State at *Whitehall*,

Ordered,

THAT it bee reported to the Parliament, as the Opinion of this Councell, that they conceive it very much to the Advantage of the publicke Service in *Scotland* that there may be added 40 Men more to the twenty Men already allowed to attend upon the Person of the *Lord General*, in the Nature of a *Life Guard*, and that they may have the same Allowance made unto them, as was allowed to the other Twenty: And that they may all bee put upon the Establishment and Pay of the Army: And Sir *Henry Vane* is desired to make the Report.

Ex. G. Frost, Secr.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 63.*

No. LVIII.

* *To the Right Honorable the Committee of the Councell of State for settling the Post Masters Offices, Forreine and Inland.*

HAVING received Intimation that the Parliament have taken into their own Hands the Inland and Forreine Letter-Offices, and determined the Interest of all Pretenders thereunto, declaring that they intend to farme the same.

Wee humbly offer Ten thousand Pounds *per Annum* for the Grant of both the said Offices during Seaven Yeares, and will pay in Advance upon the said Rent, for Security, Five thousand Pounds at present: And so at the Beginning of every half Yeare, during the said Terme, will pay Five thousand Pounds, wee having such reasonable Conditions as are hereunto annexed.

OWEN ROWE,
W^m. ROBINSON.

Proposals humbly offered for the Farminge of the Inland and Forreine Letter-Office.

That the Management and Settling of the Posts to carry Inland and Forreine Letters, unto, from, and within any Parts or Places under the Government of this Commonwealth, may be in the Power and sole Disposal of the Farmers: That they may take the best, the speediest and thriftiest Way to carry them; and that it shall not be lawful for any other Person or Persons within the Dominions of this Commonwealth, to set up any Postage or Letter-Office, but such as shall be authorized by the said Farmers.

That such Persons of approved Faithfulness and Integrity to this Commonwealth, as the Farmers under their Hands and Seales shall license, may be allowed not onely to carry the Mails and Packets, but also to let Post Horses unto Travellers, and require such Rates for the same as have been usual; *viz.* Three-pence *per* Mile ordinary, and Two-pence halpenny on the States Service, and that no

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 23. No. 62. An Original.

other may ride Post with an Horſe but ſuch as they ſhall liſenſe ; there being Neceſſity that they muſt keep many Horſes, for the ſpeedy and conſtant Conveyance of the State Packet.

That the Rates for carrying of Letters both Inland and Forreine may be thoſe lately taken and no higher.

For Forreine Letters.

From *Antwerp, Bruxells, Gant, Liſle, Ipres, Cortrick*, and other Places adjacent, the ſingle Letter Eight-pence, double Letter one Shilling and Four-pence, and others of bigger Volume proportionably.

From *Amſterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Dort, Middleburgh*, and thoſe Places coming now by the Way of *Antwerp*, the ſame Rates as above.

From *Paris* the ſingle Letter Nine-pence, the double Letter Eighteen-pence ; all other Packets and bigger Letters by Eſtimation proportionable as above.

From *Roan* Six-pence the ſingle Letter, Twelve-pence the double, and the other proportionable as above.

From *Diepe, Calais, Abbeville*, Four-pence the ſingle Letter, proportionably the others.

From *Bordeaux, Rochell, Nants, and St. Maloes*, and other Places thereabouts, the ſingle Letter Twelve-pence, double two Shillings, and three Shillings *per Ounce* for Packets and bigger Letters.

Letters from *Marſeilles* are delivered at *Lyons* at the ſame Rate ; and from *Lyons* to *London* at the ſame Rates.

Letters from *Italy* coming doe pay, being incloſed for *Antwerp*, Eight-pence the ſingle Letter ; but coming from *Venice* or any other Place directly without Encloſure, the Poſt-maſter of *Antwerp* doth tax them Sixteen-pence ; and beſides that doth take ſometimes three Stivers, ſometimes five, ſix, and ſeven Stivers for every Letter, according to the Bigneſs and Remoteneſs of the Place from whence they come.

Agreed that a Letter from *Venice* ſhall pay the ſingle Letter Nine-pence ; the like the Letters from *Verona, Vincenza, Breſera, and Bergamo*, both going and coming.

From *Ligorne, Gemoa, Florence and Lucca*, Twelve-pence, if they goe or come frank to the ſame Places ; but if they come or goe frank to *Venice* Nine-pence.

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From *Venice*, and from *Naples to Venice*, Nine-pence; and all other Packets or bigger Letters at two Shillings and Eight-pence the Ounce for *Venice*.

For *Spain* Eighteen-pence the single Letter going or coming from thence, or four Shillings the Ounce from or to *Madrid*.

All which are the Rates agreed upon by the Merchants under their Hands.

For Inland Letters.

Too and from *London*, within 80 Miles, Four-pence; at farther Distances Six-pence for single Letters, for double Letters and Packets ratably.

From and to *Scotland* a single Letter Eight-pence, double Letters and Packets ratably.

From and to *Ireland* a single Letter Eight-pence, double Letters ratably.

In Consideration that there is a great Rent paid unto the State for the Profits of the said Offices, and that it may be expected that the said Farmers shall carry as well the Members Letters of this Parliament, as the State Packets frank: It is humbly desired the said Farmers may have the Benefit of the first Quarter allowed them, towards the Settlement of their Office, and the better Enablement of them so to doe. It is also humbly desired, that all those that are to send their Letters gratis, for the Service of the Publique, may affix their Names and Seales to their Letters, and that a Penalty may be imposed on such as shall presume to make use of this Liberty for any other Purpose, thereby to defraud the said Farmers.

That if any publick Impediment or Disturbance, either at home or abroad, shall hinder the Farmers from carrying their Packets freely, the Parliament or Councill of State will please to allow such reasonable Defalcation of Rent as shall by them be judged fit during the Time of such Disturbance.

That a Grant of the Post-masters Office and Privileges, with the full Profits both of the Inland and Forreine Letters, may be made unto the said Farmers for Seven Years, and settled by the Great Seale of *England* at present, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

OWEN ROWE.

W^m. ROBINSON.

Read 19 October 1652.

No. LIX.

* No. LIX.

THESE are to will and require you forthwith to cause the Shippe of Warre the *Bommell*, belonging to the States of *Holland*, to be apprayed, and that being done, you are to give Warrant for the Discharge to returne home unto *Holland*, with the Redelivery of all that was in hir, that came to the Hands of them that tooke hir: And you are to presente the Cause to Adjucation in the Court of the Admiraltie, and if it be determined a Prize, you shall assure the Marriners that tooke hir, that the Parliament will take Order, that they shall, notwithstanding her Delivery, be satisfied their Due according to the Act. Of this you are in no wise to fayle, and for which this shall be your Warrant. Given at the Councell of State at *Whitehall*, this 15th of *Sept.* 1649.

Signed in the Name, and by the Order of the
Councell of State appoynted by Authority of
Parliament,

JOHN BRADSHAWE, Prefident.

To the Collectors of Prize Goods.

See the Order of the House, *Die Veneris*, 14^o *Sept.* 1649.

Indorfed. *A Coppy of the Order of the Councell of
State for the Discharge of the Bommell.*

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 16.

No. LX.

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No. LX.

* *An Estimate of the Annuall Charge issuing out of the
Publique Revenue, 1649.*

Councell of State.	l.
Duke of <i>Gloucester</i> and Princess <i>Elizabeth</i> -	3000
Commissioners of the Great Seale -	3000
The twelve Judges -	12000
The three Judges of the Admiralty -	1500
The late King, Queene, and Prince's Servants -	18000
Forreigne Agents -	1700
Lieutenants, Officers, and Warders of the Tower, } with Reparations, &c. -	1300
Officers and others belonging to the Ordnance -	500
Officers and others belonging to the Army -	500
Gunners of the Tower -	400
Repayre of Houses -	
Hay for Deere, Repayres of Parkes and Keepers Fees	
Mr. <i>Scobell</i> , Clerke of the Parliament -	500
Serjeant <i>Birkhead</i> , for himself and Servants -	740
To him for <i>Fewell</i> , &c. for the Howse -	200
Mr. <i>Darnall</i> , Clerke Assystant -	200
Sir <i>Oliver Flemming</i> , Master of the Ceremonies -	200
The Officers of the Exchequer and Receipt -	2500
Attorney Generalls and the States Councell -	200
Creation Money, and Perpetuitys -	1500
Earl of <i>Ancram</i> , in Consideration of his Wife's } Pension of 2000 l. per Ann. -	520
Sir <i>Henry Vane</i> , Sen ^r . payable to him from severall } Grants of the late King -	1100
Mr. <i>Sadler</i> and Mr. <i>May</i> for their Pensions -	400
Mr. <i>Valentine</i> his Allowance -	156
Lieutenant <i>Palmer</i> his Allowance -	104
Mr. <i>Isaac Dorislaus</i> his Pension -	200
Colonell <i>Robert Hammond</i> his Pension -	400
Captain <i>Richard Pechell</i> his Pension -	400
Sir <i>Abraham Williams</i> for his Howse -	300
Charges paid by the Receivers of the Counties -	19654
	71174

* Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 16, No. 6.

London, 17th Maii 1653.

* **TUESDAY** last about the Exchange Time, a Gentleman well accoutred comes hither in a Coach, and brings with him the Lord Generall's Picture, whiche hee fixt upon one of the Pillars thereof; whiche done, he walked two or three Turnes there, takes his Coach and returns. After the Exchange Time was over, it was pulled downe, and brought to the Lord Major of this Cittie, whoe that Afternoon carried it to *Whitehall*, and gave it to the Lo. Generall himselfe.

Over his said Picture was written,

'Tis I.

And under it this *Hendecasyllabon*, viz.

Ascend Three Thrones, Great Captayne and Divine,
By th' Will of God, Oh † *Lyon forth* are Thine.
Come Priest of God, bring Oyle, bring Robes, bring Gold,
Bring Crownes and Sceptres, 'tis high Time t' unfold
Your cloyster'd Bagges, yee State Cheates, lest the Rod
Of Steele and Iron, of this your King and God
Pay you in's Wrath with Int'rest, Kneele and Praye
To *Oliver*, the *Torch of Sion*, a *Starre of Daye*.
Shoute then, yee Merchants, Citty and Gentry sing,
And all bare headed, Cry

God Save the King.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 134. Bishop Kennet observes, upon his being thrown out of the Coach Box, 1645. (Complete Hist. vol. 3. p. 212.) this little *Lampoon* was stuck up in his Sight next Day.

Every Day and Hour
Hath shewn us his Power,
But now he hath shewn us his Art:
His first Reproach
Is his Fall from a Coach,
His next will be from a Cart.

"Barbarous Libels this Week (19 Sept. 53.) thrown about in great Quantities of our Noble General, as also infamous Pictures, in which they have hung him on the Gallows: what *Altership* is I know not, but his Servants the Council of State are very angry at it." *Sanderfon's* Continuation of *Fadera*, &c. vol. 20. p. 693. from an intercepted Letter.

† His Coat of Arms.

No. LXII.

No. LXII.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

WHILEST you were contesting for your Being, I looked upon it as Presumption to interrupt your Councils with any thing of a less Importance, and that had not a necessary Tendency to your Safety; judging it my Duty rather to employ my Talent in the Sphere wherein you had placed mee, and to communicate what was necessary to your Ministers the Councell of State, leaving your Commissioners to present you with an Account of your Affayres here as oft as there was Occasion, which I know they were not wanting in. But seeing the Lord, according to his wonted Goodness, hath once more appeared to own your Counsels and Forces, and assuring my selfe that it is upon your Hearts to own him, and those who own him and you; I make bold to lay before you the Condition of Major *Bolton*, Major *Rawlins*, and those other Officers and Soldiers who about a Month since embarked in the *Sea Flower* of *Liverpoole*, in their Passage for *England*, as Part of that Number which was commanded hence for your Service. All the other Vessels came seasonably to Shore; this was only missing. Wee were willing (whilest we had the least Grounds) to hope, that she might have been blown to the Northward of her intended Port, but hearing no News of her, wee now conclude that she foundered in the Sea. A List of those belonging to this Army, who were imbarqued in that Vessel, I have sent here inclosed, with an Account of their Quallity, which of them had Wives, and how many Children each had. The Quarter-Master was formerly dismissed from the like Employment in the Life-Guard for refusing to address the late single Person: The Lievtenant, Cornet, and Chirurgeon, and the Troopers in general I hear well of: But for the two Majors they are generally reputed to have been godly: I knew them to be good Men, able, diligent and valiant Soldiers, and faithful Servants of yours. It would be an Act agreeable to your wonted Bounty, if, as a Mark of your Favour and Satisfaction of their Arrears, you would conferr upon their

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 72. An Original.

Wives, Children and Relations a Proportion of Land in *Ireland* now forfeited to the Commonwealth by some engaged in the late Rebellion with Sir *George Booth*; I humbly submit the Whole to your better Judgment.

I farther think it my Duty to lay before you, that your Army here is fourteen Months in Arrears, and that the Warrants for their present Pay are according to Musters taken so long since, by reason whereof you pay Money for those who many of them are dead and gone, and those who are to doe you present Service, many of them have nothing to live upon, nor like to have, if this Rule be observed for fourteen Months to come.

The Officers whom you have laid aside will have the Hardship on the other hand; and those who stand and are concerned therein, further alledge, that though many are dead and gone who past on those Musters, yet they stand engaged for several Summs of Money both for their Dyet and Cloathing: For the accomodating of all which, by the Consent of your Commissioners and Council of Officers, it's for the present resolved, That one Month's Pay be issued upon the old Musters, and an other upon the new. It's the humble Opinion of your Servant here, that it would be more for your Profit, and render the Army in a much better Capacity to doe you Service were the Pay issued according to the present Musters which I find the Officers free unto, had they but your Promise that they should be satisfied their Arrears due upon those other Musters, either out of Church or Crown Lands, or such other Lands as are in your Dispose in *Ireland*, or by such other Ways and Meanes as you shall think fitt.

I have already presumed too far, but the earnest Desire of such as are joyned in Church-Fellowship with Mr *Winter*, and many other *Christians* in this Place, together with the Knowledge I have of his Usefulness here, make me become a Suppliant to you, that if it may stand with your good Liking, his coming over by Virtue of your Order may be dispensed withall. He desires to be where he may be most serviceable, and where *the Lord call him*. The Hearts of his People here seem to be toward him. However, if you judge his coming to be for publick Service, I trust we shall be willing to resign him and our selves to your Dispose. I hope shortly to wait on you

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you; in the mean time shall endeavour to approve my
false, Mr. Speaker,

Your faithfull, and most

*Dublin, the 14th of
September 1659.*

Humble Servant,

EDM. LUDLOWE.

These to the Right Honorable *William Lenthall*, Esq;
Speaker of the Parliament, Present.

* No. LXIII.

THE good People of this Commonwealth, after long
and sharp Contention with the greatest of Hazards
and Difficulties for the Preservation of their native Rights,
being at length, by the Goodness and Power of God, re-
stored to the Blessings of Peace and Freedome, and their
Enemies given into their Power, did nevertheless by all
Tenderness and mild Proceedings endeavour the regayning
of their Countrymen, and not their Destruction. Yet
such was the Rancour of many of them, that they ceased
not to design and labour to raise new Troubles amongst
us, and raise fresh Veins of *English* Blood; for which
End they lately were in actual Armes in several Places,
endeavouring again to kindle the Flames of Civil Dissen-
sion in these Nations, had not the same by the good Hand
of the Lord been quenched and prevented.

Besides these, have risen up a Sort of discontented
Spirits called *Levellers*, plotting to disturbe our Peace,
divide our Strength, and bring new Miseries upon us:
But by the same good Hand of Providence, these were
likewise seasonably discovered, and at that Time sup-
pressed.

The latest of these wicked Practices was chiefly by
some of that Party together with the former Adversary;
and these have so farr degenerated, as to associate them-
selves with the inveterate Enemies of the *English* Nation,
and *Protestant* Religion; those of *Spayne*, and for Malice
and Hire to submit themselves to be Executioners of their
barbarous Designs, and against their native Country; and

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 140. See a Relation
of this Plot, *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 345. p. 7514.

finding themselves disabled to prosecute the same by open Violence, and well knowing that in all precedent Passages and Deliverances from the Beginning of our Troubles to this present, it pleased God to make use of, and to owne the *Lord Protector* as a most eminent and principal Instrument, and the Leader of his People.

These Conspirators fell to that which is detested even by the People who know not God. Yet as the Practice of our Foreign Enemy, (whereof our publick Ministers employed in Foreign Parts have had sad Experience) they fell from secret and unworthy Plotts against the Life of the *Lord Protector*, to committ base and horrid Murther upon his Person, bloodily and inhumanly to assassinate him, whom they durst not by open Force attempt.

The Particulers whereof in the ensueing Narrative, appeare by Examination upon Oath, and Confession of some of the Parties themselves, who were engaged in the Designe of Bloud and Confusion.

That about fower Months since one *Miles Sindercombe* acquainted *John Cecill*, that there was a Design in Hand amongst some very considerable Persons for killing the *Lord Protector*, persuading him to engage therein, and that it would be a very acceptable Service to take off the *Protector*, whereby Things would come to Confusion and People rise.

That there was noe attempting him in the Field, nor any other Way, but by falling upon his Person at an Advantage, and that Money should be provided.

Upon these and such like Discourses *Cecill* engaged to joyn in this Worke, viz. to attempt the *Lord Protector*.

First, they provided good Horses, and agreede to attempte him as he went upon the Road, and the Intention was to make a Party of Horse of about Forty to have assaulted him; but that proving a difficult Business to get so many Men together, it was resolved to be done by a lesser Party; and these two agreed to take the first Opportunity to assassinate the *Protector* when he went abroad: and one *Toope* of the Life-Guard, whom *Sindercombe* had engaged to serve them in this Attempt, was to give them Notice when the *Protector* went abroad, and *Sindercombe* and *Cecill* were upon the Road five or six times on purpose to have made the Attempt, and had Notice of the *Protector's* going abroad by *Toope*, but had noe Opportunity to effect the Designe.

That

That *Sindercombe* went once into *Hide Park*, with Intention to have attempted the Protector there, having a Sword and Pistoll to that Purpose, being confident that if he could have come neere him, he could have done it, and escaped.

That this Way proving not effectual, they tooke a House at *Hammersmith*, where there is a Garden Wall, and upon the Wall a Banqueting House, which is upon the Street, out of whiche the Intention was to shoote as he came by, with Guns made on purpose for that Business, whiche should carry twelve or more Bullets at a time. That at the same tyme they had a Designe to fire *Whitehall*; and a Firework was prepared for that Purpose, and made up in a Hand-Baskett, with two Matches hanging out of each Side.

That *Sindercombe* and *Toope* viewed severall Places where they might put the Fireworks, and *Toope* undertook to place it.

That they and *Cecill* on Thursday the 8th of *January* Instant, betwixt five and six a Clocke in the Evening, came to the Chappell at *Whitehall*, and brought thither and placed their Fireworke with the Matches lighted; that they conceived it would have fired between twelve and one a Clock at Night.

That one *Boyes* (a principal Actor in these Designs) did assure them, that when the Protector was dispatched, Forces were to come from *Flaunders* in Shippes to be hired with the King of *Spaine's* Money.

That a Port Towne was to be seized upon, where Forces was to be landed, and that a very great Summe of Money would be given for such a Place.

That their Designe is going on for taking away the Life of the Protector, and that there are thirty or forty Men engaged therein.

That there was a Design to take away the Protector's Life the first Day of the Parliament, the Intention being to shute the Protector as he went by in his Coach: but there being no possible Way of escaping, they were discouraged from that Enterprize.

Then they hired a House near the Abbey in *Westminster*, thinking to shute him as he went from the Sermon to the Parliament; but they not having Tyme to make Conveniences, and finding soe many People standing on both Sides the Way before the Protector came by, and as he

passed, they durst not doe any thing, for fear of being discovered before they shott.

That *Sindercombe's* Discourse was such, that an other of his Companions believed that he was hired, and set on worke by the King of *Spaine*.

That he assured him that within half a Yeare, he himself should be a Collonell of Horse, and that the other should have a Troope of Horse, and Fifteen hundred Pounds in Money, when the *Protector* should be killed; and said, that it was better that *Charles Stuart* should raigne here then the *Protector*. That there were five of them besides *Toope* who knew of this Designe, and were engaged to effect it.

The bloody and barbarous Design they carried on, tho' by so few Persons, yet it pleased the just God (who detesteth Wickedness) so to work upon the * Heart of one of that small Number, that he voluntarily came and discovered it to his Highness.

Thus did they imagine a mischievous Device, which (through the Goodness of God) they were not able to performe; but the Lord hath brought their Councell to Nought, and made their Devices of none Effect.

It is God who delivered us, and doth deliver us, and in whom we trust he will yet deliver us.

For this eminent Mercy and great Deliverance, which the Lord hath wrought for our chief Magistrate, and for all the good People of this Commonwealth, whose Peace and Comfort were designed to be taken away, with the Life of the *Protector*, and thereby new Calamities, Bloud and Confusion upon all the Inhabitants of the Three Nations.

For this and many other Mercies, his Highness the *Lord Protector*, and this present Parliament, hold themselves obliged with all humble and thankful Acknowledgement to praise his Name, who is the Author of all our Mercies: And for this Purpose have thought fitt, and doe hereby appointe, that Friday the Twentieth Day of *February*, One thousand sixe hundred and fifty-six *next ensuing*, shall be set aparte for a Day of publique Thanksgiving to the Lord in all the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and doe hereby incite and encourage all Persons

* *Eckard* says, (vol. 2. p. 791.) That he was detected or betrayed by one or both the Conspirators, (*viz.* *Cecil* and *Toope*). See *Bishop Kennet's Complete Hist.* vol. 3. p. 217.

who are sensible of the Mercy of God to them, to come together in their severall Congregations, for the Performance of this Duty, to praise the Lord for his Goodness, humbly to intreat the Continuance of his Loving-kindness to us, (though we have departed from him) that our God may be exalted in his own Strength, and that Peace and Righteousness may flourish in these Nations. And all Persons whatsoever are hereby required and enjoined to abstayne from bodily Labour, and from the ordinarie Marks of their Calling upon that Day, under the Penalties which are by Law to be inflicted for such Offences. And that all Ministers in their respective Congregations be required to publish this *Declaration* and *Narrative* on the Lord's Day next before the said Day of Publique Thanksgiving, and that they be exhorted on all Occasions in their Prayers in the publique Congregation to pray for the *Lord Protector*, and all that are in Authority in the Commonwealth.

Endorsed. *A Declaration of his Highness and the Parliament for a Day of Publique Thanksgiving on the 20th of Febr. 1656.*

Presented to his Highness 31 January 1656, and agreed.

Reported to the House Febr. 2, 1656.

No. LXIV.

* S I R,

THOUGH it has pleased God in Mercy to cause a Dissipation of Part of that Cloud which for diverse Months past hath seemed to threaten these Eastern Counties, yet the great Maturity to which the Enemys Confederacy was brought, insomuch that nothing was wanting but the very Execution-part, (and that begun also) I hope may claime a due Sense and thankfull Acknowledgement, without an Interruption to your other Affairs: For that though your Peace and Safety hath now and so often been attempted, yet the Lord is pleased from Heaven to blast both Councells and Practices, and make them fall into that Pit which they digged for others. That which already appears by the Prisoners Confessions renders this

* Dr. William's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 28. An Original.

late Irruption the more formidable, since it had it's Birth not from a few drunk or inconsiderate Men, but the Product of seventeen Weeks Counsell, under an Oath of Secrecy, together with Correspondence with many in *London*, and diverse other Countys upon the same Account, whiche seems not the less real, for that some Thousands were list'd in this County, had their several Rendevous appointed, to most of which some came; many in this City assured their Entrance, and accordingly in the Night the Gate set open, their Word given, viz. *Immanuel*, (but God was with us, not them) many of the late King's Military Officers ready at the respective Rendevous, to order and head the Multitude; Coll. *Blague*, formerly Governour of *Wallingford*, to appear with others in and about *Bury*, who is said by their Prisoners to be commissioned as Major-General of this Brigade. And when all Things hitherto gave them Encouragement to goe on, whether because the Numbers expected failing, or rather the Guilt of this wicked Device checked their further Progress, (though the Deputy-Governour of *Lyn* lost no Time in indeavouring to suppress them) but God caused the Wrath of Man to prayse him, and restrayned the Remainder, and by his own Power brought to Nought their whole Enterprize, every Man for Feare shifting for himself, when none opposed them: And to add to this Mercy God's Providence hath beene not a little seene in casting many of them into our Hands, which being examined are committed to Prison, and there to remain till the Parliament's Pleasure be declared. What Tryall they shall receive, whiche if by a Jury of their own disaffected Neighbourhood, that they are not apt to find for the Commonwealth, especially when the most leading Evidence to Conviction may come for the most Part from them who are *Participes Criminis*, (a Scruple which may stick with some who are not very earnest for Justice to a few, though it be a Mercy to many) this desperate Designe though detected may passe unpunished. The sooner your Commands are signified, the lesse will your Service and Affaires suffer here, where the Countenance and Carriage of Men speakes them rather intraged for the ill Successe of their Confederates, then sorry for their Offence, or glad no Blood is shed, but Prisoners taken and none killed. My Obedience to these sudden Commands I had to suppress this Disorder being thus happily anticipated, will I hope excuse me

me for giving the House this Trouble, not judging it fit to make my Returne, *Re infectâ*, but rather stay a while to assist the Country's Settlement ; to which nothing shall be wanting that can be contributed by the weak Endeavours of

Your very Humble and

Norwich, 10^{ber}
4th, 1650.

Faithful Servant

NAT. RICH.

No. LXV.

* *Right Honourable,*

I TOOK the Boldness last Monday to present you with the Affayrs acted by the High Court of Justice in *Norwich*, uppon the Mallefactors there. Sir, without doubt the Designe against the present Government was dangerous, and if God whoe hitherto hath been with you had not tymely discovered it, your Troubles would not have bin few : But as your Enemyes were bould Adventurers, soe their Punishments overtake them. On Tuesday last five were condemned to be hanged, (here is no troubling the Axe) but the Court were pleased to reprieve three of them, the other two are to be executed at *Downham*. Yesterday being ould *Christmass-Day*, was tried and condemned a famous Cavalier, one *Coup* a Minister of the ould Episcopal Order : He was Chaplaine to the Prince's Life Guard, and a Contriver in this Plot : He is to be hanged on Saturday at *Holt* where he lived. This Day five more were condemned, I suppose they will reprieve some of them, whoe were merely drawn in. By the next your Honour will hear of more and more † famous Villains then these last. This Night Sir *Ralfe Skipwith*, his Chaplain, and one Gentleman more were brought in Prisoners. Our Lord President is very active, and soe he judges ; the People give great Respect : The Hall where they sitt in Judgment is bigger then *Yeild Hall*, and yet crowded full of Beholders. I am confident that for one Age they will in these Parts bee afrayd of a High Court,

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 33. An Original.

† Jan. 6, 1650. Letters that the High Court of Justice in Norfolk had condemned Twenty-four Persons for the late Insurrection, of whom Twenty were executed. *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 486.

and of giving an Occasion of an other Visit into there Country. Sir, my Lord President commanded me to present his Service unto your Honour. Truly he behaves himselfe soe, that not only his Duty is acted to the Advantage of your Service, but he gaineth by his Wisdome and Carriage very much upon the People. Sir, be pleased to pardon my short Relation of the Affayres here. So I take leave and remayne

Dec^r 2, 1650.

Your Honour's faithfull Servant,

HEN. MIDDLETON.

For the Right Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall* Speaker of the Parliament of *England*.

* No. LXVI.

Manerium de Wicken, 6^{to} Die Julii 1687.

MEmorandum, that the Day and Year above-written, *Henry Cromwell* of *Wicken*, in the County of *Cambridge*, Esq; Customary Tenant of the said Mannor, Son and Heir of *Henry Cromwell*, Esq; also Customary Tenant of the said Mannor, deceased, and of *Eliz.* his Wife also deceased, came before mee *John Rant* Esq; Steward of the said Mannor, and did surrender into the Hands of the Lord of the said Mannor, by the Hands of mee his Steward, all that his Customary Messuage and Cottage late in the Occupation of *Thomas Reed*, and also four Acres of Marsh Ground more or less to the same belonging with their Appurtenances, and also fourteen Acres of Marsh Ground with the Appurtenances lying in *Hardwell Fenn*, which were lately adjudged to the said Messuage to be held in Severaltie, instead of a Common to the said Messuage belonging, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament for that Purpose made; and also all that Piece of Arrable Land called *Short-Acre*, lying in *Wicken* aforesaid, and all other the Customary Messuages, Lands and Tenements of him the said *Henry Cromwell*, holden of the said Mannor, with their Appurtenances, to the Use and Behoof of *Philip Welbore* of the City of *London* Apothecary, and his

* Transcribed from a Volume of Manuscript Papers, lately in the Hands of my most worthy Friend Mr. *Tbo. Baker*, of *St. John's College, Cambridge*.

Heirs

Heirs for ever. Provided always and upon this Condition notwithstanding, that if the said *Henry Cromwell*, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the abovenamed *Philip Welbore*, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the full and just Sum of 101 l. and 10 s. of £c. upon the seaventh Day of *October* next ensuing the Date hereof, at or within the Dwelling-house of *Samuel Newton*, Gent. scituate in *Cambridge*, in the County of *Cambridge*, that then the said Surrender shall be voyd, otherwise the same shall remain in full Force and Virtue.

Ita est per me, Jo. Rant.

H. CROMWELL.

No. LXVI.

* *The humble Desires and Representations of the Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Durham, at the Assizes holden at Durham, the twelue Day of August, 1650. To be represented to the Parliament of this Nation.*

FIRST, wee doe with all Humilitie and Thankfulness acknowledge the Parliament's indefatigable Cares and Paines for this Commonwealth's Good, and especially for their great Respect to us in their late Votes for Knights and Burgeses of this County, humbly desiring, that such their Votes may be passed into an Act, that both they and wee may reap and enjoy the Trust and Benefit thereof.

And our further Desires are,

That there may be an Establishment of a constant Course of Justice in this County, both for Law and Equitie, to be kept in the City of *Durham*, with such Limitations, Officers and Offices as the Parliament in their Judgment shall thinke fitt.

That all the Records kept in any of the former Courts, Offices, or Places, and now remaining their, or in any private Men's Hands, or formerly in the Custody of any Officer or Person, at the Appointment or Nomination of the late Bishopp, and Deane and Chapter, may still remaine in the usual Places, untill they can be disposed of to such Officers and Places, as shall be moste convenient for

• Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 23. No. 47. An Original.

the keeping of the same. And in the mean time *William Sedgewick, Michael Hall, and Gilbert Marshall*, Gentlemen, may have the Custody of them by Schedule indented between the Grand Jury and them, to be kept by them for the Use and Benefit of the County; and the rather, for that the most Parte of the late Bishop's, and Deane and Chapter's Tenants, and Inhabitants there, are become Purchasers of their own Lands.

That there may be kept at *Durham* by the *Custos Rotulorum* a Record or Inrollment of all Fines, common Recoveries of Lands, and other Ensurances passed, or to be passed in the said County, and to be of Validity, to be given in Evidence, that the Inhabitants may have the Benefit thereof upon all Occasions.

And whereas there is indebted to the said County the Sum of Twenty-five thousand six hundred sixty three Pounds thirteen Shillings and Ten-pence, lent in the first Expedition of the *Scottish* Army unto this Nation, and secured to be repaid to the said County by Act of this present Parliament in the Year 1641. That some Lands may be set forth and allotted of the Lands late belonging to the late Bishops, and Dean and Chapters, not yet sold, at the lowest Rates the same are appointed to be sold by any Act or Ordinance of Parliament: so far as the said Sum indebted will extend, and to be granted and established for and towards the founding of a Colledge of Students in *Durham*, and that the late Deanes and Prebends Houses there may be employed to that use, according to the former Desires of the said County. And that the Fines levied, and Recoverys suffered at the Assizes holden at *Durham* the second Day of *August* 1649. which were deposited in the Custody of *William Sedgewick* and *Gilbert Marshall*, Gent. may be transmitted and passed according to the late Act of Parliament for holding this present Assizes.

<i>Timo. Whittingham,</i>	<i>John Markendell,</i>
<i>Christo. Strangeways,</i>	<i>Nicholas Hall,</i>
<i>Michael Hall,</i>	<i>Geo. Dale,</i>
<i>John Sharpe,</i>	<i>Anthony Gibson,</i>
<i>Anth. Thompson,</i>	<i>George Marles,</i>
<i>Simsn Lakenbe,</i>	<i>Christopher Shawe,</i>
<i>Bartram Creden,</i>	<i>Will. Kitchinge.</i>

No. LXVII.

* *Oliver Cromwell's Charter for a Colledge at Durham.*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging : To all to whome these Presents shall come, Greeting,

WHEREAS it hath been represented unto us by our right trusty and right well-beloved Councillor *John Lambert*, and our right trusty and right well-beloved Generall *Mountague*, and our right trusty and well-beloved *Francis Rouse*, Esq; a Committee of our Councill, (to whom the Petitions of the Justices, Grand Jury, Gentlemen and Inhabitants of our City and Countrey of *Durham*, County of *Northumberland*, and Towne and County of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, for the founding of a Colledge at the City of *Durham*, was referred by our said Council) that the founding of a College at *Durham* will be of great Advantage to these Counties, and to all the Northern Parts of this Island, as well in reference to the promoting of the Gospell, as the religious and prudent Education of young Men there : And it having thereupon been ordered by us and our Councill, (according to the Opinion of the said Committee, in pursuance of the Petitioners Desires) that a College be erected and founded at *Durham*. Know yee therefore, that we having taken the Premisses into our Consideration, of our especiall Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion have thought fit, to erect and found, and by these Presents, for us and our Successors doe erect and found a Colledge of our said City of *Durham*, in our County of *Durham*, within the Scite of the Colledge Houses, Cathedrall Church, and Castle in our said City of *Durham*, or some of them ; to be and continue a Colledge from Time to Time hereafter for ever.

And that the said College shall consist of one Provost or Master, two Preachers or Senior Fellows, and twelve other Fellows ; four of the said twelve Fellows to be Professors ; four other of them to be Tutors ; and other four of them to be Schoolmasters ; and also twenty-four Scho-

* MS. Collections of my Reverend and Worthy Friend Mr. T. Baker, S. T. B. vol. 13. p. 259, &c.

lars, twelve Exhibitioners in the said College, and eighteen Scholars in the Free Schoole belonging to the said Colledge.

And we do by these Presents for us and our Successors, will, ordain, constitute and appoint, that they and their Successors shall from henceforth stand and be incorporated, and founded in Name and in Deed, one Body Politique and Corporate, to all Intents and Purposes, and shall be eligible and be elected, as hereafter is declared. And shall for ever hereafter, be called by the Name of the Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the Colledge in *Durham*, of the Foundation of *Oliver Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging; and by the same Name shall have perpetual Succession.

And to the End that the said College may be at present furnished and provided with fitting Persons for this Work and Service, we doe for us and our Successors constitute and appoint our well-beloved *Philip Hunton*, M. A. to be the first Provost or Master of the said College; and our well-beloved *William Spinedge* and *Joseph Hill*, M. A. to be the two first Preachers, or Senior Fellows of the said Colledge; and our well-beloved *Thomas Vaughan*, M. A. *John Kister*, M. D. *Robert Wood*, M. A. *Ezeriel Tong*, D. D. *John Peachil*, M. A. *Leonard Wastell*, *Richard Russell*, M. A. *John Richel*, *Nathaniel Vincent*, M. A. *Will. Corker*, *John Doughty*, M. A. and *Will. Sprigg*, to be the first * twelve other Fellows of the said Colledge: Whereof the said *Tho. Vaughan*, *Jo. Kister*, *Robert Wood*, and *Jo. Peachil*, shall be the first four Professors: and the said *Ez. Tong*, *Rich. Russell*, *Jo. Richel*, and *Jo. Doughty*, shall be the first four Tutors of the said College: and the said *Nath. Vincent*, *Will. Corker*, *Will. Sprigg*, and *Leonard Wastell*, shall be the first four Scholemasters of the said College.

And we do by these Presents for us and our Successors, (with the Advice of our Councill) of our like especiall Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, and for the

* These Names prove Mr. Neal to be mistaken, when he says, (p. 123.)
 " That Mr. Frankland, M. A. was one of the first Fellows of this College.
 " Dr. Calamy (Abridgment, vol. 2. p. 285.) observes, That he was pitched
 " upon to be a very fit Man to be a Tutor there; but that College being
 " demolished at the Return of King Charles, and the Act of Uniformity
 " taking place, he not only lost his designed Post, but his Living (*Avokland*)
 " too upon his Refusal to conform."

Endowment of the said College with some competent Means, for the Maintenance thereof, and for the better Advancement of Learning and Religion in those Partes, give and grant unto the said Master and Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College in *Durham*, of the Foundation of *Oliver*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and their Successors, all that the Cathedral Church and Church-yard, and College of *Durham* aforesaid: and also all and singular Messuages, and Houses, and all Orchards, Gardens, Courts, Court-yards, Curtilages, Wafts, and Wast Grounds thereunto belonging, which are yet unfold, and which were lately belonging to the late Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of *Durham*: and the Free Schoole there, and the School-house, and the Houses for School-masters there, with all Orchards, Gardens, Courts, Court-yards, Curtilages, Wafts, and Wast-Grounds thereunto belonging, with their and every of their Rights, Members, Precincts, Privileges, Hereditaments and Appurtenances in any wise unto any of the Premises belonging, in as ample manner as the late Bishop, or Dean and Chapter of *Durham*, or the Trustees for the Sale of the Lands and Possessions of the late Bishops, Deans and Chapters, or any of them, have held and enjoyed the same: To have and to hold the said Cathedral Church and College of *Durham*, and also all and singular the aforesaid Messuages, and Houses that are yet unfold, and that were lately belonging to the late Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of *Durham*, and the Free School there, and School Houses, and Houses for School-masters there, with their and every of their Rights, Members, Precincts, Privileges, Hereditaments and Appurtenances unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors for ever.

And also we have given and granted, and by these Presents for us and our Successors do give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, all that yearly Rent of 117 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* reserved by one Indenture of Lease, bearing Date on or about *April* the 6th, in the 24th Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, made, or mentioned to be made by *Richard* then Bishop of *Durham*, unto the said late Queen *Elizabeth*, for the Terme of 99 Years then next following. The said yearly Rent to be

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issuing and payable out of the severall Mannors of *Gatefide*, *alias Gatehead*, and *Whickam*, with their Appurtenances, in the said County of *Durham*: To have and to hold the said yearly Rent of 117 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* in and by the said Indenture reserved, and in and by these Presents granted as aforesaid: unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, for and during the Residue of the said Time and Term of 99 Years, in and by the said Indenture granted and reserved, yet to come and unexpired. To be paid to the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors for the Time being, at the Feasts of *Pentecost*, called *Whitsunday*, and *Saint Martin* the Bishop in Winter, by even Portions. And if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent of 117 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* to be behind or unpayd, in Parte or in the Whole by the Space of 21 Days, next after either of the aforesaid Days, or Times wherein the same ought to be paid as aforesaid: That then and from thenceforth, and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College for the Time being, or by some other Person or Persons by them authorized thereunto, to use all lawfull Meanes and Remedy for the Recovery and receiving of the said yearly Rent of 117 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* and every Part and Parcell thereof, which shall so happen to be behind and unpayd, by Distress or otherwise.

And further, we doe by these Presents, for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, one yearly Rent-Charge of 500 *l.* *per Ann.* to be payable issuing and going out of the foresaid severall Mannors of *Gatefide*, *alias Gatehead*, and *Whickam*, with their and every of their Appurtenances in the said County of *Durham*, and out of all Houses, Edifices, Buildings, Barnes, Stables, Orchards, Gardens, Woods, Underwoods, Mines, Quarreys, Mills, Moores, Marishes, Waste-Ground, Waters Fishing, Burrow Courts, Profitts and Perquisites of Courts, Heath Grounds, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments within the aforesaid Mannors, or any of them: To have and to hold the said yearly Rent-Charge of 500 *l.* unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, called *Whitsunday*, and on the Day of *Saint Martin*

Martin the Bishop in Winter, by even Portions: The first Payment thereof to begin and be made at the first of the said Feasts or Days which shall next happen after the End, or other sooner Determination of the aforesaid Lease. And if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent-Charge of 500 *l.* shall be behinde or unpaid in Parte or in the Whole by the Space of 21 Days, next after either of the aforesayd Days, or Times wherein the same ought to be payd, as aforesayd, that then, and from thenceforth, and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, or some other Person or Persons by them authorized thereunto, into the said Mannors of *Gatefide*, alias *Gatehead*, and *Whickam*, with their Appurtenances, and into the Edifices, Houses, Lands and Tenements, Hereditaments, and other the Premisses, or into any Part or Parcel thereof, to enter and distrain, and the Distress and Distresses then and there found, to lead, drive, carry away, and with them to detain and keep till the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, be fully satisfied and paid the said yearly Rent of 500 *l.* and all Arrearages thereof, if any shall be.

And further, we do by these Presents, for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, one other yearly Rent-Charge of 282 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* to be issuing and payable out of the Rectories, Impropriations, and Parsonages impropriate late belonging to the late Bishop, or Dean or Chapter of *Durham*, or any of them respectively: To have and to hold the said yearly Rent-Charge of 282 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors for ever, to be paid unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, at the Feasts of *Pentecost*, commonly called *Whitsunday*, and Saint *Martin* the Bishop in Winter, by even and equal Portions. And if it shall happen the same yearly Rent-Charge of 282 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* to be behind or unpaid, in Part or in the Whole, by the Space of 21 Days next after either of the said Feasts, wherein the same ought to be paid as aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of

the said College, and their Successors, or any other Person or Persons by them authorized thereunto, into the said Rectories, Improvements, and Parsonages impropriate, or into any Part thereof to enter and distrain, and the Distresses and Distresses then and there, so taken, to lead, drive, and carry away, and with them to detain and keep untill the said Master or Provost, Fellows or Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, shall be fully satisfied and payd the said yearly Rent of 282 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* and all Arrearages of the same, if any shall be.

And further, we do by these Presents, for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, all Manuscripts, Library-Books, and other Books and Mathematical Instruments, and all other Instruments whatsoever late belonging or appertaining to the said Bishop, and Dean and Chapter of *Durham*, or either or any of them respectively, relating to the Practice of any of the liberal Sciences; and all our Right, Property, Interest, Claim and Demand of, in, and unto all and every the said MSS. Books and Instruments: To have and to hold the said MSS. Library-Books, and other Books, and Mathematical Instruments, and other Instruments aforesaid, unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, as of our free Gift.

And further, we do by these Presents, for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, that it shall be, and may be lawful for them, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to purchase, have, hold, and enjoy to them and their Successors any Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, Rents or Revenues, not exceeding the yearly Value of Six thousand Pounds, and any Goods or Chattells whatsoever, of the Gift, or to be purchased of us, or our Successors, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever; the Statute for not putting Lands or Tenements in *Mortmain*, or any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And we will, and by these Presents for us and our Successors do ordain and appoint, that the said College by the Name of the Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College of *Durham*, of the Foundation of *Oliver*
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Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and their Successors, shall have Power and Authority to demise, lease, and grant their Possessions and Hereditaments aforesaid ; as other Colleges may lawfully do, and not otherwise : and to sue and implead, and to be sued and impleaded by the Name aforesaid : and to do, perform and execute all and every other lawful Acts and Things, good, necessary and profitable for the said College, in as full and ample a manner to all Intents and Purposes and Constructions as any other Collegiate Corporation whatsoever may or can lawfully doe, and not otherwise.

And we will, and by these Presents for us and our Successors do farther grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, that they shall and may have a Common Seal, for sealing such their Demises and Leases, and for the doing of all and every other Thing and Things touching the said Corporation : Which said Common Seal the said Corporation shall have Power to break, change and new make so often as their Affairs shall require.

And we will, and by these Presents for our selves and Successors do grant and ordain, that they the said Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Schoolmasters, Scholars, Exhibitioners and Students, Officers, Servants and Members of the said College, and every of them, for the time being, shall be for ever ruled, governed and ordered by, and be subject to such wholesome Orders, Ordinances, Laws, Statutes, Rules and Government as now are made and in Force, or hereafter shall be made, ordained, constituted and appointed by us and our Successors, with the Advice of our Councell for the time being, or by such Visitors as from time to time shall be by us or our Successors, with the Advice of our Councell for the time being, or by such Visitors as from time to time shall be by us or our Successors, with the Advice of our Council, deputed and authorized thereunto.

And we have nominated, constituted and appointed, and by these Presents for us and our Successors, with the Advice of our Councell, do nominate, constitute and appoint our right trusty and right well-beloved Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Knight, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and

one of the Commissioners of our Treasury, and our right trusty and right well-beloved *John Lambert*, Major General, and Commander in Chief within our Counties of *York*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and our right trusty and right well-beloved *Walter Strickland*, one of our Councell, and our right trusty and well-beloved *Algernoon Earl of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, Baron of *Cameron*, *William Lord Grey of Werke*, *George Lord Eure*, *Philip Lord Wharton*, *Thomas Bellasis Viscount Fawconberge*, Major-General *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Knight, Major-Generall *Robert Lilburn*, and our trusty and well-beloved *Edmond Prideaux*, Esq; our Attorney-Generall, *William Ellis*, Esq; our Solicitor-Generall, Sir *Wilfrid Lawson*, Knight, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Bar. Sir *George Vane*, Knight, Colonel *Charles Fairfax*, Sir *Wil. Strickland*, Bar. Sir *John Bourcher*, K^t. Sir *Thomas Lyddell*, Bar. *Luke Robinson*, Esq; *Henry Ogle*, Esq; *Robert Midford*, Esq; *Richard Lilburn*, Esq; *William Fenwick of Wallington Com. Northumbr.* Esq; *Christ. Lyster*, Esq; *Rowland Place of Dirisdale in the Bishoprick of Durham*, Esq; *Richard Beke*, Esq; *Walter Boothby Merchant and Citizen of London*, Esq; *Luke Killingworth of Northumbr.* Esq; *John Rushworth*, Esq; *Robert Stapleton*, Esq; *Phil. Babington of Northumbr.* Esq; *George Downing*, Esq; *Robert Cropley*, Esq; *Robert Fenwick of Bedlington in Com. Northumbr.* Esq; Coll. *Francis Wrenn*, *Paul Hobson of Seggerson-Hugh*, Gent. *Robert Hutton of Houghton in the Bishoprick of Durham*, Esq; *John Bright of Bridsworth in the County of York*, Esq; *John Wastell of Scorton in the County of York*, Esq; *John Smithson of Kipeling in the County of York*, Esq; *Jer. Tolhurst of the City of Carlisle*, Esq; Lieu. Coll. *John Mayrel*, *Adam Baynes of Newstep in the County of York*, Esq; *Edward Fenwick*, Esq; *Gilbert Marshall of Houghall in the Bishoprick of Durham*, Esq; *Tho. Lilburn of Ufferton in the B^{ric} of Durham*, Esq; *Robert Ellison of the Town of Newcastle*, Gent. *Wil. Briscoe of Cumberland*, Esq; *John Archer of Westmerland*, Esq; *Tho. Bateman of Westmerland*, Esq; *Hen. Horsley of Northumberland*, Esq; *John Middleton of Darlington in the B^{ric} of Durham*, Gent. *Tim. Tully of Westmerland*, Gent. *Thomas Ledgard of Newcastle*, Gent. *Math. Skirfield*, Gent. *Ralph Rymer of Bradferton in the County of York*, Esq; *Fr. Lassels of Stank in the County of York*, Esq; *Thomas Harrison*, Esq; Sheriff of

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of York, *Tho. Langhorn* of *Perith*, Gent. *Will. Lister*, Esq; *Jer. Baines*, Esq; Sir *Christopher Pack*, Knight and Alderman of the City of *London*, *Stephen Estwick* Alderman of *London*, *William Johnson* Alderman of *Newcastle*, *Tho. Bonnet* Alderman of *Newcastle*, *Anth. Smith* Alderman of *Durham*, *Henry Rowell* Alderman of *Durham*, *Thomas Craister* Alderman of *Carlisle*, *Tho. Watson* Alderman of *Berwick*, and *Geo. Dawson* Alderman of *Newcastle*, *Sam. Hammond* of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, *Tho. Weld* of *Gateside* in the B^{rie} of *Durham*, *Ed. Bowles* of the City of *York*, *William Cole* of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, *Will. Durand* of the same, *Richard Gilpin* of *Graystock* in the County of *Westmerland*, *Will. Keyes* of *Stoickley* in the County of *York*, *Thomas Trewren* of *Ovingham* Com. *Northumbr.* *Rich. Prideaux* of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, *Henry Leaver* of *Barnspeth* in the B^{rie} of *Durham*, *Ralph Tunstall* of *Long Newton* in the B^{rie} of *Durham*, *Tho. Smallwood* of *Batley* in the County of *York*, *Will. Styles* of *Leeds* in the County of *York*, *John Milward* and *James Fisher* of *Sheffield* in the County of *York*, Ministers of the Gospel, to be the first Visitors of the said College, and of the Revenues and Possessions thereunto belonging. And we do likewise by these Presents, for us and our Successors will and appoint, that the said Maj, Generall *Howard*, *Rich. Lilburne* of *Tickley Pincherden* in the County of *Durham*, Major-General *Rob. Lilburn*, Sir *Thomas Liddel* of *Ravenstworth* in the County of *Durham*, *Timothy Whittingham* of *Holmside* in the County of *Durham*, Esq; the Mayor of *Durham* for the time being, *Anthony Smith* Alderman of *Durham*, *John Middleton* of *Darlington* in the County of *Durham*, *Gilbert Marshall* of *Houghall* in the County of *Durham*, *Sam. Hamond* of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, Minister of the Gospel, *Henry Leaver* of *Branspeth* in the County of *Durham*, and *Tho. Trewren* of *Ovingham* in the County of *Northumberland*, to be constant Visitors of the said College: And that the other Visitors before named shall have, hold and enjoy their Places of Visitors of the said College for two Years and no longer.

And the said Visitors for the time being, or any nine or more of them, (whereof five of the constant Visitors to be of the Quorum) calling from time to time to their Assistance a Civil Lawyer, or Publick Notary, shall have full Power and Authority, by Virtue of these Presents, to

visit the said College and School, and from time to time to order, reforme, and redresse Disorders and Abuses in and touching the Government of the said College, and the School aforesaid ; and further to censure, suspend, deprive, expell or remove for Misgovernment or Misdemeanours the Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Scholars, and Exhibitioners of the said College : and the Schoolmasters, Ushers, Exhibitioners, and Scholars of the said School of *Durham*, and other Members, Servants and Officers of the said College and School in *Durham* for the time being, according to the Statutes, Orders and Ordinances of the said College, and according to the Statutes, Wills and Testaments, or other Dispositions of the Founders and Benefactors of the said College and School, hereafter to be made respectively : So that no Visitation, Act or Thing in or touching the same, be had or done otherwise than with the Consent or Assent of six of the said nine Visitors at least, assembled in the College-Hall or Schole by them visited. And we will, that their Sentence and Statutes, Order and Orders, be entred or recorded by the said Public Notary in a Book to be kept by them the said Visitors for that Purpose, and that the same shall be subscribed with the Hands of them, or the greater Part of the said nine Visitors, so mett and consenting as aforesaid ; and that they the said Visitors of the said College and School for the time being, or any nine or more of them, shall from time to time have Power, and are hereby authorized at any time or times hereafter to elect and choose a new constant Visitor and Visitors, or any other Visitor or Visitors, so often and from time to time as any of the said Visitors shall happen to dye, or to relinquish and leave their Places, or be removed therefrom : and that they the said Visitors, and the Master or Provost of the said College for the time being, or any of them, may give an Oath to any Person or Persons touching and concerning the Premisses, so often as Occasion shall require.

And our Will is, and we do hereby further for us and our Successors, grant and ordain, that when and as often as the said Visitors, or other Person or Persons, to whom the Nomination, Election, Approbation and Admission of any of the aforesaid Visitors, Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Tutors, Scholars, or Exhibitioners of the said College, or any of them, or of the Register,

Publick

Publick Notary, or other Officer or Officers of the said College, doth or shall belong, according to the true Intent and Meaning of these Presents, or of the Statutes of the said College, by us or our Authority already made, or hereafter to be made, do or shall neglect or omit to make Election of fit Persons to the said Places of Masterhip, or other Places or Offices within the said College, during the Space of three Months, from the Time of Vacancy of any of the said Places, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the Master or Provost, and Fellows of the said College for the time being, or the greater Number of them, to elect into the said Places, so being void by the Space of three Months as aforesaid, such Person or Persons as to them shall seem most meet, and best agreeing to the said Statutes of the said College, to the end the said Places so void may be full : and to admit such Person or Persons by them so elected into the said Places respectively : Which said Person or Persons so elected shall enjoy the said Place or Places, and be invested with the Profits, Rights and Privileges thereof, as absolutely as if he or they had been chosen by the said Visitors, or Electors as aforesaid.

And further, we will, and by these Presents for us and our Successors do grant and ordain, that if any Difference, Debate or Controversy touching the Premises shall at any time hereafter arise between the said Visitors, and the Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, or any of them, that then upon Complaint made to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners for the Custody of the Great Seal of *England* for the time being, they shall have full Power and Authority, by Virtue of these Presents, to hear the said Complaints, and Dissentions, and Controversies, and to compose, decide, order and determine the same, as to them in their Judgments and Wisesdomes shall seem just and fit : And such Order and Determination of the same, as they shall sett down in Writing under their Hands and Seals, shall stand and be observed.

And our Will is, and we do hereby further grant and ordain for us and our Successors, that the said Master or Provost, Senior Fellows and Visitors of the said College for the time being, or any twelve or more of them, shall have Power, and are hereby authorized, from time to time, to compose, sett down, prescribe, and make such

Orders,

Orders, Rules, Statutes and Ordinances, for the better Ordering, Government, and good Rule of the said College, and of the Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Scholars, Exhibitioners and Students of the same College, and for the Ordering, Government, and good Rule of the Schoolmasters, Ushers, Exhibitioners, and Scholars of the said Free Schole at *Durham*, as to them shall seem meet and convenient: so as the said Statutes, Ordinances, Rules, and Orders by them made be not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Commonwealth, nor to any Statute, Ordinance or Order, which hath been made or hereafter shall be made by us and our Successors, or by our Councell for the good Government of the said College and School; nor to any Clause or Clauses of these Presents, nor contrary to the last Will or Testament, or other Settlements of any that shall be Founders or Benefactors of the said College or School.

And our Will is, and we doe by these Presents for us and our Successors further Grant to them the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and to their Successors, that by Virtue of these Presents, they shall and may from time to time, set up, keep and maintain, a Printing-Press, and a Rowling-Press in the said College, or City of *Durham*, by themselves or Servants there, or any of their Deputy or Deputy's; and to buy Paper, Iron, Tinn, Letters, and all other Things hereunto, or to any Part of the Printers Work, Trade or Mystery necessary and convenient; and to do every Thing and Things necessary to so profitable a Work. Which said Printing and Rowling Presses, shall be free and exonerated and discharged of and from all Customes and Impositions whatsoever, of, for, or concerning the same. And that the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College for the Time being, and their Successors, may from Time to Time print or cause to be printed *Bibles* of all, or any Kind of Volumes, and may license other Bookes to the Press: Saveing unto all singular Person and Persons whatsoever, their severall and respective Rights and Privileges, for printing Bibles and licensing Books; It being our true Intent and Meaning, that nothing in these Presents contain'd, shall any ways prejudice any such Person or Persons, but that they shall have and enjoy their said respective Rights, as amply as they would

would or might have done, before the granting of these our Letters Patents: any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. And that the said Master or Provost, and senior Fellows of the said College for the Time being, or any two of them, shall from Time to Time have like Power and Liberty to licensè any Work or Works, Book or Books to the Press, as any Licenser or Licensers in the City of London, or elsewhere in our Dominions have had, or might enjoy by Virtue of any Order, or Ordinance of Parliament, or any Order of our Councell, or by any other Power and Authority from us derived and deriveable, may, or ought to have, hold or enjoy. And we will that no Printers, Stationer or Stationers, Merchant or Merchants, shall at any Time hereafter imprint, or cause to be imprinted any Work or Works, Book or Books, Taledoux or Taledouxes, or to import being elsewhere printed, any such formerly printed by the said College, or their said Deputys, on the Penalty provided for such, as contemn our Authority, and the Authority of our Councell.

And our Will is, and we do further by these Presents for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, that they nor any of them, nor any of the Professors, Scholemasters, Students, Scholars or Exhibitioners of the said College, nor any of their constant or ordinary Officers, Servants or Ministers, or any of them so long as they continue in any Office, Place, or Service, in or belonging to them the said Master, or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College or their Successors, shall at any Time hereafter, be compelled by any Justices of the Peace, Constables, or any other Officers, to do, perform or execute in their own proper Persons, or any of their proper Persons, or any Person or Persons, any watching, warding, or mustering, or any Hue and Cry; or be elected or appointed to any Office of Mayor, Sheriff, Bailiff, Constable, Tything-man, Burs-holder, Minister, Steward, Serjeant, Marshall, Church-warden, Sidesman, Overseer of the Poor, Surveyor of the Highways, Scavenger, or any other such like Office whatsoever, or to make any Suit at any Sheriff's Hundred or Lafts of Hundreds; or to serve on any Jury or Jurys, or Grand Inquests.

And

And our Will is, and we do farther by these Presents of our especial Grace and Bounty, and of our mere Motion, and certain Knowledge for us and our Successors, give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College and their Successors, that they are, and shall be now and at all Times for ever hereafter, exempt, exonerated, discharged, and acquitted off and from the Payment of all Taxes, Customes, and other Dutys whatsoever. And that the Horses of the said Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Professors, Tutors, and Fellows of the said College, shall not be taken to ride Post.

And lastly, we do by these Presents grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, that they shall have these our Letters Patents in due Manner made, and sealed with our great Seal of *England*, without Fyne or Fee, great or small, to be therefore paid to us, in our Hanaper, or elsewhere to our Use. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our self at *Westminster*; the fifteenth Day of *May*, in the Year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred, and fifty Seaven.

By writt of Privy Seal.

BEALE.

Taken from the Originall in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

At the End of this Charter, Mr. *Baker* has added what follows.

De Universitate apud Dunelm.

As concerning the Attempt for founding a University at *Duresme*, the Patent being drawn up and ingrossed, and prepared for the Seal, a Petition was presented to *Richard* then Protector, from both the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, against it, and some were sent up from both Universities, to give Reasons against a third University, and especially against conferring Degrees there, which

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was much endeavoured by some. Whereupon a Stop was put to it.

From Dr. Dillingham's Papers.

The Petition of the University of Cambridge against erecting an University at Durham, Vid. Regr. Acad. 1658-9.

No. LXVIII.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

I FINDE it not possible to me to take off the Misapprehensions of some Persons misled by Arguments of my great Gaines which I gott when I sate in your Chaire, and

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. viii. No. 127. An Original: William Lentbal, Esq; died Sept. 3. 1662. and very penitent, as appears from the following Account in a Letter from Dr. Ralph Brideok (Bp. Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. 3. p. 259.) who visited him in his last Sickness. ' When (says he) I came to his Preience, he told me, " He was very glad to see me; for he had two great Works to doe, and I must assist him in both, to fit his Body for the Earth, and his Soul for Heaven; to which purpose he desired me to pray with him. I told him, the Church had appointed an Office at the Visitation of the Sick, and I must use that: he said yes, he chiefly desired the Prayers of the Church, wherein he joined with great Fervency and Devotion. After Prayers, he desired Absolution: I told him I was very ready and willing to pronounce it, but he must first come to a Christian Confession and Contrition for the Sins and Failings of his Life: Well Sir, said he, then instruct me to my Duty. I desired him to examine his Life by the Ten Commandments, and wherein he found his Failings, to fly to the Gospel for Mercy. Then I read the Ten Commandments in order to him, mentioning the principal Sins against each Commandment. To pass by other Things (under the Seal of the Office) when I came to the fifth Commandment, and remembered him, that Disobedience, Rebellion, and Schism, were the great Sins against this Commandment. Yes Sir, says he, there's my Trouble, my Disobedience, not against my natural Parents, but against the Pater Patriæ our deceased Sovereign. I confesse with Saul I held their Cloaths whilest they murdered him; but herein I was not so criminal as Saul was, for God thou knowest, I never consented to his Death; I ever pray'd and endeavour'd what I could against it, but I did too much, Almighty God forgive me! I then desired him to deal freely and openly in that Business, and if he knew any of those Villains, that plotted or contrived that horrid Murther, who were not yet detected, now to discover them. He answered, He was a Stranger to that Business, his Soul never entred into that Secret; but what concerns my self, (said he) I will confesse freely. Three Things are especially laid to my Charge, wherein indeed I am too guilty: That I went from the Parliament to the Army, that I proposed the bloody Question for trying the King, and that I sat after the King's Death. To the first I may give this Answer, That Cromwell and his Agents deceived a wiser Man than myself, THAT EXCELLENT KING, and then might well deceive me also, as they did: I knew the Presbyterians would never restore the King to his just Rights; those

and especially that of Compositions, where it is thought that I had 5 l. of every Compounder. 'Tis true, both Howses did so order it, but very shortly after it was again disannulled, so that what I receaved of that was very inconsiderable, as may appeare by Examination of the Bookes of the Howse, and the Serjant at Armes, and the Clarkes (first reserving their Partes) paid myne unto me, which is a cheque upon me. And as to the Profit concerning the passing of private Bills, as it is payd by the Clarkes, so it is chequed as aforesayd.

Before his Majesty's going from London, the Howse taking into Consideration, the great and extraordinary Charge and Loss gave me by Vote 6000 l. but I never received to this Day the owne halfe of it, besides which I never had Gift of Land or Money, noe not any parte of that 5 l. *per Diem*, which is due to the Speaker as Speaker, for every Day whilest he so continues: I shall desire you, (Sir,) to offer so much of this as shall be necessary to expresse me with all Humility to the Howse, but not as a

" those Men swore they would. For the second, no Excuse can be made, but
 " I have the King's Pardon, and I hope Almighty God will shew me his Mer-
 " cy also; yet Sir, said he, even then when I put the Question, I hoped the very
 " putting the Question would have cleared him: Because, I believed, four for
 " one were against it, but they deceived me also. To the third, I make this
 " candid Confession, that it was my own Baseness and Cowardice, and was by
 " Fear, to submit my Life and Estate to the Mercy of those Men, that murdered
 " the King, that hurried me on against my own Conscience to act with them;
 " yet then I thought also, I might doe some Good, and binder some ill. Something
 " I did for the Church and Universitys, something for the King when I broke
 " the Oath of Abjuration, as Sir O. B. and your self know. Something also
 " too for his Return, as my Lord G. Mr. J. T. and your self know. But the
 " ill I did, over weighed the little Good I would have done, God forgive me,
 " for this also. After this I remembered him, that the Fathers of the Church
 " also had been barbarously murdered and ruined, and asked whether he had
 " any Hand, or gave any Consent therein? He answered, None, for he always
 " did believe, that was the primitive and best Government of the Church, and
 " said, he died a dutiful Son of the Church of England, as it was established
 " before these times; for he had not yet seen the Alteration of the Liturgy:
 " After this Office, wherein indeed he shewed himself a very hearty Peni-
 " tent, he again desired the Absolution of the Church, which I then pro-
 " nounced, and which he received with much Content and Satisfaction. For,
 " says he, now indeed doe I find the Joy and Benefit of the Office which Christ
 " hath left in his Church. Then praying for the King, that he might long
 " and happily reign over us, and for the Peace of the Church, he again desired
 " Prayers. The next Day he received the Sacrament: And after that Work,
 " I desired him to expresse himself to Dr. Dickenfon a learned Physician, Fel-
 " low of Merton College, who received the Sacrament with him, concerning
 " the King's Death, because he had only done it to me in Confession, which
 " he did to the same Effect, as he had to me. The rest of his Time was
 " spent in Devotion, and penitential Meditations to his very last.

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Justification of my selfe, but to shew the Truth of my Condition. And this will very much oblige Mr. Speaker,

Your most Humble and Faithfull Servant,

Read, xi. June 1660.

WM. LENTHALL.

*For the Right Honorable Sir Harbottle Grimston Baronet,
Speaker of the Lower Howse of Parliament.*

No. LXIX.

* *Right Honorable,*

BY the Post came to our Handes a Coppye of the late Resolves of the Parliament concerninge this Place. And by private Letters the Substance of it was declared to many; Whereupon this Day Addresses were made unto us by the honest Partye of this Cittye. That notwithstanding the nulling of the ancient Charter: yet that such Priviledges as are grounded upon Equity and Reason, and may be consistent with the Lawes of this Commonwealth may be restored. And soe they whiche are innocent may not suffer with the nocent; Some other Particulars, (which we judge righteous) your faithfull Friends have to present to your Honnors; and to that Purpose have sente up some confiding Persons to attend your Honours, and the Committee for the Regulation of Corporations, to whiche Peticulers wee refer you, and remayne

Your Lordship's Humble Servants,

Thomas Croxton.

G. Gerrard.

G. Manly.

Rob. Hyde.

Sam. Buck.

CHESTER,
21. Sept. 1659.

*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker to
the Honourable House of Parliament*

These present.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 74.

* *Right Honourable Patriots and Christian Brethren,*

CONSIDERING the great Temptations that accompany your Place, and how strongly Sathan labours (who because of his indefatigable Indultry is fitly called *ὁ Πονηρός*, the industrious Malignant, that opposes mightily the Welfare of God's People) especially at those two criticall Times, when Governours are newly come to the Stern and Government, or when they are going off, that so he might blast all in the one Season or the other. And seeing with what Successe he has two long prevailed against you, driving you up and downe with terrible Tempests (as sometime was the Shippe driven wherein *Paul* and his Fellow-Travellers were) clouding the Sunne and Moone and Starres over you for many Days and Nights, and tossing you upon the Floudes of a tumultuous People from Shore to Shore, soe that you have beene almost every Day in Jeopardy of splitting upon the Rockes and loosing all. I have therefore humbly taken the Boldness out of much Christian Tendernefs and Compassion (and I hope upon a good Motion of the Spirit of God whiche should not be quenched) to succour you with the Council of God in this Time of general Danger the Church of God is in amongst us.

The Occasion I take is upon hearing of your Purpose for a sudden Dissolution, whiche to speake unto only so far as the Case comes within our ministerial Sphere, I beseeche you in your great Wisdome, and as good Christians, to consider first, what will make for your true Honour in the Eyes of the People of God. And secondly, to get the Peace of God upon your Consciences, and Counsell of God in the Close and Period you think to make. And thirdly, to provide well for the Security of the Church of God, Religion, and yours and the publick Safety.

First, For the Concernment of your Honour, which is upon the publick Theatre of the World before the Eyes of the Nations round about you, who watch for your

haltinge, let not any feare bring a Snare upon you, to rout you in a disorderly Manner; but quit your selves like Men to the last for the Interest and Welfare of your Country, and for the Cities of our God, and the Church of Christe, who will be a sure Refuge to those that flie to him in all Distress. And gratify not your Enemies both at Home and Abroad in forreign Nations with too much disorderly Hastē in breaking off, who will soone insult over you, (when the Power is out of your Hands, as others have found before you) with bitter Reproaches, when they see that Day that the Parliament of *England*, after 20 Years wearisome Toile, and Confusions, and Distractions amongst themselves, were weary of the Government, and gave it up, they know not to whom, unless it be to them who are to be your Successors at length, and cut off your Hopes from ever seeing a Parliament againe in your Days; or if any, it shall be such a one as shall make your Bondes stronger, as in all Probability may be conjectured from the eager Strivings and indirect Courses disaffected Men take at this Time in severall Places, and Counties to be Knights and Burgessees of the next Parliament, which will concerne you in your Wisdome to take timely Notice of. Beare up a little longer, for there has been little done of late that will be thought memorable, either in the cause of Religion, or redressing the Grievances of the oppressed, whose cry is heard in Heaven against those that shut it out of Doores on Earth. But your zealous Forwardness of late hath much revived the languishing hopes of God's People, that desire there may be no cause to say of you *cedunt ultima primis*, but rather that your last Workes are your best Workes.

Secondly, consult Peace to your own Consciences, and take the Counsell of God with you in an Act of so great Importance. *Moses* when he declined goes to God to nominate his Successor. *Numbers xxvii. 15, &c.* And *Moses spake unto the Lord saying, Let the Lord, the God of the Spirits of all Flesh, set a Man over the Congregation, which may goe out before them, and which may goe in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord be not as Sheep which have no Shepherd. And the Lord said unto Moses, take thee Joshua the Son of Nun, a Man in whom is the Spirit, and lay thyne Hands upon Him, and set*
I him

him before Eleazar the Priest, and before all the Congregation, and give him a Charge in their Sight, &c.

Thus *Moses* seeks the Counsell of God about his Successour, but *Saul* made slight of God's Counsel and perished. Twice *Saul* made too much haste, and did not stay for the Counsel of God. Once when he tarried not *Samuel's* Time, and after that when he said to *Ahiab* (who was consulting the Ark for him) withdraw thyne Hand, and let us away to the Spoyle. But when at length he begg'd the Counsell of God in his greatest Distress, he could not get it, neither from the Dead nor from the Living. *The Lord answered him not neither by Dreames, nor by Urim, nor by the Prophets,* and this is put upon his Accounts why the Lord slew him, because he sought not Counsell from God, *1 Chron. x. 13, 14. So Saul died for his Transgressions which he committed against the Lord, even against the Word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking counsell of one, that had a familiar Spirit to enquire of it, and enquired not of the Lord, and therefore he slew him, and turned the Kingdome to David.* Let your Honours be pleased to consider, how much better it had been with Governours in Time past, if they had took God's Counsell oftner. What Miscarriages had been prevented, what Confusions and giddy Reelings to and fro, while Men turn aside to consult onely with their own deceitful Hearts. Is it for want of a God in *Israel*, that you hear not his Counsell? you have his Word, you have his Prophets the faithful Ministers of his Word, you have his Spirit, and if you seek him aright, he will be found of you, but if you forsake him, he will also forsake you. Oh hasten to him at length I doe beseech you, and he will teach you the good Way (as *Solomon* says to his People) the good Way that you shall take for you and your Posterity, that you may live and flourish in the Earth, and in the Inheritance which the Lord hath given your Fathers and you hitherto. When we choose for our selves we choose amiss usually, but when God chooses Governours and Religion, and a Way of Worship and Order for us, he will choose that which is good for his People.

Thirdly, provide well for the Church of God, Religion, and your own, and the publick Safety.

Is not the Danger great at this Time that any seeme ready to say to themselves, (as in like sort, *David* to *Uriah*) let us goe home to our Houses and make merry a while,

while, and in six Weeks return again. Doe you think all safe, that you can make a Venture for so many Weeks. *Babylon* made but one merry Day in Contempt of the *Persians* that drew up against it, and that Night was the City taken, and dare you trust your Religion and Libertys and civil Rights with so long an Intervall, which alas every Moment is too much in Danger of a great Eclipse? Have not your faithful Prophets, whose Warnings for several Years lye upon Record before you) foretold you of your great Danger? And does not that terrible Gradation that God makes from one Judgment to an other confirm their Word? For God uses to make good the Word of his Messengers upon an impenitent Nation, as being very zealous of their Reputation, that they may not be counted false and frivolous. Truly, I think the Danger of this Common-wealth so great, that I may say of it as was wont to be said of Navigators who have but an Inch betweene them and Death.

Est tua tam prope Mors quam prope cernis aquam.

Lord we are so short sighted, that the wisest of Men cannot tell what a Day may bring forth, and doe we see beyond many Days that all is safe and secure? What and if you should see the Nations breaking in suddenly upon you, as a Floud, Popery publickly professed, and lifting up its Banners in your Streets, the Darknes of *Egypt* gathering over your *Goshen*, where formerly such precious Lights of the Gospel abounded, your Children turned over to suck the Breasts of a foul Harlot, your Fountaines of Learning and Truth that run with sweet Waters like * *Hypanis* imbittered and made loathsome by an † *Exampeus* that falls into it; the goulden precious Bondes of Christ's Government turned into the iron Bondes of detestable Slavery, the Starres shooke out of the Firmament, and your goulden Candlesticks battered to Pieces? Alas what a Change will they be after all the Afflictions ye have yet felt? What Security can you give against this? Doe you referr it to an other Parliament to make Pro-

* *Hypanis Sarmatiae Fluvius, Qui a capite profluit circiter millia 40, sapore Dulcissimo: Deinde cum pervenit ad locum qui est ab ostio ad millia 160, admiscetur ei Fonticulus parvulus; Is quum in eum influit, tunc tantam magnitudinem fluminis facit amaram. Stephan. Thesaur. Lingu. Latin.*

† *Exampeus, Scythiae fons Herodot. Lib. 4. inter Borysthenem & Hypanim Locus est nomine Exampeus, ex quo hic amarus fons ortum habet & nomen. Stephani Thesaur. Lingu. Latin.*

vision against this? Alas what Cause is there to fear that this Fruit you so travell with may prove abortive, and your Hopes may be cut off from seeing an other Parliament, if you put off God to an other Day? It shall be your Wisdome to improve your present Time well, Time to come is onely in God's Hand, and you know not to whome he will give it, if you neglect it. *Seeke the Lord while he may be found, call yee upon him while he is neer, let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him, and to God, for he will abundantly pardon,* (Isay lv. 6, 7.)

Wherefore I shall humbly beseech your Honours as faithfull Stewards of God's House, for the Time you thinke meet to sitt, to lay it out much for God; and to take into your *Christian* Consideration these few Proposals.

First to call in the Advice of Godly faithful Ministers that God has lent you in this Age, and let them searche out the Sinnes that God contends for, and give you the Councill of God, that you may know the Work whiche he principally calls upon us for in this our Day, and doe it, whiche even the poore Light of Nature directed the Philistines to when they were smitten by the Ark, otherwise that Word of God, that bitter Sarcastm by the Prophet *Zechary*, (*Zechar. i. 5, 6.*) will surely be made good upon us. *Your Fathers, where are they, and the Prophets doe they live ever? But my Wordes and my Statutes which I commanded my Servants the Prophets, did they not take hold of your Fathers, and they returned and said, like as the Lord of Hostes thought to doe unto us, and accordinge to our Ways, and according to our Doings, soe hath he dealt with us.* You have a worthy Exhortation in that faithfull Remembrance the godly and paynfull Ministers of London have given lately to the People of their respective Congregations. Which doubtlesse would be convenient to be read in open Parliament, and in the Churches of this Nation, and layd throughly to Heart, that the People might see their Danger, and most importunately Day and Night seek to God to prevent it.

Secondly, that you would be pleased to appoint forthwith a most solemne Fast in all the three Nations for three Days in three Weeks following one an other, and let all the Miscarriages of Government, Losse of Time, neglect

of,

of, and opposition against Christe's Kingdome, and that blessed Reformation offerred unto us, and formerly covenanted for, be deeply and unfeignedly bewayled: and some notorious Sinnes and high Provocations called our, and broke off by Repentance before the Lorde, and the estranged Hearts of loose Professors brought into holy Church Communion with Jesus Christ, and the Ark and publick pure Ordinances of God's Worship speedily advanced, which are the Glory and chief Security of a Nation. Therefore it was that *Joshua* and the Priests of old, and *Zerubbable* and his Brethren, hastened to set up the Altar of the God of *Israel* (before the Temple was built) and they offered Burnt-Offerings thereon unto the Lord, even Burnt-Offerings Morning and Evening. For it is said, (*Exra* iii. 2, 3, &c. *Fear was upon him, because of the People of those Countries*, that is, because they were afraid of their Adversaries, they set upon building an Altar to God forthwith, that by offering thereon Expiation might be made for their Sinnes, pardon obtained, and Reconciliation wrought betwixt God and them, that soe they might be sheltred by his Omnipotence and Protection against all that their potent Adversaries could doe.

Thirdly, that during this three Weeks Time, you would vigorously relieve the oppressed, and redresse the heavy Grievances that lie upon your Brethren, for the Delay of this Work will sett backe all that you doe, and make it come to nought, the Sin of Oppression, being usually the maine cause of the Subversion of Kingdomes and Commonweales.

You know not what you doe against your selves when you shut out particular Complaints, which properly belongs to your Cognisance, and cannot be relieved otherwise. Did not *Saule's* Offence against the *Gibeonites*, and the Injury offered one Levite by the *Benjamites*, bring a generall Judgment upon all. Shut not out therefore to the last Hour the Complaints of the Afflicted, whose cry God heares, but rather invite the Mourners as your dear Saviour has taught you by his Example) *Come you that are wearied and heavy laden, that we may give you rest.* What a Blot it was upon *Felix*, that when his Government expired, to doe the *Jews* a Pleasure, he left *Paul* bound? Oh! let it not be said thus of you, the Parliament, to doe the cruel Oppressors of God's Heritage a courtesie, left the Afflicted in Bonds. Shall they be the

Fruit of your Thanksgiving to God for breaking your Bonds? God forbid. Let the Afflicted have cause to bless you, not to upbraid you.

Hear therefore ye Nobles and chief Fathers of our Tribes of *Israel*, and give me leave to say unto you, as *Paule* unto the Shipmen that were about to flee out of the Ship for fear of the Storme; certainly except ye abide in the Ship a while longer, and sett to the Work that God calls you to, yee cannot be saved.

If you will be zealous for God at the length, if you will remember the Word of the Lord by the Prophet, *Zechariah vii. 9.* Sayeing, *Execute true Judgment, and shew Mercy and Compassion every Man to his Brother, and oppresse not the Widdow nor the Fatherless, the Stranger nor the Poor, and let none of you imagine Evill against his Brother in your Heart, then will the Lorde owne youe, and you shall dwell on high, your Place of Defence shall be the Munition of Rockes, Bread shall be given you, and your Waters shall be sure.*

But if you refuse to hearken, and pull away your Shoulder, and stop your Eares that you shall not heare and make your Hearts as an Adamant Stone, least they should heare the Lawe, and the Word which the Lord of Hostes hath sent in his Spirit by the Prophets to you, (*Zechar. vii. 11, 12, &c.*) Then will there come great Wrath from the Lord of Hostes, but I shall pray for you that the Lord may ever direct your Hearts unto the Things that concern your Peace. I rest

*At your Honour's Commandes in the Service of
Christ, and in the Work of his Gospel*

*Penburst in Kent,
March 12. 1659.*

* JOHN MAUDIT

Indorsed in a different Hand,

A canting Presb. Minister's Letter to the Rump not
to dissolve.

* * He was Chaplain in the Army raised by the Parliament against the King.—and after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* left his Benefice in *Devonshire* to avoid Conformity. *Wood's Fasti*, Vol. 2. p. 5.

No. LXXI.

* *Right Honorable,*

BEING by the good Hand of Providence cast into the Company of some whoe I judge faithfull : and allsoe found able to give me an Account of the late unhappy Differences betweene your Honers and the Army : to wit the Grounds thereof, and thereby understanding that more of a private then a publique Spirit and Interest did appeare, and was contended for in and by those that interrupted your Honers : and alsoe that there was much Rashness and want of the Feare of God, wherein I have given Concurrence therein through Ignorance and Rashness, I desire the Lord to pardon me for the same, and also to blees his Name for his Goodness to me, in making any Instrumental to help me to a right Understanding of Things : And seeing that the Lorde by an out-stretched Arm hath brought you again to sit at the Stern ; I desyre he may will you as a Councillor to directe your Hearts and Consultations as may be for his Glory and the Good of these Nations ; and that you may be † nursing Fathers to his poor People in these Nations : And I doe farther signify to your Honers, that if in any thing I can be serviceable unto you, I account it my Deuty so to serve you in any thing that is not diametrically opposit to the Will of the Lord Jesus : and that I may not be thought troublesome, is all at present from him whoe subscribes himselfe youre Honer's humble Seruant to the uttermost of my Power,

DANIELL JACKSON,
*Chaplen to Collonall
 Roger Sauery his Re-
 gement at Ayre in
 Scotland.*

*Dated this 3 of
 January 1659.*

To the Honorable *William Lenthall* Speaker of the Honorable House of Parliament, These.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection, Vol. 8. No. 104. An Original.

† The Cant of this Man puts me in Mind of a Fanatical Brother, who in his Prayer for the Rump changed those Words in the 72d Psal. ver. 1st, in the following Manner: *Give the Parliament thy Judgment, O God ; and thy Righteousness unto the Parliament's Son.*

No. LXXII.

* *Rig^t Hono^{ble},*

WE have received Advertisement, that it pleased God, who alone doth wondrous Things, to make Way for your Restitution unto a free sitting once again, and upon this Occasion wee hold it agreeable to our Duty to remonstrate to your Honour, that having served the Parliament, as (Com^{ers} of the late Militia, during the late Insurrection of Sir *George Booth's* Party, there being but one other Commissioner besides our selves in this County who acted in that Juncture) wee have retayned an unimpayred Affection and Good-will to your Government, although the Necessity of the late Times hath enforced us to appeare for Preservation of the Peace of this County against the common Enemy; and that this Citty hath declared themselves for the Interest of the Parliament and this Commonwealth.——And having made this Recognition to your Honour, wee commit your selfe and the Parliament to the Guidance and Blessing of the Almighty, which we desire upon your great Affaires, and remaine

Your Honour's affectionat and faithfull Servants,

Coventry, 2 December 1659.

*Tho. Beesnet,
W. Thornton,
John Gublowe,
Tho. Hobson.*

To the Right Hono^{ble} *William Lenthall* Speaker of the Parliament of this Commonwealth at *West^m*, Theis humbly present.

No. LXXIII.

† *Right Hono^{ble},*

WE hope the Account of this Citty's unanimous declaring for the Parliament is come unto your Hands. Yesterday Sir *John Norris* and Col. *Hacker* came with a Party of Horse to this Citty, for the strengthening of the

* *Dr. William's MS. Collections, Vol. 3. No. 87. An Original.*

† *Iidem ibid. No. 88.*

same.

same. There are divers Partys of Horse come in from Parts adjacent, and the Countries hereabouts testify great Affection and readines to rise for the asserting of your Authority, if there bee Occasion. Col. *Hawthornthwaite* at *Warwick* Castle hath also declared. *Belvoir* Castle is also secured for your Service. The Tories at *Leicester* have declared their Readiness to returne to their Obedience. *The Lord is pleased so wonderfully to throng in Successes, and so gloriously to smile now the second time, upon your Return to the Discharge of your remaining Trust: That wee are at a Stand; and before wee proceed any farther in raising Forces, wee make bold to desire your Commands what wee shall doe. As to the Counties of Northampton, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Stafford and Derby; which Counties were assigned to us respectively for our Endeavours in raising Forces for your Service: Having been Ey-Witnesses of the singular Readiness of the Body of this Citty in owning of your Authority, as likewise in arming of themselves for the Safety of this Citty: Wee have only resolved to give Commissions for the forming of them into Companies, for their more orderly undertaking of the Guards. Whereas in a late Letter to Colonel Alured, a Troope of Horse was desired hither: Wee suppose now it will not be needful, there being no Appearance of Danger. Wee have ordered those Militia Captains of this Citty, who raysed Companies without Parliamentary Authority, to deliver up their Armes forthwith. Wayting upon your Lordship's Commands, wee remayne*

Your most Humble Servants,

*Coventry, Decemb^r
28th, 1659.*

*John Norwich,
Tho. Sanders,
Nath. Barton,
Fran. Hacker.*

We have sent an Order to *Leicester* for the disarming and dispersing of those Horse and Foot, which were raysed without Parliamentary Authority.

These for the Right Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq;
Speaker of the Hon^{ble} House of Parliament.

Hast for the Service of the State.

No. LXXIV.

* *May it please your Excell^{ty},*

WE being in *September* last commanded by Lieutenant Generall *Fleetwood* to repayre to this City of *Bristol*, with Orders for the Preservation of the same^e and Parts adjacent in Peace and Quietness, which hitherto, by the Concurrence of the Divine Providence, with our extraordinary Care and Watchfulness, we have done, notwithstanding the many who, taking Advantage of that unhappy Interruption of the Parliament's Proceedings, have endeavoured to be the Disturbers thereof: But wee trust the Lord will carry them through all those remaining Difficultys, whiche are in any way Letts or Hindrances to that great Worke of the Lorde, they are, and have been long a carrying on in this Nation: And that they may be a little more encouraged in the Prosecution of this Work, wee have thought it our Duty to give your Excellency to understand, that these three Companies who are of Colonel Sir *Brice Cockran's* Regiment, have this Day both Officers and Soldiers unanimously declared, That they doe owne the Parliament of *England* for the supreme Authority of this Nation, and your Excellency in them as their Gen^l, and that they will with the Hazard of their Lives be obedient to all such Commands as they shall receive from your Excellency as Generall, in the Name of the Parliament of *England*. And upon this our so free Declaration, the Major, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of this City have with much Cheerfulness and Alacrity embraced us: and doe profess, that they are of one Heart and one Mind with us, and that they will approve themselves such in all their Actings. This with our further Profession of Fidelity to the Parliament of *England*, from whom wee receive our Commissions, wee remayne

Your Excellency's most faithfull and most obedient Servants,

*Bristol, the 28th
December 1659.*

*Will. Charlton,
Ow. Hookes,
Alex. Coates,
Will. Butler,
Josias Arnop,
Jn^o Mills.*

For the Right Hon^{ble} Sir *William Lenthall* Speaker,
These, *London*.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 90. An Original.
No. LXXV.

No. LXXV.

* *Right Hon^{ble},*

ABOUT a Mounth after your late Interruption, I received some Information from my Lord *Fleetwood*, that hee had certaine Intelligence that the old Ennemye (takeing Advantage by these Distractions) was plotting and contriveing to disturbe the Peace of this Commonwealth by new Insurrections, and therefore commanded mee to draw together my Troope to preserve the Peace of our Countye, and to be very watchfull over them, and to prevent their Meetings: and I consideringe I had severall Orders from your late Councill of State to this end, made mee the willinger to appear with my Troope, and I declared, in all Places I came, that I was upp to noe other Ends but to preserve the Peace of our Countye, and, if possible, to prevent the old *Blood-thursty Enemye* of there wicked Intentions in disturbing the Peace of this Nation. And since it has pleased God to restore you to the Exercise of that great Trust committed unto you, I shall (God willing) be readye to obey your Commands to the uttermost against all Opposiers, for your Preservation, and the Nation's Safty and Peace. I have, by the Advice of Sir *William Doyly* and Coll. *Gurdon*, dismissed them for the present, but shall be ready to serve you with them upon the least Command from the Parliament, or your Honour, which shall be observed by

*Norwich, Decem-
ber 28, 59.*

Your Lordship's faithfull Servant,

ROB^t JERMY.

To the Right Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of *England*, pres^t.

No. LXXVI.

† S I R,

I HAVE received yours of the 24th, and thearein the good Newse of my Wive's Health, for whiche I returne you hartly Thankes. Your other Newse is not foe

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 89. An Original.*

† *Idem ibid. No. 91.*

much

much worth, but I shall live in hopes to heare better heere-
after; these Parts afford not much: The Officers heere
seeme to bee unanimous and verye couragious; and indeed
there is, soe far as I am able to judge, as yett a verye
good Spirit amongst them, and they are in hopes that the
Lord hath not left them, but yett will make them instru-
mentall to doe sum Good to the good People, and Interest
of this Nation. Yesterday they mett att a Generall Coun-
sell to *seeke the Lorde for Direction*, and this Day they
met againe, and are resolved to marche Southwards; and
if the Lord doe but show them theare Way, I do verily be-
leeue they will venture *theare All* in doing that that may
tend to his Glorie, and his People's Good.

Sir, the Messenger staieth, and I have scarce Time to
desire to be kindly remembred to your selfe, and to your
good Wife, and to assure you this is from

Newcastle, Dec.
28th, 1659.

Your affectionate Freind;

ED. SALMON.

Read Jan. 2, 1659.

For Mr. William Currer, Mercer, at the Signe of the
Sunne in Lumberd-Streete, These, London.

No. LXXVII.

* S I R,

I DID this Day receive yours, wherein you were pleased
to command mee to attend the House: By God's Af-
sistance I will obey your Commands so soon as I am able.
I have these 28 Days binne in a Course of Physicke, and
am at present not able too performe so longe a Jorne.

Sir, I must make bould too acquaint you, that ever since
the thirde of *November* last, I have binne in this Towne
with my Regement of Foote, and my Troope of Horse,
I must likewise confesse by the late Power I was com-
manded heither for the Safetie of my Countrie agayne the
common Ennemye. I and all my Officers had never anie
other Intentions, which by our Deportment hath binn
made manifest.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 3. No. 94. An Original.

Sir,

Sir, emediately so soon as I received yours, I caused my Drums to beate, and my Trumpets to sound too Horſe, boeth Horſe and Foote appeared in the Markett-Place: I did acquaint boeth Horſe and Foote of your Letter; and ſo ſoone as that they underſtood the Parliament was ſittinge, they all unanimouſly did make great Acclamations of Joy, and ſaid the would live and die under your Command. The Place where I am is very conſiderable, and I dare not parte from it till I receaue your further Orders; which I will with all humble Obedience obay. Thus humbly beg-
ging your Pardon for this Bouldneſs, I ſubſcribe, Sir,

Your moſt humble and faythful Servant,

Stafford, 31 De. 1659.

THO. CROMPTON.

For the Right Hon^{ble} *Willam Lenthall*, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England, Weſt Miniſter.*

No. LXXVIII.

* *May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

THE Interruption of the Parliament, as it occaſioned great Perplexity to many ſober and honeſt Hearts, ſoe was it Matter of Sadneſs to us, and the rather, for that we were rendred uncapable to perform any actual Service for their Reſtauration. All that we could doe, was to declare againſt the Army's irregular Proceedings, whereof wee were not afraid. Wee have great Cauſe to bleſs our gracious God for ſtirring you upp to be a *Saviour to theſe Nations*, and doe admire your Courage and Reſolution, conſidering the many Difficulties you had to deal with. Wee hold it our Duty to give you an Account, that on Saturday laſt the Officers of this Garriſon called their Companies together, read a Letter to them, and ſeemingly declared for the Parliament, but made noe publicke Demonſtration of Rejoycing, wherewith the Soldiers being diſſatisfied did laſt Night ſecure their Officers, cauſed their Companies to meet, made on Bonfires, fired their Muskets, ſhortt off the Cannons, and declared for the Parliament now reſtored, with great Acclamations of Joy.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 110. An Original.

Wee

Wee humbly request your Excellency would please to take care, that † faithfull Persons, well affected to Magistracy and Ministry, and of knowne Integrity to the famous Parliament and the Commonwealth, may be appointed Officers for this Garrison: and in particular we recommend to your Excellency *Cuthbert Studholme*, Esq; as a Person fitt and every way qualified for such an Im-
 ployment. Wee are

Your Excellency's humble Servants,

Isaac Tullie, Major.

<i>Tho. Side,</i>	<i>Tho. Favell,</i>
<i>Jo. Pattinson,</i>	<i>Pet. Norman,</i>
<i>Tho. Dixon,</i>	<i>William James,</i>
<i>Hen. Vaile,</i>	<i>Edw. James,</i>
<i>Robert Jackson,</i>	<i>Ri. Monke,</i>
<i>William Langshaw,</i>	<i>Jo. Robinson,</i>
<i>Anthony Craister,</i>	<i>Edw. Lowrie.</i>
<i>Fr. Woods,</i>	

For his Excellency the Lord Generall *Monke* at *Newarke*,
 or elsewhere, These. Haft, haft.

No. LXXIX.

* *Right Hon^{ble},*

TIS a Presumption that I have taken, and an Honour that you have allowed mee now and then to give you the Trouble of a Letter from hence, wheare being newly landed, I finde your Army so modelled, that rebellious and unruly Swords are layd aside, and your most obedient and

† *Faithful* was a Cant Word of those Times: By which such were commonly meant as were Enemies to Monarchy: Though *Waller* the Poet gave a different Turn to it. For when a leading Person in *Lincolnsbire*, at the Beginning of the Rebellion, had seized a good Number of the King's Horses, and writ to *Lentball* to desire that the *Parliament* would send down *Faithfull* and *Skillfull Riders* to be set upon them. *Waller* (upon reading the Letter to the House) observed, that the Request was very proper. For (says he) if we don't set *Faithfull Riders* upon them, they will run away with the Horses, and if they are not *Skillfull*, the Horses will run away with them.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 6. No. 118. An Original, This *Henry Ingoldsby* was the Person who was guilty of so many Barbarities in *Ireland*, mentioned by Lord *Clarendon* in his Appendix to the History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in *Ireland*.

faithfull Servants placed in the Head off Commands :
 The late thought unhappy, yett happie Interruption, haveing
 made so palpable a Discovery betwixt your Opposites and
 Friends, that 'twas noe Difficulty to distinguish betwixt the
 one and the other, nor hard soe to modell the Army as to
 create a Confidence in you of theare constant and steady
 Obedience to you. The Care and Cyrcumspection off the
 Councell of Officers has bin greate in this Worke ; Cau-
 tion has bin alsoe taken not to admitt a Cavileere, nor to
 continue your late Fenaticke Antagonists in your Army:
 The Fruits of this their Labour has appeared in the List
 of the Officers lately returned for the Approbation off the
 House, some Amendments to itt (by reason off new Dis-
 coverye) have bin since made and sent over by this Post,
 their Confirmation in Parliament off what has been done
 is both hoped and beelieved, that our Zeal in this good
 Worke may not prove ineffectual, or receive a Dischou-
 radgement : The high Esteeme and Reputation that the
 Parliament has amongst us, excludes the Admission of any
 Jealousy or Doubt in the Case. Col^t *Joanes* is this Day
 ship'd from hence, in order to his Journy for *London*, to
 answere the Mischariadges beefore you ; Lieutenant
 Gen^l *Ludlow* is, as I suppose, allready theare uppon the
 same Account. All Thinges are now very quiett, and the
 Army entirely at your Devotions, a Mercy to bee prized,
 and a Truth assured by, Right Hon^{ble},

Dublin this 1st
February 59.

Your most obedient humble Servant,

H. INGOLDESBY.

These to the Right Hon^{ble} *Will. Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker of
 the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England, West-*
minster, humbly present.

No. LXXX.

* *Right Hon^{ble},*

I AM necessitated to give you this Trouble, hereing;
 and that but last Night, that the Parliament had or-
 dered my Attendance on them on Munday the 20th Instant.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 129. An Original.*

And

And I being att present 37 Myles distant from *London*, att my owne House, and very weake and infirme in Body by reason of seven Weekes Sicknes I have lately had, am noe wayes able to performe my Duty therein, and therefore most humbly begg your Favour to present my Condition to the House, and intreate their favourable Excuse therein, my hearty Desires being to the Lord, that he will guide and counsell them in such Wayes as may advance his Glory, and the Good of these poor Nations: The Trouble and Greife I have had of Mind by reason of the great Displeasure whiche lyes upon mee in Parlyament, by reason of my late much mistaken and repented of Actions in the Tyme of their Interruption, hath not, and doth not a little add to my present bodily Distemper, for which, if I may through Mercy obtaine their Pardon, I should have much Cause to bless God, and to live hereafter in all humble Obedience with Acknowledgment of their Goodness, and ever remayne, Sir,

*Pressewe this 20th
of Febr. 1659.*

Your most humble Servant,

COR. HOLLAND.

For the Right Hono^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of *Westminster*, these humbly present.

No. LXXXI.

* *To the Right Hono^{ble} the Committee of Parliament for the receiving such Proposals as shall be tendred to their Consideration by Persons fearing God, in order to the propagating of the Gospell.*

The humble Proposal of severall Elders and Brethren of Congregations.

WE humbly offer unto your Honours grave Consideration, Whether the most likely Way to propagate the Gospell, bee not first to remove those Things that **doe obstruct and hinder the free Passage thereof**: and se-

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 37. An Original. Another to the same Purpose, Vol. 16. No. 115. Signed Jo. Simpson, Henry Jessy, William Consett, Hanserd Knollys, Edward Harrison, for ourselves and others. Received March 24, 1651.*

condly

condly to establish such Things as may best promote and further the same.

Touching the former wee humbly propose, That,

1. All Laws, Orders and Ordinances which hinder many godly and gifted Men from † preaching the Gospell may be taken away, viz. some Things in the Ordinances of the 28th of *August* 1646. and some Clauses in the Ordinance against *Blasphemies* and *Heresies* of the second of *May* 1648. and severall others which we shall attend your Honours with, with all convenient Speede.

2. That all Tythes (soe farre forthe as they appertayne unto the Maintenance of the Ministry) may be taken away, the exacting whereof hath greatly hindered the preaching of the Gospel.

1st, For that many godly able Preachers (not daring to receive that Kind of Maintenance) have refused to goe preach in such Places, where noe other Maintenance could be had; nor they able to maintain themselves and Families at their own Charge.

2ly, Because many godly conscientious People (thinking this to be *Jewish* and *Antichristian*, and not the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministry) have refused to receive such Ministers as would have preached unto them for their Tythes.

3dly, That whereas many Ministers have been imposed upon severall Parishes, where such dwell unto whose Maintenance they could not contribute, least thereby they should owne their Ministry; for which Refusal they have suffered many hard Things upon their Persons and Estates.

4thly, For that the many Suits in Law, and Contentions which Tythes hath breed between Ministers and their Parishioners, have occasioned such Prejudices in their Hearts against each other, as have hindred the profiting of the People, and made fruitless the Labor of the Ministers in those Places.

† "There was a Petition *October* 6, 1647. to both Houses, about sending "able and gifted Men, tho' not Clergymen in Orders, to preach the Gospel "in barren Places of the Kingdom, and that the like Persons were admitted "to preach the Gospel in the Beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and "that such Men may receive Encouragement and Protection from the House." *Wibislock's Memorials*, p 273.

3. That all * Scandelous, ungodly, and ungifted Ministers throughout the Nation may be ejected from their Places and Ministry. For the effecting whereof,

Wee humbly offer unto your Honour's Consideration, Whether it may not be the most easy and proper Way to take away Tythes, upon which their Ministry depends, and thereby they will bee ejected and disabled on course : and as many as shall be found to be godly and gifted for the Ministry, (whose Maintenance will be taken away thereby) may be provided by some other Way, which wee humbly conceive may be done, if to your Wisdomes it shall seeme meete that in lieu of Tythes there be an equal Tax laid, and brought into a publique Treasure in every County, which may be disposed to such Persons and Uses as the Parliament shall think fitte : Whereby the Offence taken by some against paying of Tythes, and the Oppression upon others, with all other afore-mentioned Inconveniences which have attended it, may be removed, and the Propagation of the Gospel better carried on.

Touching the latter, wee humbly propose,

1st, That whatsoever shall be done may be according to the Rule of the Scripture, and soe clearly and fully declared, that nothing may be left arbitrary in the Breast of any Judges, that can bee expressed in the Letter of the Lawes.

2ly, That it may be declared, whether the *Fryers* to be nominated by the State for the Approbation of those that shall be sent out to preach, shall be appointed as an instituted Ordinance of Christ, or as a prudential Constitution of Men.

3ly, If a prudential Constitution, then wee humbly desire that the Elders and Brethren of the Churches under Baptism, (commonly called *Anabaptists*) beeing found in the † Faith, and of holy Life, may bee taken in with

* A Letter of Advice to the Parliament (1651.) in these Words : " That if they would but grant an Act for all the Profit of the Tythes in all Counties in *England* and *Wales*, to be gathered into a Treasury, and the one half thereof may be paid to a competent Number of godly Ministers to preach the Gospel in every County. And all those drunken, malignant, scandalous, delinquent, whoring, and profane Ones, that go under the Name of Ministers put to work for their Livings ; that the Gospel would be better propagated then now it is, and the Lord would be more glorified in the Land, and this present Government better established." *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 518.

† Anabaptistæ Fanatici gratis potant prædicandum esse Evangelium & Reformatorum pastores, quasi mercenarios traducunt, & calumniantur quod certa ab Ecclesiis accipiunt stipendia. Vid. Thes. Theolog. in Academ. *Salmurienfi*. De Ministror. stipendiis, par. 3. p. 373.

others for the Approbation of those that are to bee sent out, and the rather that there may be a more brotherly Compliance in the carrying on so great a Worke; and that all godly Interests may be considered therein, which hath not been formerly.

4thly, If this bee refused, then wee humbly desire, that such Churches and their Eldershops as are under Baptisme, beeing sound in the Faith, may have Liberty to sende out such as they shall finde fitte to preache the Gospell, without coming under the Attest or Approbation of other Ministers and People which refuse to joyne with them in so brotherly a Worke.

5ly, That all Churches whoe are sound in the Faith, and seeke the Peace and Welfare of this Commonwealth, owning and submitting unto the Government thereof, may have liberty to appoint and send forth such Men as are of holy Life, and gifted to teach, and preach the Gospell, although some of them through Tenderneſs scruple to bee sent forth by any other Power, or Ordination then what they receive from the Church and Elders, that send them to that Work, provided that noe Person be sent by any Church, but suche as professedly hold these or such like Truths, which are clearly grounded upon the Scriptures, viz.

1. *That there is one God and Father of all*, Ephes. iv. 6.

2. *That there is one Lord Jesus Christ, who is * God and Man*, 1 Cor. viii. 6. Rom. ix. 6.

3. *That there is one Holy Ghost the Comforter, who is God*, Acts xxviii. 20. with *Esaiah vi. 9. John xiv. 26. Rom. xv. 16. 1 Theſſ. v. 23.*

4. *And these three are one*, 1 John v. 7.

5. *That the Writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, contained in the Old and New Testament, are the Word of God*, Luke xxiv. 27. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16. Ephes. ii. 20.

* These *Enthusiasts* were more Orthodox than some of the *Presbyterians*. For *Sbliftingius's* Comment, or what was little better, came out thus attested by *J. Downam*, 1646. "I have perused this Comment, and finding it to be learned and judicious, plain and very profitable, I allow it to be printed and published. I doubt they would have taken it very ill to have been then charged with *Socinianism*, because that Book came out with such an *Imprimatur*, from him that was deputed in those Times to give it, and yet I never heard that *Mr. Downam* was corrected or ejected for so doing." A Tract called, *The present Separation self-condemned*; in Answer to a Sermon of *Mr. Jenkins's*, London 1678. p. 76. penes me.

6. *That the same Word of God, is the perfect Rule of Holiness and Righteousness, towards God and Man, James i. 25. Gallathians vi. 16. Philippians iii. 16.*

7. *That all Men are by Nature dead in Sins and Trespases, Ephes. ii. 1, 3.*

8. *That no Man can keep or satisfy the Law of God, Rom. iii. 10, 20.*

9. *That none can quicken such as dye in Sins, but God onely, Ephes. ii. 3, 10. James i. 18.*

10. *That Christ only hath satisfied the Law, and brought in perfect Righteousness for all that believe in him, Matt. v. 17. Dan. ix. 24. John iii. 16.*

11. *That Jesus Christ is the Author and Finisher of Faith, Heb. xii. 2.*

12. *That God works in us both to will and to doe according to his good Pleasure, Phil. ii. 23.*

13. *That all that doe believe in Christ are justified, sanctified, and shall be glorified, Acts xiii. 39. Acts xxvi. 18. Romans viii. 30.*

14. *That the Souls of Men are immortal, Matt. x. 28. 2 Cor. v. 6, 8.*

15. *That the Bodies of such as are dead shall bee raised and reunited with their Soules at the last Day, and shall all appeare before the Judgement Seate of Jesus Christ, to receive the Things done in the Flesh, whether Good or Evil, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 42, 52. 2 Cor. v. 10.*

Wee have not mentioned those few Heads, as thinking there are noe others necessary, but our Time giving us no further Leave at present: Wee doe not hereby intend to conclude all others, or to exclude any thing that shall be offered further by our selves, or others, the Lord shewing us them, to bee grounded upon the Scriptures.

*Richard Woolafon,
Hanserd Knollys,
for ourselves and others.*

Endorsed Sectaries for Liberty, about 49, I suppose.

No. LXXXII.

No. LXXXII.

* *Some Proposals of Captain Edmond Chillenden, with some others well affected to the present Government, and truly desirous of the Propagation of the Gospel, humbly tendered to the Honourable Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel.*

I. **W**E humbly conceive that those Churches of Christ in the Nation, who have had long Triall, and frequent Experience of the Gifts, Abilitys, and other Qualifications requisite for the Ministry, or preaching of the Gospel, in their Members, are most competent to send for the Persons for the publishing of the Gospel; considering that (as far as wee are able to apprehend) there can noe such through Tryal be taken or made of Men for this Worke in any other Way.

By a Church of Chryst in theise Proposals, wee meane a Company of Persons professing and practicing Godliness, who have mutually obliged themselves before God to take a Christian Care of one an other for their better Edification in their moste holye Faith, having a Pastor or Spiritual Watchman over them in Things appertaining unto God.

2. We humbly propose, that such Persons who shall be judged meet, and accordingly sent forth by such Character, may have free Liberty to doe their Worke about which they are sente, without being constreyned to passe the authoritative Test or Approbation of any other Men, and may have Countenance and Encouragement with other Preachers from the State, behaving themselves worthily, or with Faithfulness for the Work.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 16. No. 38. An Original. These Enthusiasts had as good a Right no doubt to what they petitioned for, as the *Presbyterians*, tho' they pretended a Divine Right: Upon which Mr. Selden makes the following Remark: (Table Talk, p. 150.) "When the Queries (says he) were sent to the Assembly concerning the *Jus Divinum* of *Presbytery*; their asking Time to answer them was a Satyr upon themselves: For if it were to be seen in the Text, they might quickly turn to the Place, and shew us it: Their delaying to answer makes us believe there is no such Thing there: They do just as you have seen a Fellow at a Tavern-reckoning, when he should come to pay his Reckoning; he puts his Hands into his Pockets, and keeps a grabbling, and fumbling, and shaking, when at last he tells you, he left his Money at home, when all the Company knew at first he had no Money there."

3. We humbly conceive, that for a regular and due Tryal of Persons to be sent forth for the preaching of the Gospel, it might be of worthy Concernment that for the Time to come such young Men, whether educated in the Universities or otherwise, who intend the Ministerie of the Gospell, be desired to walke with one or other of the Churches of Christ in the Nation for the Space of a Yeare or thereabout, before they enter upon the Worke; and during this Time to take all convenient Opportunities of exercising of their Gifts: By Means hereof their Meetness for the Worke of the Gospell, as well in respect of intellectual Abilitys and Gifts, as of moral Endowments and Behaviour, will be thoroughly tried; and this Course we judge of good Affinitie and Accord with the Practice of the primitive Times, when Pastors and Teachers were chosen by and out of Churches.

4. We humbly conceive, that it may very possibly prove extremely prejudicial to the Propagation of the Gospell, (and rather more for the future then at the present) that any humane Authority whatsoever should plead a Right of Interest or Power to constitute or set up what Persons or Number of Persons they please, to be Judges over the Faith, Gifts, and Ministerial Abilitys of all Men in the Nation, who shall be founde willing to serve God in the Gospell of his deare Son; considering, 1^o That there is nothing in the Word of God that will justify such a Plea. 2^o That there is very much against it, as where the great Apostle demandeth, (with an holy Indignation) *Who art thou that judgest an other Man's Servant?* (Rom. xiv. 4.) And again, when he disclaimeth both for himself and his Fellows all Dominion or Lordship over the Faith of his Christian Brethren, (2 Cor. i. 24.) Soe againe, where he makes the Spirits of the Prophets equally and reciprocally subject to the Prophets, (1 Cor. xiv. 32.) not the Spirits of all the Prophets in a Nation, besides two, or six, subject to these two or six. As also when he signifieth that something may be revealed by God to one Person, which is not revealed unto an other, (1 Cor. xiv. 30. *Philip. iii. 15.*) haply not to many others. 3^o That the Example of good and worthy Men in Authoritie, claiming such an Interest or Power, by Vertue of suche their Authoritie, will be a President unto, and strengthen the Hand of those that shall be most unworthy to claime and exercise the same Power, by Vertue of the same or like Authority.

4^o That

4^o That those Ministers who (in all likelihood) will from time to time be advanced to the exorbitant Power of this Spiritual Judicature, are Persons who have insinuated into their Acquaintance, Favour, and Respects, which Kind of Minister or Prophet is seldome or never of the right Temper indeed for the Advancement of the Affayres of Jesus Christ. 5^o (and lastly) That not onely a smaller Number of private Men, but even whole Councils and Synods of Men, as learned in the Scriptures as the World was known to afford any in their Generation, and withall reputed orthodox and sound in the Faith, have adjudged such Doctrines and Opinions orthodox and sound, which are now by Ministers themselves, and other *Christians* of good Judgment, rejected as erroneous.

5. We humbly conceive, that it may be very injurious to the Propagation of the Gospell, that any Man's Soundness or Unsoundness in the Faith, should be estimated by his Belief or Non-belief of such Tenents and Doctrines which some Men shall please to call fundamentall. And if by fundamentall be meant only such Opinions or Doctrines, the Belief whereof is absolutely necessary to Salvation, we conceive that nothing ought or can with Truth be judged fundamentall, but only this soveraigne and great Truth; *whosoever shall believe in Jesus Christ shall be saved*; inasmuch as the Scripture doth so frequently and plainly promise and assert Salvation unto those that shall believe in Jesus Christ. Wee humbly conceive further, that if any Man shall goe beyond this Time in computing Fundamentals, he may as well find or make them Thousands, as Hundreds or Tens.

6. We humbly conceive, that an Obligation imposed by Law upon such Churches, who either thro' Scruple of Conscience, or Want of Opportunity, doe not assemble in the publick Meeting-places of the Nation, (commonly called Churches) to make known to the Magistrate the constant Places of their Meeting, may in some Cases prove a Snare unto them.

7. Considering that Differences in Judgment between Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel, especially being managed and maintained, either on the one or both Sides, with disgraceful, disparageing, and unchristian Terms, are very Obstructions to the Propagation of the Gospel: We conceive that it may be of good Accommodation hereunto, that Persons or Preachers of either Judgement

be desired to forbear, as well in their Sermons as Writings, as in their moste private Discourses, all reproachful and unchristian Reflections upon their Brethren dissenting in Judgment from them, and in their Confutations and Reasonings against such Opinions as they judge unsound, they content themselves with a sober urging and managing such Texts of Scripture, and Arguments, which, as they conceive, make against the Opinions of their Adversaries; and that they forbear, as far as with good Conscience they may, the charging of those Opinions, which they undertake to confute, with any of those provoking Imputations of *Blasphemy, Heresy, &c.*

8. We humbly conceive, that friendly and peaceable Conference between Neighbour-preachers of opposite Judgments, first, and for a Time more privately; afterwards, in case Differences between them remaine yet uncompromised, more publicly; their latter being prudentially regulated by Authoritie, and superintended by Persons of Worth and Gravity present at them, may through the Blessing of God yeild the pleasant Fruit of Reconcilement between Brethren, and so turn to an happy Advancement of the Gospel.

9. We humbly conceive the Maintenance of those who preach the Gospell, by the gathering and demanding of Tythes*, to be very prejudicial to the Propagation of the Gospell, occasioning (and this almost unavoidably) frequent Heart-Burnings, Quarrels, Contentions, Law-Suits, between Preachers and Parishes; besides the intolerable Burthen and Pressure which some particular Persons groaned under, by reason of this Kind of Maintenance, others of ten times their Estates bearing no Part at all of the Burthen with them.

10. We humbly conceive, that many Statutes yet in Force, frequently made use of for the Molestation of many conscientious and well-affected Persons, are prejudicial to the Propagation of the Gospell, and therefore humbly desire that they may be speedily repealed.

*Edm. Chillenden,
Jeremiah Ives,
T. Lodington.*

* " Whenever any Petition (says Dr. South, Sermon. vol. 1. p. 129.) was put up to the Parliament in the Year 1653. for the taking away of Tythes, the Thanks of the House were still returned to them, and that by the Name and Elegy of the well-affected Petitioners."

No. LXXXIII.

* S I R,

THOUGH I cannot give you so full an Account as I could wish of that Business intrusted with some of us here, yet of that little wee have done, the best Account I can give you is as followeth.

The first Time wee mett to examine since you were here, there were present Mr. *Hickman*, Mr. *Bogan*, Mr. *Turges*, and my self: At which Time we took into Consideration these that follow:

Sir *Morton* of *Baliol College*, Sir *Shippen* of *University College*, and Sir *Huntington* of *Merton College*, whom wee judged upon the former Examination to have given so good Satisfaction, as that it was not necessary to try them further. You may put them under the Rank of *optime*, or, if you please, (especially the last) *egregie*.

Burthoy of *All Souls College*, near four Years standing, was (I think) out of Towne, and so appeared not: But upon Account of his former Examination, may receive the same Character with those before.

Pocock of *New College* appeared not, and doth (I suppose) relinquish the Business.

Pitfield of *Brazen-nose College*, and *Medcalf* of *Christ-Church*, each of them about three Years standing, were both examined, and gave a very good Account. You may give them the Character of *bene* at least, or if you will *optime*.

Morrice of *Magdalen College* of the same standing with these, by reason of Absence could not be then examined; but upon the Account of his former Examination, may receive the same Character with those two.

Lever of *Glocester Hall* of two Years standing, gave a pretty good Account: Hee seemes to be industrious and of moderate Partes, but to have wanted Opportunitys of Improvement. You may if you please give him the Character of *bene*.

Oldham of *Glocester Hall*, of the same standing, gave no great Satisfaction; the most we can say of him is *mediocriter*.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 62. b. An Original.

Gough, a Serviter of *Magdalen Hall*, was then examined: He is not of much standing, but answered exceedingly well: You may give him the Character of *optime*, or if you please *egregie*.

At an other Meeting were present Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Conant*, Mr. *Turgesse*, and my selfe, and (as I remember) Dr. *Dickinson*: Wee then examined *Coleman* of *Lincoln College*, of two Years standing. You may well give him the Character of *bene*.

Hart of *Baliol College*, of two Years, *mediocriter*, or if you will, *bene*.

Collins of *Baliol College* (blind) of one Year, *bene*.

Edwards of *Wadham College*, and *Rose* of *Lincoln College*, two Years standing, answered exceeding well: You may give them the Character of *optime* at least, if you will *egregie*, and especially *Edwards*.

We have had as yet no more Meetings for Examination: Some few others have been particularly with my selfe, of whome I have made some Triall, of whom I shall at present recommend but one, (the rest having given no less Satisfaction) which is

Paris of *Merton College*, to whom (if hee shall give to others the like Satisfaction that he has done to mee) I think you may allow the Character of *optime*: And I hear the like of

Macham of *Wadham College*, and *Horsfeman* of *Magdalen Hall*, but I have not had the Opportunity of trying either of them my selfe. And some others who upon that first Examination, when you were present, did give a good Account, wee have not yet put uppon farther Examination, by reason of severall Diversions, and the Absence or Occasions of many of our Company hindring them from attending it.

This is all the Account that I can yet give, wherein I have, as near as I can, set downe the Sense of the Company present at such Examinations. When I have ought further to acquaint you with, you may expect it from, Sir,

Oxon, October 2,
1658.

Your Friend and Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

For my Reverend Friend Mr. *Matthew Poole*, in *Cheapside*,
over-against *Gutter Lane*, *London*.

* *Mr. Poole,*

TWAS Friday Night before I came home, where meeting with your Letter, which minds me of an Election on Munday, this Saturday Mr. *Hickman*, Mr. *Conant*, with my selfe, have examined these following, and find them according to these Characters.

Bateman of *University College*, of the first Year, *egregie*.

Paris of *Merton College* of the second Year, *Pengry* of *Brasen College* of two Years standing, *optime*, or if you will *egregie*.

Rose of *Magdalen College* of two Years, *Osland* of *Magdalen College* of the second Year, *bene*.

Kenning of *Lincoln College* of the second Year, *Glascock* of *Lincoln College* of the second Year, *mediocriter*, or *bene* if you will.

Castle of *Merton College*, *Haiter* of *Wadham College*, *mediocriter*.

Machin of *Hart Hall* of the fourth Year, in Greek *optime*, in Philosophy *bene*.

Elston of *Wadham College*, third Year, Philosophy *optime*, Greek *mediocriter*.

Grosse of *Magdalen Hall*, a Freshman, *bene*.

Hyde, of the second Year, *Exeter College*, Philosophy *optime*, Greek *mediocriter*.

Which being the unanimous Judgement of all upon the Examination, they desired it should be signified to you in their Names, by, Sir,

Oxford, Novemb.

11, 1658.

Your Friend and Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

There were diverse others very well deserving, which wee would have examined, and hoped wee should have found them suitable to the Characters we have received of them; but they are out of Towne, as Sir *Femat* of *University College*, *Goodale* of *St. John's*, *Horseman* of *Magdalen Hall*, and some others: As also Sir *Morton* of *Baliol*, *Burthoy* of *All Souls*, and *Webb* of *Trinity*, whom upon former Examination wee may allow the Character of *optime*. But they being out of Towne, I cannot send any other Testimonial at present, but what you had when you were here.

To my Honoured Friend Mr. *Matthew Poole*, &c.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 62. c. An Original.

No. LXXXIII

No. LXXXV.

* *Good Sir,*

YOURS of Dec. 16. came not to my Hands till Dec. 23. so that I could doe little upon it. *Bateman's* Certificate I have sent already, which I hope you have received, since the Date of yours. Sir *Jemmet* of University College, and *Horseman's* Certificates come with this. *Horseman* you may (upon former Examination, and concurrent Testimony of those that know him) give the Character of *optime*. And the like (by the Testimony of diverse that know him) may be allowed to Sir *Jemmat*, who was the Son of a famous Man Mr. *Jemmat* of *Barwicke*, and afterwards of *Thistleworth*, and then of *Reading* (where his Brother now is) one well knowne in *London* to divers Ministers there, by reason of Persecution suffered by the Bishops. I heare of the young Man here a very good Account both of Piety and Learning, and he is very loth yet to leave the University, if he can get any means of Subsistence there; but otherwise must be forced to it. His Maintenance hitherto being very little more then he obtained from the arbitrary Benevolence, sometime of the Earle of *Bedford*, sometimes of Sir *William Walter*, and a Servitor's Place in the College, which ceased with his being a Batchell. But he and *Horseman* are both out of Towne. Sir *Martin* of *Christ Church* is a Student of that House (a Term equivalent to that of Fellow in an other.) Whether you count these eligible you know best. *Metcalf* I did formerly speak to, to bring me a Testimonial, but I hear nothing of it. The rest you mention I can say nothing of, as neither of that other Particular which you mention at the End of your Letter: of which I think Mr. *Hickman* may have written somewhat. I am,

Yours in all Christian Service,

Dec. 25. 1658.

JOHN WALLIS.

* Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 62. d. An Original. With the same Supercription as the foregoing one.

No. LXXXVI.

* S I R,

SINCE my last Dr. *Bathurst* and Mr. *Turges*, with my self, have examined 4 more; of whom I am desired by the Company to give you this Account.

Sir *Johnson* of *Hart Hall* did answer singularly well in Philosophy, and not amiss in the Languages. We think fitt to give him the Character of *egregie* for the first, and at least *bene* for the other. Hee is very desirous to stay a while longer in the University: but must be forced to leave it unless he have some supply. I hear a very good Account of him as to his Conversation, and I think him very well to deserve Encouragement.

2. *Knighton* of *Trinity College* of the second Year, wee thought fit upon his Examination to give him the Character of *optime*, his Conversation good.

3. *Howell* of *Trinity College* of the first Year, answered exceeding well in Tongues, and well for his standing in Logick: we allow him *egregie* for the first, and at least *bene* for the latter, his Conversation good.

4. *Roots* of *St. John's Coll.* of the first Year, a very modest ingenuous Youth, he answered well in the Tongues, and (for his standing) very well in Logick. He is young and very hopeful, you may put him *optime*.

I have also sent Testimonials for some of whose Examination you had an Account formerly.

Next I am to entreat you to favour me so farr as to let mee knowe what Persons are chosen of each University. For I hear no Account at all, some onely of the first Election; I am daily called upon by divers to know what is done, and would willingly bee able to satisfy them. And 'tis some Discouragement in order to the presenting of others, not to hear an issue of those already presented to you.

Besides, that the Persons chosen not knowing of it, nor having wherewith otherwise to subsist, are forced to discontinue for want of Means; which I take to be the Condition of several of those, whome wee have presented as very well deserving Encouragement.

* Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 8. No. 62. e. An Original. The Direction as before.

And lastly, I desire to bee informed, when and where those that are elected may expect to receive any Allowance.

This being the Summe of what I have at present to signify, with my Prayers to God for a Successe upon your Endeavours, and the whole Work, I rest

Yours,

Oxon, Jan. 20. 1653.

JOHN WALLIS.

No. LXXXVII.

† S I R,

SINCE my last wee have examined some others of whom Mr. *Hickman* and Mr. *Conant*, (who joined with me) desire me to give this Account.

Baker of *Magda. Coll.* of two Years standing, in Logick *optime*, in Tongues *mediocriter*.

Sir Willes of *Magd. Hall.* *mediocriter*.

Kenning of *Lincoln Coll.* upon a further Examination hath given better Satisfaction then before, he is of his 2^d Year. He answered in Logick *bene*, in Tongues *bene* at least, or rather *optime*.

Janeway of *Wadham* the same standing, and the same Account.

Your Friend and Servant,

March 10. 1653.

JOHN WALLIS.

Since the coming of the former, Dr. *Bathurst*, Mr. *Hickman*, Mr. *Conant*, and my selfe have examined some others, of whom they desire me to give this Character.

Cressy of *St. John's*, a Scholar of the House of three Years standing, *egregie*.

Griffith of *St. John's* of one Year *egregie*.

Jole of *Pembrok Coll.* new come, *bene* at least.

Janeway of *All Souls* half a Year *bene*.

Webb of *Trinity College* is upon this incouragement returned to the College.

† Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 3. No. 62. f. An Original.

And Sir *Morton* of *Baliol* is coming, who till very lately did not hear of it.

But there is an other Thing which I think is not unreasonable to mind you of, which though not of so immediate Consequence to our selves, yet may be of as considerable Consequence to the Church of God in other Parts. You may remember that when I was lately at *London*, there was a *Polonian* who signified that he had undertaken the Translation of the Bible into the *Lithuanian* Language, in which it had never before been translated; though a great Number of People speak it, and have no other Bible amongst them then the *Polonian*, which they doe no more understand than the *Welch* doe *English*. Hee hath by reason of the Wars in *Poland* lived here as an Exile some Years in *Oxford*, upon the Charity of such as in Commiseration of his Condition contribute to his Maintenance. Hee hath long since prepared the New Testament ready for the Presse, but hath not wherewith to undertake the Charge of it. Hee hath (of the Old Testament) finished the *Pentateuch* also. 'Tis great pittie that suche a Worke should perish or be delayed for want of some helping Hand to bringe it forth. It was then recommended to diverse Ministers in *London* to promote an Incouragement of it: but nothing that I can heare of as yet done towards it. About 60*l.* it seems would set forth the New Testament and so small a Summ my thinks, should not be hard to raise in *London* from well disposed Persons, to so good and publicke a Worke, rather then it should perish in the Birth, and thereby possibly the Souls of many Thousands perish for want of the Bible in their own Language. Sir, I should earnestly desire, that you would please to undertake the promoting of this so good a Work speedily and effectually. Whether it may be proper to contribute any Thing out of your common Stock for the *Encouragement of Learning in the Universities*, or not, I will not take upon me to determine; (though the Truth is, the Person being a Schollar and a Student here, is capable of that Consideration, and the Work he is about, is of the like Nature with such as you would willingly promote.) But if not that way, certainly other Ways may be found to doe it, and here would not be wanting Persons to contribute, if they were thoroughly informed of the Case. There is one Gentleman here has already ingaged to me for 5*l.* towards it: and no great
Number

Number of such Contributors would doe the Work. I shall leave it with you, and once more commend you to God's Blessing and Protection, resting

Yours,

Oxford, March 10. 1653.

JOHN WALLIS.

To my very worthy Friend Mr. *Matthew Poole*, at Mr. *Rothwell's* (a Bookseller) at the Fountain in *Cheapside*, near the End of *Friday-Street*. London. d. d.

No. LXXXVIII.

* *Right Hon^{ble},*

I PRESUME once more to represent my Desires in behalf of the Officers of my own Regiment of Horse, whiche I intreate may be passed accordinge to the List inclosed, and that Major *Hubblethorne* of Col. *Talbot's* Regiment who is a very good Officer may be continued: Were it not of suche concernement for your Service, I should willingly have acquiesced, but the Country is in such a Distemper, that it's a Miracle of Mercy that they are not running into Blood, and in such a Day you know how necessary Men of knowne Courage and Fidelitie are. And I may boldly undertake for these as suche: and who are really principled for the Commonwealth against a single Person, none of them having been active in these late Miscarriages and Declensions of the Armie. I hope my Importunity will not be mistaken: I thank God I can witness to this Truth in Conscience and Sinceritie, that I have no other Aime in my Heart, but the Settlement and Peace of a just Freedome in *England*, and I hope my Actions and Zeale for your Service will vindicate this request from Misinterpretation: I cannot believe that you will condemne me of Boldness, who esteemes all your Determinations as Decrees which admitt of noe Dispute, and desires to live no longer then he is faithfull to the Parliament. I blesse the Lorde I have learned Obedience, and desire to expire with that Principle. But taking Notice that you have gratified others in this Nature,

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 69. An Original.*

I hum-

I humbly intreate that I may not be the first that should experience a Denyal, being not conscious of any unfaithfullness to my selfe, and I hope without Vanitie I may assert, that I have not beene unprofitable to my Country in these Troubles, neither can I believe, but my Informations will bee as credible with the supream Authoritie as any private Person's, who may acte their own Passions under a specious Pretence of publique Safety. As I am engaged as farre as any in your Service, so I take my selfe bound to hazard all with you, and shall take this Favour as a Reward beyond all my poore Endeavours, and live and die in the Defence of your just Authority. I humbly begge your gracious Answer, and it shall bee an Incouragement to him, who is resolved to be, R^t. Ho^{ble},

Your most Humble and Faithfull Servant,

Dalkeith, September the 2^d. 1659.

GEORGE MONCKE.

For the Ho^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker to the Right Ho^{ble} the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. To be communicated to them att *Westminster*.

Deliver this to Mr. Speaker when the Souldiers for *Scotland* come in.

N^o. LXXXIX.

* *Right Hon^{ble},*

I THOUGHT fit to acquaint you that I am come thus farre with two Regiments of Horse, the rest of the Foot and Horse lie between *Durham* and this place, and heere I find Major General *Lambert's* Regiment of Horse, and six Companies of Collonel *Ashfield's* Regiment of Foot, and one Company of Col. *Salmon's* Regiment in *Clifford's* Tower; most of Col. *Lilburne's* Regiment are come into Major *Smythson*, here is likewise Col. *Clarke's* Regiment, who is very honest, and very few inferior Officers that will need to be put off. For Col. *Lilburne's* Regiment, Major *Smythson* is very honest and deserves the

* Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 112. An Original.

Regiment, for which I shall become a humble Suiter to you, and for the rest of the Officers Captain *Strangways* being sent up from the Regiment, he will acquaint you what are fittest to be kept in; but for Colonel *Lambert's* there are but few and none at all that I can heare of that are fitt to be continued, unless it be Captain *Pocklay*. I shall desire there may be some speedy Course taken for the modelling of them, both Officers and Soldiers; that they may be for your Service. Those that I met withall before I came hither, I have modell'd; the three Companies that belonged unto *Scotland*, I have turned into two. The four Companies of Col. *Ashfield's* Regiment that were about *Newcastle*, I have reduc't into two, and put out all the Commission Officers but Major *Dorney*, who I have appointed Captain of one of the two Companys, till your farther Pleasure be knowne. And what remayned to compleat two Companies were sent to recruit the Regiments that came from *Scotland*. There was a Company under Capt. *Sympson* in *Tinmouth* Castle, whereof both Officers and Soldiers being disaffected, I disbanded them, and sent them to their homes, and Captain *Robinson's* Troop of Major General *Morgan's* Regiment that deserted your Service in *Scotland*. I have sent such of the Soldiers as were honest to several Troops of that Regiment to strengthen them, and discharged all their Officers; and shall desire to receive your Commands concerning the Forces here, how you will dispose of them. What you will have sent back for *Scotland*, and you will have stay heere. And that there may be Monies drawn for the Forces here, and for those two Companies that were of Col. *Ashfield's* Regiment. I have sent you the inclosed Letters I received from *Carlisle*; I have sent Capt. *Tolhurst* to secure the Garrison till further Orders, and have supplied them with 450*l.* to supply their present Wants, and shall intreat there may be care taken to supply them against that Money be spent.

I make bould to offer it as my Opinion that you would as speedily as may be modell all the Forces that were under Col. *Lambert's* Command, as may be most for your Security, and that you will employ some Officer for the same. I shall likewise desire to know of what Strength our Regiments that belonged to *Scotland* shall bee, being nine Regiments of Foot, and fower of Horse, because now we are about ninety Soldiers in a Foot Company besides

(163)

besides Officers, and about 80 Horse in a Troope and some more. I thinke it would be best for your Service to keep the Regiments of Foot to 1500, and 600 in a Regiment of Horse, besides Commission Officers: For that you may keep fewer Regiments, and save the Pay of many Officers. Soe desire the Almighty God to goe along with you in all your Councils, and direct you in the Way that he would have you to walke. Which is the Prayer of him, who is, and ever shall be

Your most Humble and Faithfull Servant,

Yorke 12. Jan. 1659.

GEORGE MONCK.

For the Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker to the Right Hono^{ble} the Parliament of *England* sitting at *Westminster*.

N^o. XC.

* *Right Ho^be,*

I HAVE received your Honour's of the 7th Instant, and therein an high and undeserved Testimony of the Hono^{ble} Houses Favour, which I receive with all Humbleness and Thankfulness, and shall ever look upon as an Encouragement and Obligation for mee to persevere in my Duty. In obedience to the Parliament's Commands I am advancing towards *London*, and for the Security of *Scotland*, I have sent thither a Regiment of Horse, and an other of Foot which is all I can doe at present, and had sent Col. *Clarke's*, but that I had no Money to spare them; if they were furnished, they might march presently for *Scotland*. I have appointed Major General *Morgan* to stay here for the present, till Things are better settled, and if you please to supply him with Monies, and send Orders to him about it, he will give Col. *Clarke* Orders for the March of his Regiment thither. Here is eighteen hundred Pounds lies in the Hands of Mr. *John Jure* Deputy to the Treasurers at Warre: They are indebted for their Quarters, and I think as much more to it would serve their turne to inable them to marche, and

* Dr. Williams's MSS. Collections, Vol. 8. No. 114. An Original.

pay their Quarters till they have a further Supply: But if you can pay no more, I desire that 1100*l.* may be ordered to be paid out by Major General *Morgan's* Warrant to the Forces heere for taking them off from Free-Quarter, and put one of the Companys of that Regiment into *Clifford's* Tower. I am marching my selfe with four Regiments of Foot and three of Horse towards you with what Expedition I may. I have putt the Command of the Lord *Lambert's* late Regiment of Horse in Col. *Betheil's* Hands, he is an honest faithfull Man, and was faithfull and active for your Interest in appearing for you with the Lord *Fairfax*. I have putt out all the disaffected Officers from the Head of their Troopes, and dismist them, and shall humbly desire that Commissions may speedily be granted for that Regiment according to the List sent to your Commissioners for the Government of the Army, and that they may be sent to Major General *Morgan*, and then I thinke all those Partes will be well fixt for your Service, so far as I have gone yet: I could heartily wish the Militia of these Partes were settled. I return you Thankes for your being mindfull of Col. *Saunders*, Col. *Litcot*, and Major *Barton*, soe desiring the Almighty God to blesse you, and direct you in all your Proceedings, I take leave to remayne,

Your very Humble Servant,

Yerke 16^o. Jan.
1659.

GEORGE MONCK.

For the Right Hon^{ble} *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker to
the Parliament of *England* sitting at *Westminster*.

No. XCI.

Portsmouth, 21 May 8 in the Morning.

I ARRIVED heere yesterday about two in the After-
noone, and as soone as I had shifted my selfe, I went
into my wive's Chamber who I found in bed by Reason
of a little Cough, and some inclination to a Feaver,
which was caused as we *Physitians* say, by having certain
Thinges stopt at Sea, which ought to have carried away
those Humours, but now all is in their due Course, and
I beleieve she will finde herself very well this Morninge
as soon as she wakes.—It was happy for the Honour of
the Nation, that I was not put to the Consummation of
the Marriage last Night, for I was so sleepy by having
slept but two Hours in my Journey, as I am afraid, that
Matters would have gone but very sleepily. I can now
only give you an Account of what I have seen abed,
whiche in shorte is, her Face is not so exact as to be
called a Beuty, though her Eyes are excellent good, and
not any thing in her Face that in the least Degree can
shooue one. One the contrary she has as much agree-
ableness in her Looks altogether as ever I saw, and if I
have any Skill in Physiognimy, whiche I thinke I have, she
must be as good a Woman as ever was borne. Her Con-
versation, as much as I can perceave, is very good; for
she has Wit enough, and a most agreeable Voyse. You
would wonder to see how well we are acquainted already.
In a Worde, I think my selfe very happy, for I am confi-
dent our two Humors will agree very well together. I
have not time to say any more. My L^d L^{nt} will give you
an Account of the rest.



* Something written but blotted out.

Directed for the Chancelour.

Endorst. The Kinge from *Portsmouth*.

* Copied from the Original, in the Hands of the Right Honourable (and truly noble) the Earl of *Oxford*. Bp. *Burnet* (History of his own Time, Vol. 1. p. 174.) says, "He saw the Letter that the King writ to the Earl of *Clarendon* the Day after their Marriage, by which it appeared plainly that the Marriage was consummated, and that the King was pleased with her."

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No. XCII.

* *The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, and the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, now in Arms, for Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Rights, and Privileges of England, from the Invasion made upon them: and for delivering the Kingdom from the Usurpation and Tyranny of James Duke of York.*

AS *Government* was originally instituted by God, and this or that Forme of it chosen and submitted to by Men, for the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Governed, and not for the private Interest and personall Greatness of those that rule: So that *Government* hath been always esteemed the best, where the supreme Magistrates have been vested with all the Power and Prerogatives that might capacitate them, not only to preserve the People from Violence and Oppression, but to promote their *Prosperity*: and yet where nothing was to belong to them by the Rules of the Constitution, that might enable them to injure and oppress them.

And it hath been the Glory of *England*, above most other Nations, that the *Prince* had all intrusted with him that was necessary either for advancing the Wellfare of the People, or for his own Protection in the Discharge of his Office, and with all stood so limited and restrained by the fundamentall Termes of the *Constitution*, that without a Violation of his own Oath, as well as the Rules and Measures of the *Government*, he could do them no hurt, or exercise any Act of *Authority*, but through the Administration of such Hands as stood obnoxious to be punished in case they transgressed. So that according to the *primitive Frame* of the *Government*, the Prerogatives of the Crown, and Priviledges of the Subject, were so far from justling one another, that the Rights reserved unto the *People* tended to render the King honorable and great, and the Prerogatives settled on the *Prince*, were in order to the Subjects Protection and Safety.

* Transcribed from the first Impression, printed in Quarto in *Holland*, (tho' no Printer's Name or Place) *penes me*.

But all humane Things being liable to Perversion, as well as Decay, it hath been the Fate of the *English Government* to be often changed, and wrested from what it was in the first Settlement and Institution. And wee are particularly compelled to say, that all the Boundaries of the Government have of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted, for turning our *limited Monarchy* into an *absolute Tyranny*. For such hath been the Transactions of Affairs within this Nation for several Years last past, that tho' the *Protestant Religion*, and Libertyes of the People, were fenced and hedged about, by as many Laws as the Wisdom of Men could devise, for their Preservation against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; our Religion hath been all along undermined by Popish Councells, and our Privileges ravished from us by Fraud and Violence. And more especially, the Whole and Series of the Life of the present *Usurper* hath been but one continued Conspiracy against the *Reformed Religion*, and Rights of the Nation.

For whosoever considers his contriving the burning of London; his instigating a Confederacy with France, and a War with Holland; his fomenting the *Papish Plot*, and encouraging the Murther of Sir Edmund-bury Godfry to stifle it; his forging *Treason* against Protestants, and suborning Witnesses to sweare the Patriots of our Religion and Liberties out of their Lives; his hiring execrable Villaines to assassinate the late Earle of Essex, and causing severall others to be clandestinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his advising and procuring the *Prorogation* and *Dissolution* of Parliaments, in order to prevent Enquiry into his Crimes, and that he might escape the Justice of the Nation: Such can imagine nothing so black and horrid in it self, or so ruinous and destructive to Religion and the Kingdome, which we may not expect from him, upon his having invaded the Throne, and usurped the Title of a King. The very Tyrannies which he hath exercised since he snatched the Crown from his Brother's Head, do leave none under a Possibility of flattering themselves with Hopes of Safety, either in their Consciences, Persons, or Estates.

For in Defiance of all the Laws and Statutes of the Realme, made for the Security of the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, he not only began his Usurpation and pretended Reign, with a bare-faced avowing himself of the Romish Religion,

Religion, but hath called in Multitudes of *Priests* and *Jesuits*, (for whom the Law makes it *Treason* to come into the Kingdom) and hath impowered them to exercise their Idolatries ; and besides his being daily present at the Worship of the Mass, hath publickly assisted at the grossest Fopperies of their Superstition.

Nor hath he been more tender in trampling upon the *Laws* which Concern our *Properties* ; seeing by two Proclamations, whereof the one requires the collecting of the *Customs*, and the other the continuing that Part of the *Excise*, which was to expire with the late King's Death, he hath violently, and against all the *Laws* of the Land, broken in upon our *Estates*. Neither is it any Extenuation of his Usurpation and Tyranny, that he is countenanced in it by an *extra judiciall Opinion* of seven or eight *suborned and foresworne Judges* : that rather declaring the Greatness and Extent of the Conspiracy against our Rights, and that there is no Means left for our Relief, but by Force and Armies. For advancing those to the *Bench*, who were the Scandal of the Barr ; and constituting those very Men to *declare the Laws*, who were accused and branded in Parliament *for perverting them* ; wee are precluded all Hopes of Redress in *Westminster Hall* : And through packing to gather by *false Returns*, new *illegal Charters*, and other corrupt Means, a Company of Men which he intends to stile a *Parliament*, he doth at once deprive us of all Expectation of *Succour*, where our *Ancestors* were wont to find it : and hopes to render that which ought to be the People's *Fence* against *Tyranny*, and the Conservators of their *Liberties*, the Means of subverting all our *Laws*, and of establishing his *Arbitraryness*, and confirming our *Thraldome*. So that *unless* wee could be contented to see the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, and such as profess it, *extirpated* ; *Popish Superstition* and *Idolatry* established ; the *Laws* of the Land trampled under Foot ; the *Liberties* and *Rights* of the *English People* subverted ; all that is *Sacred* and *Civil*, or of Regard amongst Men of Piety or Virtue violated ; and an *Usurper* tyrannising on the Throne : And unless wee could be willing to be *Slaves* as well as *Papists* ; and forget the Example of our noble and generous *Ancestours*, who convey'd our *Priviledges* to us at the Expence of their Blood and Treasure ; and withall be unmindfull of our *Duty to God*, *our Country*, and *Posterity* ; deafe to the Cries and Groanes

of our *oppressed Friends*, and be satisfied not only to see *them and our selves* imprisoned, robbed, and murdered, but the *Protestant Interest* throughout the whole World betrayed to *France and Rome*. Wee are bound as *Men and Christians*, and that in Discharge of our Duty to *God*, and our *Country*, and for Satisfaction of the Expectations of the *Protestant Nations* round about us, to betake our selves to *Armes*: which wee call Heaven and Earth to witness wee should not have done, had not the *Malice* of our *Enemies* deprived us of all other Means of Redress, and were not the *Miseries* wee already feelee, and *those* which do further threaten us, worse then the Calamities of Warr. And it is not for any *personall Injuries* or private Discontents, nor in pursuance of any corrupt Interest, that we take our Swords in our Hands; but for *vindicating our Religion, Laws, and Rights*, and rescuing our *Country* from Ruin and Destruction; and for preserving our selves, *Wives and Children* from *Bondage and Idolatry*: wherefore before *God, Angels, and Men*, wee stand acquitted from, and do charge upon our *Enemies*, all the Slaughters and Devastations that unavoidably accompany an *Intestine Warr*.

Now therefore wee do hereby solemnely declare and proclaime Warr against *James Duke of York*, as a *Murderer*, and an *Assassin* of innocent Men; a *Popish Usurper* of the Crown; a *Traytor* to the *Nation*, and *Tyrant* over the *People*: And wee would have none that appeare under his *Banners*, to flatter themselves with Expectation of Forgiveness, it being our firme Resolution to prosecute him and his *Adherents*, without giving Way to *Treaties* or *Accommodations*, untill we have brought him and them to undergo what the *Rules* of the Constitution, and the *Statutes* of the Realme, as well as the *Laws of Nature, Scripture, and Nations*, adjudge to be the Punishment due to the *Enemies* of *God, Mankind, their Countrey, and all Things* that are honourable, vertuous and good.

And tho' wee cannot avoid being sensible, that too many have from *Cowardice, Covetousness, and Ambition*, cooperated to the subverting Religion, and enslaving their Country; yet wee would have none, from a *Dispaire* of finding Mercy, persevere in their *Crimes*, nor continue to pursue the Ruin of the Kingdom; for we exclude none from the Benefit of *Repentance*, that shall joyne with us in retrieving what they have been *accessory* to the Loss of;
nor

nor do we design *Revenge* upon any, but the *obstinate*, and such as shall be found at this Juncture yielding *Aid and Assistance* to the said *James Duke of York*.

And that we may both govern our selves in the Pursuit of this *glorious Cause* wherein wee are ingaged, and give Encouragement to all that shall *assist us* in so righteous and necessary an Undertaking; wee do in the *Presence* of the Lord, *who knows the Secrets of all Hearts*, and is the Avenger of Deciept and Falshood, *proclaime* and *publish* what wee aim at, and for the obtaining whereof, wee have both determined to venture, and are ready to lay down our Lives. And tho' wee are not come into the *Field* to introduce Anarchy and Confusion, or for laying aside any *essentiall Part of the old English Government*, yet our Purpose and Resolutions are to reduce Things to that *Temperament and Ballance*, that *future Rulers* may remain able to do all the *Good* that can be either desired or expected from them; and that it may not be in their Power to invade the *Rights*, and infringe the *Liberties* of the People.

And whereas our Religion (the most valuable Blessing wee lay Claim unto) hath been shaken by unjust Laws, undermined by Popish Councells, and is now in Danger to be subverted by a tyrannous and *idolatrous Usurper*: Wee are therefore resolved to spend our Blood for preserving it to our selves and Posterity; nor will we lay down our Armes till wee see it established and secured, beyond all Probability of being supplanted and overthrown, and untill all the *penall Laws* against *Protestant Dissenters* be repealed, and legall Provision made against their being disturbed by reason of their *Consciences*, and for their enjoying all equall Liberty with *other Protestants*. And that the Meekness and Purity of our *Principles*, and the Moderation and Righteousness of our *Ends*, may appeare unto all Men, wee do declare, that wee will not make *Warr* upon, or destroy *any* for their *Religion*, how false and erroneous soever: So that the very *Papists*, provided they withdraw from the Tents of our Enemies, and be not found guilty of conspiring our Destruction, or Abettors of them that seek it, have nothing to fear or apprehend from us, except what may hinder their altering our *Laws*, and endangering our *Persons*, in the Profession of the Reformed Doctrine, and Exercise of our Christian Worship.

Our Resolution in the next Place is, to maintaine all the just Rights and Priviledges of *Parliament*, and to have Parliaments annually chosen, and held, and not prorogued, dissolved, or discontinued within the Year before Petitions be first answered, and Grievances redressed.

And seeing many of the Miseries under which the Nation doth groan arise from displacing such out of the Number of Judges, as would not, for promoting Popish and Arbitrary Designes, wrest and misapply the *Laws*; and from constituting corrupt and mercenary Men in their Roome, on purpose to stretch the Laws beyond the Reason and Intention of them, and to declare that for Law which is not: Wee can neither with Silence pass over the mentioning of them, nor should wee have Peace in our selves, if wee did not endeavour to prevent the like Mischiefs in Time to come. For by Means of ill Men's being advanced to the Bench, and holding their Places only *durante bene placito*, many Persons have been condemned in exorbitant Fines for *no Crimes*, or for very *small ones*; many Statutes made for the Safety of the Subject, particularly the *Habeas Corpus Act*, hath been wickedly eluded, to the Oppression of innocent and loyal Men; the *Popish Lords* that were impeached in *Parliament*, for a most hellish Conjuraton, have, to the subverting of the Rights of the House of Commons, and trampling on the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, been discharged and set free; the imposing a *malignant Mayor* and *Sheriffes* upon the *City of London*, by Fraud and Violence hath been justified, and those who in Discharge of their Duty opposed it, illegally prosecuted, and arbitrarily punished: *London* and other Cities and Corporations have been robbed of their *Charters*, upon unrighteous Judgments of pretended Forfeitures; Sir *Thomas Armstrong* executed, without being allowed the Benefit of a Tryall; *Collonell Algernoon Sidney* condemned to dye upon the Deposition of one scandalous Witness; and that loyall and excellent Person the late *William Lord Russell* murdered for alledged Crimes, in Reference to which, if all had been Truth that was sworn against him, yet there was nothing that according to Law could have reached his Life: Wherefore wee do, upon the Considerations aforesaid, further declare, that wee will have Care taken for the future, for debarring ignorant, scandalous and mercenary Men from the Administration of *Justice*, and that the *Judges* shall hold their Places by the ancient
Tenure

Tenure of *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and doe leave it to the Wisdom of a Parliament to settle some Way and Method for the Approbation of such as shall be advanced to the Degree and Dignity of *Judges*.

And for as much as the Invasion made upon the Rights of *Cities, Burroughes, and Towns Corporate*, in the Seizure of their *Charters*, whether by Surrender, or upon Pre- tence of Forfeiture, hath been wholly arbitrary and illegall: Wee likewise therefore declare, that wee will to our utmost endeavor to see them repossessed in whatsoever they formerly had, and could legally claime before the late *Usurpation* upon them; and that wee do esteem all Judgments given against them, and all *Surrenders* made by a corrupt and perjured Party amongst themselves, *null and void in Law*; and do hold and declare their *old Charters* (notwithstanding the *new ones* lately granted) to be *good and valid*. And accordingly wee do invite and encourage all honest *Burgessees and Freemen* to reassume the Rights and Priviledges which by Virtue of the said old Charters belonged to their severall and respective Corporations, and to deliver themselves from those Court Parasites, and Instruments of Tyranny set up to oppress them.

Moreover, for restoring the Kingdom to its primitive Condition of Freedom and Safety, wee will have the *Corporation and Militia Acts* repealed, and all *Outlawries of Treason*, against any Person whatsoever upon the late pretended *Protestant Plot*; and all other Outlawries, Banishments, Warrants, Judgments, Imprisonments, Abjurations, and Proceedings against any other Persons, *upon any of the penall Statutes made against Protestant Dissenters*, reversed and made *null and void*; and wee will have new Laws enacted, for placing the Election of *Sheriffes* in the *Freeholders* of the severall Counties, and for settling the *Militia* in the respective *Sheriffes*, and for preventing all *Military Standing Force*, except what shall be raised and kept up by Authority and Consent of *Parliament*.

And whereas severall Gentlemen and others, who have been worthy and zealous Assertors of the Protestant Interest, and Laws of the Kingdom, are now in Custody in diverse Prisons within the Realme, upon most unjust Accusations, Pretences, Proceedings, and Judgments, wee do hereby further declare their said Imprisonments to be *illegall*, and that in case any Violence shall be offered to them, or any of them, wee will revenge it to the utmost

most upon such of our Enemies as shall fall into our Hands.

And whereas the said *James Duke of York*, in order to the expediting the idolatrous and bloody Designs of the *Papists*, the gratifying his own boundless Ambition after a Crown, and to hinder Enquiry into his Assassination of *Arthur Earle of Essex*, hath *poysoned the late King*, and therein manifested his Ingratitude, as well as Cruelty, to the World, in murdering a *Brother*, who had almost ruined himselfe to preserve and protect him from Punishment: Wee do therefore further declare, that for the aforesaid villanous and unnaturall Crime, and other his Crimes before-mentioned, and in pursuance of the Resolution of both Houses of *Parliament*, who voted to revenge the King's Death, in case he came to an untimely End, wee will prosecute the said *James Duke of York*, till wee have brought him to suffer what the Law adjudged to be the Punishment of so execrable a Fact. And in a more particular manner, his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* being deeply sensible of that barbarous and horrid Parricide committed upon his Father, doth resolve to pursue the said *James Duke of York* as a mortall and bloody Enemy, and will endeavor, as well with his own Hands, as by the Assistance of his Friends, and the Law, to have Justice executed upon him.

And forasmuch as the said *James Duke of Monmouth*, the now *Head and Captaine Generall of the Protestant Forces* of this Kingdom, assembled in pursuance of the Ends aforesaid, hath been, and still is believed to have a legitimate and legall Right to the Crownes of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, with the Dominions thereunto belonging, of which he doubts not in the least to give the World full Satisfaction, notwithstanding the Means used by the late King his Father, upon Popish Motives, and at the Instigation of the said *James Duke of York*, to weaken and obscure it; the said *James Duke of Monmouth*, from the Generousnes of his own Nature, and the Love he bears to these Nations, whose Wellfare and Settlement he infinitely prefers to whatsoever may concern himself, doth not at present insist upon his Title, but leaves the Determination thereof to the *Wisdom, Justice, and Authority of a Parliament, legally chosen, and acting with Freedom*. And in the meane time doth promise and declare by all that is sacred, that he will, in
Conjunction

Conjunction with the People of *England*, imploy all the Abilities bestowed upon him by God and Nature, for the Re-establishment and Preservation of the Protestant Reformed Religion in these Kingdomes, and for restoring the Subjects of the same, to a free Exercise thereof, in Opposition to *Popery*, and the Consequences of it, *Tyranny and Slavery*: To the obtaining of which Ends, he doth hereby promise, and oblige himselfe to the People of *England*, to consent unto, and promote the passing into Laws, all the Methods aforesaid; that it may never more be in the Power of any single Person on the Throne to deprive the Subjects of their Rights, or subvert the fundamentall Laws of the Government designed for their Preservation.

And whereas the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of *Scotland*, are now in Arms upon the like Motives, and Inducements that wee are, and in Prosecution of Ends agreeable with ours; wee do therefore approve the *Justice* of their Cause, commend their *Zeale and Courage*, expecting *their*, and promising *our Assistance*, for carrying on that glorious Work wee are jointly engaged in.

Being obliged, for avoiding Tedioufness, to omit recounting *many Oppressions* under which the Kingdom hath groaned, and the giving a Deduction of the severall Steps that have been taken for introducing and establishing of Popery and Tyranny: Wee think fit therefore to signifie, both to our Countrymen and Forreigners, that wee intend a larger *Manifesto and Remonstrance* of the *Grievances, Persecutions, Cruelties, and Tyrannies* wee have of late layne under, and therein a more full and particular Account of the unparalleled Crimes of the present *Usurper*.

And we make our Appeale unto *God*, and all *Protestant Kings, Princes, States and People*, concerning the Justice of our Cause, and the Necessity we are reduced unto of having our Recourse to *Armes*: And as wee do beseech, require, and adjure all *sincere Protestants and true Englishmen*, to be assisting to us against the Enemies of the Gospel, Rights of the Nation, and Liberties of Mankind; so wee are confident of obtaining the utmost Ayde and Succour which they can yield us with their *Prayers, Persons, and Estates*, for the dethroning the said *Tyrant and Popish Usurper*.

Not

Nor do wee doubt being justified, countenanced and
 assisted by all *Protestant Kings, Princes, and Common-
 wealths*, who do either regard the Gospell of Jesus Christ;
 or their own Interest; and above all our Dependance and
 Trust is upon the *Lord of Hosts*, in whose Name wee go
 forth, and to whom wee commit our Cause, and refer the
 Decision betwixt us and our Enemies in the Day of Battle.
 Now let us play the Men, for our People, and for the
 Cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth
 Good unto him.

T H E E N D.

